INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha: The Interfusion of the Chinese and Indian Cultures in Central Asia as Reflected in a Fifth Century Apocryphal Sūtra

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Nobuyoshi Yamabe

Dissertation Director: Professor Stanley Weinstein

May 1999

UMI Number: 9930977

Copyright 1999 by
Yamabe, Nobuyoshi

All rights reserved.

UMI Microform 9930977
Copyright 1999, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.

This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

© 1999 by Nobuyoshi Yamabe
All rights reserved.

Abstract

The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha:
The Interfusion of the Chinese and Indian Cultures in Central Asia
as Reflected in a Fifth Century Apocryphal Sūtra

Nobuyoshi Yamabe

1999

This dissertation is a thorough philological examination of the *Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha* (hereafter *Ocean Sūtra*). This is one of the six visualization sūtras allegedly written in India and translated into Chinese in the fifth century. In spite of its importance in Buddhist history, the textual background of this sūtra is obscure. I have attempted to clarify the origin of the *Ocean Sūtra* and locate it in its proper place within Buddhist textual history.

A detailed examination of the language and the content of this sūtra makes it clear that the *Ocean Sūtra* was not translated from an Indian original but was heavily dependent on prior Chinese Buddhist texts. In addition, the detailed description of the "Buddha Image Cave" (a pilgrimage spot in northwest India) in the *Ocean Sūtra* contradicts the testimonies of Chinese pilgrims. These factors indicate that the *Ocean Sūtra* was an apocryphal work originally written in Chinese.

At the same time, it should be noted that the people who composed this sūtra were familiar with Sanskrit traditions that must have been inaccessible to ordinary Chinese. The *Ocean Sūtra* shares significant similarities with Sanskrit texts that were not available in Chinese when the *Ocean Sūta* was composed. Furthermore, the *Ocean Sūtra* contains phallic elements derived from the Indian Ṣhaivite tradition, which are rarely found in Chinese texts but was certainly known in Central Asia. In addition, there are mural paintings in the Turfan area that seem to reflect early stages of the textual formation of the *Ocean Sūtra*.

I believe that these points are understandable only if we suppose that the *Ocean*

Sūtra were composed in Central Asia, where Chinese and non-Chinese peoples had significant interaction. I conclude, therefore, that the *Ocean Sūtra* could have been produced only in such a milieu and retains many traces of cross-cultural interactions in itself.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents ii

Figures iv

Tables xi

Acknowledgements xv

Conventions xviii

****

Introduction 1

I. Basic Information 24

1. Contents and Bibliographic Information on the *GSHJ* 25
2. A Survey of Related Texts 39
3. Divergent Theories on the Origin of the *GSHJ* 115
4. Calling to Mind, Seeing, and Visualizing the Buddha: Indian Background 125

II. Chinese Elements 185

1. Questionable Elements According to Tsukinowa 186
2. The Buddha's Bodily Marks 216
3. The Buddha Image Cave 263

III. Indian/Central Asian Elements 299

1. The "*Yogalehrbuch*" 300
2. The *Maitreyasiṃhanādasūtra* 353
3. The Buddha's Hidden Organ 377
4. Mural Paintings of Visualizing Monks at Toyok, Turfan 427

Conclusion 498

****

Appendices

1. The Correspondences among the *GYYJ* and Other Chinese Buddhist Texts 502

2. The Correspondences between the *GWSJ* and the *GSHJ* 508

3. The *Sūtra on the Major and Minor Bodily Marks of the Buddha* 513

4. An Edition of the *Sūtra on the Major and Minor Bodily Marks of the Buddha* 559

5. A Comparative Table of the Paintings and Texts Depicting the Scene of "Flying Monks" 577

****

Abbreviations 587

Bibliography 593

Figures

Section I.2.

Figure 1 — A drawing of the Cosmic Buddha Vairocana from Karashar. Seventh century. After Simone Gaulier, Robert Jera-Bezard and Monique Maillard 1976, 1: figure 38. 69

Figure 2 — A painting of people drowning(?) in the sea from Qizil. Ca. 500. After the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, p.75, figure 15. 70

Section II.2.

Figure 1 — A painting of knotted snakes in front of Garuḍa from Qizil. Ca. 650 C.E. After Simone Gaulier, Robert Jera-Bezard, and Monique Maillard 1976, 2: p.48; plate 94. 252

Figure 2 — A painting of Avalokiteśvara seated on a lotus throne that grows from the hourglass-shaped Sumeru Mountain, around which two nāgas are entangled. After ibid., 1: p.29; plate 66. 253

Figure 3 — Woolen tapestry caduceus carried by Hermes from Loulan. Third-fourth century C.E. Chh. Haesner 1987, p.105, figure 1. 254

Figure 4 — A painting of Fuxi 伏羲 and Nüwa 女媧 from Khocho. After the mid-seventh century. After Huang Wenbi [1957]1994, 87-90; plate 61. 255

Section II.3

Figure 1 — A map of the ruins in the Nagarahāra area. After Mizuno 1971, p.58, figure 24. 265

Figure 2 — A niche at Tepe-Shotor, Haḍḍa showing the scene of the subjugation of a nāga. Third-fourth century. After Gaulier, Jera-Bezard, and Maillard 1976, 2: figure 97. 276

Figure 3 A map of Jelālābād and Haḍḍa. After Mizuno 1967, p.33, figure 20. 277

Figure 4 A relief of a cave with an image of the Buddha (?). After Coomaraswamy 1935, plate 47. 279

Figure 5 A map of northwest India. After Kuwayama 1990, p.61, figure 23. 289

Section III.1

Figure 1 A Gandhāran relief of the new-born Śākyamuni being consecrated by Brahmā and Indra. Second to third century. After Miyaji [n.d.]1992b, p.218, figure 92. 310

Figure 2 A painting of a consecration scene in Baixihar Cave 3. Mid-ninth to twelfth century. Photo courtesy of Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt. 311

Figure 3 A painting of the Cosmic Buddha Vairocana at Dunhuang Mogao Cave 428. Latter sixth century. After Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 1980, plate 162. 319

Figure 4 A painting of fifty-two Buddhas on a tree. Late twelfth to early thirteenth century. After the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔, T *Zuzō* 4: plate 36 (between pp.464-65). 324

Figure 5 A Tibetan painting of an "assemblage tree." After Tanaka 1993, p.182, figure 12. 327

Figure 6 A painting of a tree growing from a burning pond in Toyok Cave 20. Part of Zhongguo Meishu 1989, figure 194. 333

Figure 7 A sketch of a painting of a child in a flower in Toyok Cave 42. After Miyaji 1996, p.66, figure 27. 334

Figure 8 Gandhāran stelae of the Buddha meditating in Indra's cave. After Miyaji [1988-89]1992, p.439, figures 254 (right) and 255 (left). 336

Figure 9 A niche for a statue representing the Buddha meditating in Indra's cave.

In Qizil Cave 80. After Shinkyō Uiguru 1984, plate 43. 337

Figure 10 A Niche for a statue representing the Buddha meditating in Indra's cave. In Qizil Cave 171. After Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, plate 2. 338

Figure 11 A sketch of a *kūṭāgāra*. After Bollee 1986, 196. 341

Figure 12 Hōrōkaku mandara 寶樓閣曼荼羅 included in the *Daigobon zuzō* 醍醐本圖像. After T *Zuzō* 4:34, plate 21. 344

Figure 13 A Tibetan painting of the Wheel of Dependent Origination. After Mainichi Communications 1983, figure *tsu* ツ 70. 348

Section III.3

Figure 1 A relief at Ellora Cave 16 representing Śiva emerging from the cosmic *liṅga*. Eighth century. After Tachikawa et al. 1980, plate 67. 391

Figure 2 Buddha represented as a fiery pillar Coomaraswamy [1935]1979, plate II, figure 6. 393

Figure 3 A statue of ithyphallic Śiva. Thirteenth century. After Tachikawa et al. 1980, plate 69. 395

Figure 4 A painting of ithyphallic Śiva found at Dandān-Oilik, Khotan. Mu Shunying, Qi Xiaoshan, and Zhang Ping 1994, plate 173. 396

Figure 5 A painting of ithyphallic Śiva at Dunhuang Mogao Cave 285. After Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 1980, plate 119. 398

Figure 6 A painting of Mount Meru encircled by nāgas at Qizil Cave 118. Ca. 500 C.E. After Gaulier, Jera-Bezard, Maillard 1976, 2: plate 102. 404

Figure 7 A symbolic representation of Mount Sumeru encircled by two nāgas. Part of Mu, Qi, and Zhang 1994, plate 180. 405

Figure 8	A painting of a nāga encircling the Buddha at Qizil Cave 80. Part of Shinkyō Uiguru 1984, plate 57.	407
Figure 9	A painting of a nāga encircling the Buddha at Qizil Cave186. Ca. seventh century. Part of Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, plate 52.	408
Figure 10	A painting of a nāga encircling the Buddha at Qizil Cave 196. Ca. seventh century. Part of Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, plate 95.	409
Figure 11	A painting of a meditating monk looking at snakes on a tree. Part of Shinkyō Uiguru 1984, plate 17.	410
Figure 12	A painting of four snakes in front of the Buddha. Part of Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, plate 97.	411
Figure 13	Rock carvings of ithyphallic men in the Tianshan range. Ca. 1,000 B.C.E. After Wang Binghua 1990, p.16, figure 7.	423
Figure 14	An octagonal sūtra pillar from Khocho, Turfan. Mid-fifth century. After Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, p.65, plate 7.	425

Section III.4

Figure 1	A plan of Toyok Caves 40-42. After Albert Grünwedel 1912, p.327, figure 658.	433
Figure 2	Paintings on the right wall of Toyok Cave 42. Picture taken by the author on May 7, 1996.	434
Figure 3	Paintings on the right wall of Toyok Cave 42. Picture taken by the author on May 7, 1996.	434
Figure 4	A painting of demons. Painting II.1 in Cave 42. Picture taken by the author on May 7, 1996.	435
Figure 5	A sketch of painting II.1 in Cave 42. Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.29, figure 13.	435

Figure 6 A painting of a demon (sketch). Painting III'.1 in Cave 42. Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14. 436

Figure 7 Paintings of burning jewels (sketch). Paintings I.6 and I.7 in Cave 42. After Miyaji 1996, p.58, figure 17. 442

Figure 8 A painting of a burning jewel (sketch). Painting II'.6 in Cave 42. Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14. 442

Figure 9 Fragments of a painting of burning jewel from Toyok Cave IV.vii (Stein's numbering). Part of Fred H. Andrews 1948, plate 9. 443

Figure 10 A painting of a child in a flower (sketch). Painting II'.8 in Cave 42. After Miyaji 1996, p.66, figure 27. 446

Figure 11 A painting of a child in a flower in Dunhuang Cave 220. Part of Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 1981, plate 24. 447

Figure 12 Paintings II'.4-8 in Toyok Cave 42 (sketch). Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14. 449

Figure 13 A painting of a burning house and a painting of musical instruments (sketch). Paintings I.3-4 in Cave 42. After Miyaji 1996, p.63, figure 24. 451

Figure 14 A painting of a house (sketch). Painting II'.3 in Cave 42. Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14. 451

Figure 15 Paintings of ponds and musical instruments (sketch). Paintings I.1-2 in Cave 42. Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.29, figure 13. 454

Figure 16 A painting of ponds in Dunhuang Cave 45. Part of Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 1981, plate 138. 455

Figure 17 A painting of a nimbus and a mandorla without a statue (sketch). Painting II'.1 in Cave 42. After Miyaji 1996, p.54, figure 11. 456

Figure 18	A painting of a bowl covered with a cloth (sketch). Painting II'.2 in Cave 42. Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14.	457
Figure 19	A plan of a large temple complex on the western cliff of the river containing Cave 20 and Stein Cave VI.vii. After Stein 1928, 3:27.	460
Figure 20	A plan of Cave 20. After Miyaji 1995b, p.15, figure 1.	461
Figure 21	Paintings on the left wall of Cave 20. After Miyaji 1995b, plate 2.	462
Figure 22	A sketch of the paintings on the left wall of Cave 20. After Miyaji 1995b, plate 3.	462
Figure 23	A painting of a burning tree (sketch). Painting II.5 in Cave 20. Part of Miyaji 1996, p.56, figure 13.	463
Figure 24	A painting of a tree growing from a burning pond. Painting II.3 in Cave 20. Part of Zhongguo Meishu 1989, figure 194.	466
Figure 25	A sketch of painting II.3 in Cave 20. Part of Miyaji 1996, p.56, figure 13.	466
Figure 26	A painting of flowers with strips. Part of Miyaji 1996, p.55, figure 12.	467
Figure 27	A painting of a flower tree with banners. Painting III.3 in Cave 20. Part of Zhongguo Meishu 1989, figure 194.	468
Figure 28	A painting of a flower tree with banners (sketch). Painting III.3 in Cave 20. Part of Miyaji 1996, p.56, figure 13.	468
Figure 29	A painting of a baby in a lotus flower (sketch). Painting III.4 in Cave 20. After Miyaji 1996, p.67, figure 28.	470
Figure 30	A painting of a jewel ground with burning jewels (sketch). Painting II.4 in Cave 20. After Miyaji 1996, p.60, figure 19.	472
Figure 31	Paintings of water going up trees (sketch). Painting III.1 and the one on the rear wall of Cave 20. After Miyaji 1996, p.62, figures 22 and 23.	473

Figure 32 A painting of flowers growing in a pond (sketch). Painting II.3 in Cave 20. Part of Miyaji 1996, p.55, figure 12. 474

Figure 33 A painting of a tower with musical instruments (sketch). Painting II.1 of Cave 20. Part of Miyaji 1995b, plate 3. 475

Figure 34 Paintings of flying monks (sketch). Paintings I.1-9 in Cave 20. After Miyaji 1996, p.46, figure 7a. 477

Figure 35 Paintings on the right wall of Cave 20. After Miyaji 1996, plate 2 477

Figure 36 A sketch of the paintings on the right wall of Cave 20. After Miyaji 1995b, p.28, figure 16. 478

Figure 37 A painting of flying monks in Qizil Cave 224. Part of Zhongguo Meishu 1989, plate 112. 479

Tables

Section I.1.

Table 1	Table of contents of the *GSHJ*.	25

Section I.2.

Table 1	Table of contents of the *YL*.	64
Table 2	Table of contents of the *YBhB*.	72
Table 3	Table of contents of the *ZSJ*.	77
Table 4	Table of contents of the *CY*.	81
Table 5	Table of contents of the *SLF*.	85
Table 6	Table of contents of the *WCYF*.	86
Table 7	Table of contents of the *Guanjing*.	90
Table 8	Comparison between the *WCYF* and the *CMJ*.	92
Table 9	Table of the hypothetically reconstructed original contents of the *WCYF*.	92
Table 10	Table of contents of a Mongolian meditation manual, the *Diyan-u δoul udqa kiged, bisil-δalqu-yin jang üile-yi üneger üjügülügδi kemegdekü orusibai*.	94
Table 11	Table of contents of the *CMJ*.	100
Table 12	Table of contents of the *ZCMF*.	108

Section II.1.

Table 1 A list of the words in the *GSHJ* that Tsukinowa Kenryū finds questionable. 187

Table 2 A list of expressions in the *GSHJ* that Tsukinowa considers to be borrowings from other Chinese Buddhist texts. 202

Table 3 A table of expressions corresponding to *weisu sanmei* 惟無三昧. 210

Section II.2.

Table 1 The first list of the objects of visualization given in Chapter 2 of the *GSHJ*. 217

Table 2 The second list of the objects of visualization given in Chapter 2 of the *GSHJ*. 221

Table 3 The first part of the third list of the objects of visualization given in Chapter 2 of the *GSHJ*. 223

Table 4 The second part of the third list of the objects of visualization given in Chapter 2 of the *GSHJ*. 232

Table 5 The possible sources of the *GSHJ* in regard to the Buddha's bodily marks. 234

Section II.3.

Table 1 Comparison of the passages on the Buddha's travel to northwest India from the *GSHJ* and the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. 287

Table 2 Comparison of the sites associated with Jātaka stories in the *GSHJ*, the *Faxian zhuan*, the record of Daorong, and the *XYJ*. 293

Section III.2

Table 1	Comparison of the passages on "seeing the Buddha" from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *MSNS*, and the *GSHJ*.	365

Section III.4

Table 1	The arrangement of the paintings in Cave 20.	486
Table 2	The arrangement of the paintings in Dunhuang Cave 431.	487

Appendix 1

Table	A comparison between the *GYYJ* and other Chinese meditation texts.	502

Appendix 2

Table	A comparison between the *GWSJ* and the *GSHJ*.	508

Appendix 3

Table 1	A comparison between the *XJ* and the *GSHJ*.	520
Table 2	A comparison between the *XJ* and the *DZL*.	546
Table 3	A comparison among the *GSHJ*, the *XJ*, and the *CMJ*.	547
Table 4	A comparison among the *GSHJ*, the *XJ*, and the *DZL*.	548
Table 5	A comparison between the *XJ* and the *Xianghao zan*.	553

Appendix 4
Table A Comparative Table of the Paintings and Texts Depicting the Scene of "Flying Monks" 577

Acknowledgements

Support for this study was received from many individuals and institutions. The acknowledgements that follow are organized chronologically. However, the depth of my gratitude to all those who have kindly supported my work is beyond measure.

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to the Venerable Tanaka Shinkai 田中真海. It is difficult to express properly how helpful he was during the years of my youth. Without his guidance, my present career as a Buddhist researcher would have been entirely impossible. I have very fond memories of the two years I spent at Otani University and would particularly like to thank Professors Kaginushi Ryōkei 鍵主良敬 and Miyashita Seiki 宮下晴輝. Professor Kaginushi introduced me to the teachings of Yogācāra, a subject that continues to occupy a central place in my study of Buddhism. Professor Miyashita generously gave of his time to instruct me in the study of Sanskrit. Without his lessons, I would never have dreamed of working on Indian Buddhist texts. I benefitted greatly from the years I spent in the graduate program at Osaka University. Professor Aramaki Noritoshi 荒牧典俊 was a constant source of valuable information and inspiration. His teachings provided me with the philological and analytical skills necessary to approach Yogācāra philosophy from the point of view of the foregoing meditative traditions. His scholarship paved the way for my present dissertation research. Professor Kaji Nobuyuki 加地伸行 has been, and continues to be, an important mentor since my days at Osaka University. I have benefitted greatly from both his serious approach to scholarship and the kindness he has extended to me.

The years I spent at Yale Graduate School introduced an entirely new set of challenges to my life and allowed me to broaden my perspective on many subjects, both scholarly and personal. Specifically, I would have never thought of working on narrative

stories or Buddhist art, and thus the type of work I am presenting in this dissertation would never have been possible, had it not been for the contacts I made while studying at Yale. I would like to express my gratitude first to my advisor at Yale, Professor Stanley Weinstein. Without his meticulous supervision and generous support, this dissertation project would have been entirely impossible. His critique of my "Yogācāra-only" attitude was a bitter medicine at first, but ultimately helped me to see many of my own intellectual and academic biases from a new perspective. Professor Stanley Insler has patiently guided me through the immense world of Sanskrit literature. Professor Valerie Hansen kindly included me in her Silk Road Project and provided me with the opportunity to join her field trip to Turfan in 1996. Professors Jonathan Silk and Ronald Davidson have generously shared with me their profound knowledge of Buddhist literature. I am also very grateful to my colleagues at Yale, Anne Lazrove, Elissa Cohen, Richard Jaffee, and Morten Schlütter, for their patient assistance with my insufficient English. Further, I must not fail to mention my generous landlord and good friends, Willits Sawyer and Marie Matherson. Without their friendly support, my life in New Haven would have been much more difficult.

My dissertation project was carried over into Kyūshū Ryūkoku Junior College, where I received my first full-time teaching appointment. I thank all my colleagues here, particularly those in the Buddhist Studies program, for their understanding and support of my work. Among the people who have supported my research from outside of Kyūshū Ryūkoku, I cannot miss the names of Professor Robert Kritzer, who has generously checked my English, and Professor Harada Wasō 原田和宗, who has freely shared his knowledge and expertise with me. I am also very grateful to Professors Miyaji Akira 宮治昭, Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明, and Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt for kindly allowing me to use their pictures in my dissertation.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Yamabe Hitoji 山部人道 and Chikako 千嘉子, for their understanding and support throughout these years. My becoming a Buddhist

researcher might not have been exactly what they wanted me to do, but they have generously allowed me to pursue what I have undertaken. Further, I express my deep gratitude to my uncle and aunt, Yamabe Kaoru 山部馨 and Yayoi 八生, and my grandmother, Tahara Hide 田原秀, for their spiritual and material support during my days in America. It is my greatest regret that my grandmother passed away last year, and so I could not report the much-awaited completion of my dissertation to her while she was still with us.

*A slightly modified version of Section III.1 has been recehtly published as Yamabe 1999. Further, an earlier version of Section III.4 is included in the proceedings of the Silk Road Project as Yamabe 1998.

Conventions

(1) References to Sanskrit and Pāli texts include page and, when necessary, line numbers separated by a period (e.g. 158.7). References to volume numbers, if necessary, precede page numbers by a colon (e.g., 2:135.8). In the case of Pāli texts, I add the serial number in the PTS edition in brackets after the page reference (e.g., 3:25 [No.23]). References to the canto/chapter and verse numbers include the canto/chapter number in Roman numerals with the verse number in Arabic numerals, separated by a period (e.g., X.31). References to section numbers are indicated individually.

(2) Quotations from the "*Yogalehrbuch*" (*YL*)[1] are from the edition found in Schlingloff 1964a. In his edition, Schlingloff uses brackets to set off partly damaged letters and parentheses to indicate letters that he has supplied. See ibid., p.58. In this dissertation, I follow the same convention.

More hypothetical restorations are given in footnotes in his edition. In this dissertation I add these hypothetical restorations to the quoted text in italics. Textual corruption and spelling irregularities are also corrected in the footnotes of his edition. I follow these corrections silently unless I find them problematic. Translations of restored parts are also put in parentheses. Brackets in the translations indicate my supplements (therefore brackets in the translation do not correspond to those in the Sanskrit text). In the original edition, the number of dots was used to suggest the approximate number of lost letters, but I have ignored this convention and have uniformly used three dots to indicate missing text. Therefore, in the quotations in this dissertation, the number of dots should not be taken to represent the length of lost text. Also it should be noted that, unless otherwise stated, the three dots in quotations from the *YL* do not indicate my own

1 This title will be discussed in Section I.2 of this dissertation.

omissions.

References to the *YL* will be given in this dissertation based on page and line numbers of Schlingloff 1964a.

(3) In the quotations from the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, I ignore the critical apparatus (including the parentheses indicating supplemented parts) added to Waldschmidt's edition. Since this edition is widely available, I believe reproducing all the critical apparatus only makes the quotations complicated more than necessary.

(4) Only when I use more than one edition for the same text, do I indicate the edition used each time.

(5) Due to my limited access to the Tibetan canon, it is difficult to use one version of the canon throughout. If there is an edited version, I usually use that. Otherwise, I use mainly the Ōtani photoreprint of the Peking edition or the woodblock printing of the Lhasa edition (the latter is kept at the Beinnecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University). For this reason, I specify the edition used every time.

(5) References to Chinese sources are in principle to the Taishō canon. It should be noted that I count the lines as if all the columns uniformly consisted of 29 lines. This method is convenient when one wishes to count, for example, the 27th line from the end of the column.

(6) Transcription of Chinese words in principle indicate modern pronunciation. When I need to give ancient pronunciation, they are marked so individually.

(7) Unless otherwise indicated, I quote from non-English secondary sources

(Japanese, French, and so forth) in my own translation.

(8) Due to the limitations of my wordprocessing program (WordPerfect), I have been unable to include footnotes in tables. For this reason, annotations to tables appear at the end of each chapter. I apologize for any inconvenience this may cause the reader.

Introduction

This dissertation is a thorough philological examination of a unique meditation text in the Chinese Buddhist canon, the *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 (*The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha*, T15:645c-97a [No.643], *GSHJ*). According to traditional sources, the text of the *GSHJ* was allegedly translated (from an Indian original) into Chinese by Buddhabhadra in the early fifth century. Although it remains a relatively unknown text in contemporary Buddhist studies, I believe that it holds the key to several important issues in Buddhist history. If we can successfully analyze this text, a vast unvisited world may open to us.

There are several characteristic aspects of the text that are likely to draw the attention of students of Buddhology. The most prominent feature of the *GSHJ* is that it gives pictorial instructions on visualizing the various parts of Śākyamuni Buddha's body interwoven with many unusual narratives. For the reader, the *GSHJ* has a very disorganized structure yet is filled with dramatic elements that make for interesting reading.[1] However, as in the case of the *Guan Wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 (*The Sūtra on the Visualization of Amitāyus*, T12:340c-46b [No.365] *GWSJ*), another visualization sūtra very important in East Asian Pure Land traditions, the geographical origin of the *GSHJ* is unclear and remains an issue of dispute. Since the *GWSJ* and the *GSHJ* are very closely related, it should be possible to discuss the origin of the *GWSJ* on a more solid basis if we can clarify the background of the *GSHJ*. More importantly, by carefully analyzing the *GSHJ*, we should be able to clarify the formative process of some exceptional texts that I might call "hybrid-apocrypha," which are represented by the *GSHJ* and the *GWSJ*, but

1. Cf. "The *sūtra* is full of strange details and unfamiliar emphases that suggest the confused and exotic intellectual background" (Alexander C. Soper 1959, 185).

which may well include several other important texts.[2]

On the most fundamental level this dissertation seeks to establish the thesis that the *GSHJ* was a cross-cultural product compiled in Central Asia. Despite the apparent simplicity of this argument, I should point out that it rests upon the resolution of several complex philological issues. First, if I can put it in a little exaggerated way, when scholars discuss texts of questionable origin in the Chinese Buddhist canon, their arguments tend to be "either-or" arguments. If a text is not found to be a genuine Indian text, it is automatically considered to be a Chinese apocryphal text. Consequently, that text is considered important to the study of Chinese religious culture, but is excluded from the investigation of Indian religion. In many cases this approach is justified, but I believe that in the case of the *GSHJ*, this approach is far from sufficient. Although I take the position that the *GSHJ* was originally written in Chinese, it is important to point out that it contains many distinctly Indian elements. It is of course natural that even apocryphal texts contain many Indian names and concepts, but in the case of the *GSHJ*, the text contains the type of information that could not have been available to its compiler(s)/author(s) through standard Chinese sources (especially on Hinduism). Accordingly, we need to treat the *GSHJ* more as a cross-cultural product (in other words, a "hybrid-apocryphal" text), and therefore, we have to take both Indian and Chinese sides into consideration in order to fully understand the provenance of this text. Thus, the Indian background of the *GSHJ* and the Chinese elements in the text will become two main issues to be explored in the course of this dissertation.

Further, we need to consider where such a Indo-Chinese[3] hybrid text could have

---

2. The meaning of the term, "hybrid apocrypha," will be discussed in the next paragraph. In this dissertation I shall focus my attention on the *GSHJ*. In my opinion, however, the category of "hybrid apocrypha" probably includes the *GWSJ*, several other texts discussed in Section I.2 of this dissertation, and the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 (T4:349a-445a [No.202], *XYJ*).

3. Throughout this dissertation, the term "Indo-Chinese" is used in its literal sense and should not be mistaken for the term "Indochina" (i.e., Vietnam, etc.).

been compiled. I believe Central Asia was the only possible place. The importance of Central Asia in Buddhist transmission is frequently mentioned in scholarly writings, and people often suspect the Central Asian provenance of some obscure Buddhist texts, including the visualization sūtras, but their arguments do not always seem to be based on specific reasons. I shall attempt to link the *GSHJ* to Central Asia based on both textual and artistic evidence whenever possible. Thus the Central Asian origins of the *GSHJ* will be the third major issue to be addressed by this dissertation.

a. Basic Structure of the Dissertation

The structure of the dissertation will generally follow the three topics mentioned above (for the titles of the individual chapters, the reader is referred to the table of contents). In practice the three topics are closely interconnected, and it is not always easy to clearly separate them. In particular, Indian and Central Asian elements will have to be discussed in close conjunction. Consequently, the main portion of this dissertation will be divided into the following three large sections: (I) Basic Information; (II) Chinese Elements; and (III) Indian/Central Asian Elements.

In Section One, "Basic Information," I shall (1) first briefly describe the contents of the *GSHJ* and give basic bibliographic information on the text. (2) Then other meditative texts directly relevant to the *GSHJ* will be discussed in some detail. Since the background of many of these texts is obscure, this discussion will take some space. (3) Further, I shall have to review previous arguments on the origin of the *GSHJ*, which include the Gandhāran theory, the Chinese theory, the Central Asian theory, and the compilation theory. (4) Finally, I shall attempt to trace the three key concepts of the *GSHJ* ("calling the Buddha to mind," "seeing the Buddha," and "visualizing the Buddha") back to the Indian contexts and thereby clarify the Indian background of this text.

As for here "Chinese" primarily means either that the *GSHJ* contains linguistic misunderstandings only possible in the Chinese language, that it contains passages clearly based on other Chinese Buddhist texts, or that the information in the *GSHJ* is not based on first-hand knowledge of Indian matters. In addition, some elements of indigenous Chinese culture reflected in the *GSHJ* will also be discussed.

In Section Two, "Chinese Elements,", (1) we must first examine the many questionable elements of the *GSHJ* pointed out by Tsukinowa Kenryū. Tsukinowa's study is the most detailed and critical work on the *GSHJ* to date, and our investigation must start with a careful examination of his important contribution.

(2) Then the highly unusual list of the Buddha's bodily marks in the *GSHJ* will be discussed. Since the *GSHJ* is essentially a text on visualizing the bodily marks of the Buddha, this list occupies a cardinal position in the whole sūtra. I shall attempt to demonstrate that this important list is in fact an amalgamation of elements taken from several different Chinese texts, most notably from the texts translated by Kumārajīva and Dharmakṣema probably just before the compilation of the *GSHJ*. Further, in the appendix attached to this chapter, a chanting manual based on the list of the bodily marks of the *GSHJ* will be introduced as an example of the later usage of this text.

(3) Next, "The Buddha Image Cave,"[4] a famous pilgrimage spot in northwest India, will be discussed. The detailed description of this site in the *GSHJ* was one of the main reasons why some scholars argued for a Gandhāran origin of the text. It will be argued, however, that the description of the cave in the *GSHJ* contradicts the records of Chinese pilgrims and thus in fact this point speaks for the non-Indian origin of the text.

The difficulty (and the attraction) of this text is that, in spite of these clearly non-Indian elements, the *GSHJ* suggests direct link to Indian or Central Asian traditions in many points. This is the topic of the next section, (III) Indian/Central Asian Elements.

---

4. Foying ku 佛影窟. The exact meaning of this term will be discussed in Section II.3.

(1) First, we should note that many of the visionary images in this sūtra are very similar to the ones in a Sanskrit meditation manual excavated in Central Asia but was apparently never translated into Chinese.

(2) Another interesting point is that the description of the visualization technique in the *GSHJ* is significantly similar to that in the *Maitreyasiṃhanādasūtra*, which was translated into Chinese after the *GSHJ*. Therefore, if these texts were directly related, they must have had some contact outside the Chinese Buddhist world.

(3) Further, the very peculiar stories in this sūtra on the Buddha's hidden male organ are among the best examples that demonstrate the hybrid nature of this text. While the Buddha's hidden male organ itself is a common Buddhist motif, it is clear that the basic motifs of these strange stories are influenced by Shaivite phallicism (which is not mentioned in Chinese sources). At the same time, here again, many passages in the stories are very likely lifted from Chinese texts.

(5) Artistic evidence is also very important for our discussion. In this chapter, I shall focus on the mural paintings in the Turfan area that depict the scenes of visualization.

b. Development of Visualization in India

In the remaining portion of this chapter, I would like to elaborate on the three major topics of this dissertation (Indian background, Chinese elements, and Central Asian connection) from slightly different angles.

Let us survey the Indian background of the *GSHJ* first. As the title indicates, the primary purport of the *GSHJ* is to teach a method of meditation/visualization[5] and thus it

5. As we shall discuss later, this point is not without question. The *GSHJ* is in fact filled with so many narratives that it is possible to suspect that this may have been a text for story-telling put in the framework of visualization methods. Nevertheless, here I follow the "face value" of the title.

might at first seem comparable to the early well-known meditative sūtras, such as the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* (*The Large Sūtra on the Application of Mindfulness*) of the *Dīghanikāya* (*DN*, 2:290-315 [No.22]). In fact, however, the *GSHJ* and these early meditation texts are very different in nature. The *GSHJ* is a relatively late text and presupposes a long history of development in the methods of Buddhist meditation. The *GSHJ* is not entirely separated from earlier traditions of Buddhist meditation, and there is certainly continuity between the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-sūtra* and the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, it is also true that the impressions we get from the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-sūtra* and the *GSHJ* are entirely different.

Then how can we fill the wide gap between the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* and the *GSHJ*? The history of Buddhist meditation is a complex topic, and I cannot treat it in full detail at this juncture. Instead, I would like to outline only two lines of general developments that connect the early methods of meditation as found in the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* with those taught in the *GSHJ*.

First, see the following passage from the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* (*DN*, 2:295 [No.6-97.19]):[6]

> Further, O monks, for example, if a mank were to see a body abandoned in a charnel-ground, one day, two days, or three days after the death, swollen, blue, with pus, he should meditate on the body [of his own], thinking: "This body also has indeed such a nature, such existence, and not free from such [destiny]." . . .
>
> Further, O monks, for example, if a monk were to see a body abandoned in a charnel-ground, a skeleton with flesh and blood joined together by tendons, a skeleton without flesh but smeared with blood joined together by tendons, a skeleton without flesh or blood joined together by tendons, bones without connection scattered in the directions and sub-directions, the hand-bone, the foot-bone, the lower-leg bone, the thigh-bone,

---

6. Since the most parts of this dissertation consist of detailed textual comparisons, in principle I quote the original texts in the main body so that one can more easily compare the texts. Nevertheless, in the introduction and the following two introductory chapters (Section I.1-2), I quote all the original passages in footnotes in order to make these introductory sections more readable.

A full translation of and introduction to the *Mahā-satipaṭṭāna-sutta* is found in Nyanaponika Thera [1962]1983, 1-135.

> the waist-bone, the back-bone, and the skull all separately, he meditates on the body [of his own], thinking: "This body also has indeed such a nature, such existence, and not free from such [a destiny]." . . .
>
> Further, O monks, for example, if a monk were to see a body abandoned in a charnel-ground, white bones like the color of a conch-shell, piled-up bones, one-year-old rotten bones that have become powders. He meditates on the body [of his own], thinking: "This body indeed has such a nature, such existence, and not free from such [destiny]."[7]

These are vivid visual images, and one may well call this practice "visualization." We should, however, note two points here. (1) First, a concrete method of visualizing these images is not provided. It is not clear whether the practitioner needs to see a corpse literally or simply imagining various stages of decomposition in meditation is sufficient. (2) Second, these visual images are clearly intended to remove the attachment to human bodies (especially of the opposite sex). The message is very straightforward, and there is nothing esoteric or symbolic in these descriptions.

Later texts show significant development on both counts.

(1) First, in later meditation manuals, the method of grasping and holding on to visual images of the decomposing corpse in one's mind comes to be described in greater detail. (2) Second, many esoteric/symbolic visual images are introduced into the contexts of meditation.

As for the first point, see, for example, the following account from the *Visuddhimagga* (*The Path for the Purity*), a fifth century work by Buddhaghosa (Warren

---

7. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya chaḍḍitaṃ ekāhamataṃ vā dvīhamataṃ vā tīhamataṃ vā uddhumātakaṃ vinīlakaṃ vipubbaka-jātaṃ, so imam eva kāyaṃ upasaṃharati: "Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ anatīto ti." . . .

Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya chaḍḍitaṃ aṭṭhi-saṃkhalikaṃ sa-maṃsa-lohitaṃ nahāru-sambandham, . . . pe . . . aṭṭhi-saṃkhalikaṃ nimmaṃsaṃ lohitamakkhitaṃ nahāru-sambandhaṃ, . . . pe . . . aṭṭhi-saṃkhalikaṃ apagata-maṃsa-lohitaṃ nahāru-sambandhaṃ . . . pe . . . aṭṭikāni apagata-sambandhāni disā-vidisāsu vikkhittāni aññena hattaṭṭhikaṃ aññena pādaṭṭikaṃ aññena jaṅghaṭṭikaṃ aññena ūraṭṭhikaṃ aññena kaṭaṭṭhikaṃ aññena piṭṭhi-kaṇṭakaṃ aññnena sīsa-kaṭāhaṃ, so imam eva kāyaṃ upasaṃharati: " Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ anatīto ti." . . .

Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya-chaḍḍitaṃ aṭṭhikāni setāni saṅkha-vaṇṇūpanibhāni, . . . pe . . . aṭṭhikāni puñjakitāni terovassikāni, . . . pe . . . aṭṭhikāni pūtīni cuṇṇaka-jātāni, so imam eva kāyaṃ upasaṃharati: "Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ anatīto ti."

ed., 151.31-52.4):[8]

> The *yogin* should grasp the image well by means of the aforementioned [manner] of grasping images. Having made the mindfulness fast, he should contemplate [the image]. Doing this way again and again, he should contemplate and determine it well. Standing or sitting in a place not too far from or too close to the body, he should open the eyes, look at [the body; *oloketvā*], and grasp the image (*nimittam ganhitabbam*). He should open [the eyes] and look at (*oloketabbam*) a swollen disagreeable [body] as a swollen disagreeable [body] one hundred times or one thousand times, [then] shut [the eyes] and contemplate [it].[9]
>
> Doing so again and again, the image to be grasped becomes well-grasped. When does that become well-grasped? If [the image] appears in a similar way when one is looking at [it] (*olokentassa*) with one's eyes open or when one is contemplating [it] with eyes closed, then it is called "well-grasped."[10]

We should note that this type of "grasping image" method is also stipulated in the context of *aśubhā* (meditation on corpse) in a nearly contemporary Sanskrit meditation text, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (*The Stage of Śrāvakas*; Shukla ed., 416.4-13):

> Go to a charnel ground and so forth and grasp an image (*nimittam udgṛhāna*) from a blue [corpse] up to [the image] of bones or skeletons. If not, grasp an image (*nimittam udgṛhāṇa*) from a charnel ground in an painting or made of wood, stone, or mud. Having grasped [it], come back to the place of residence. Having come back, being in the wilderness, under a tree, or in an empty house, sit on a couch, seat, or a bed of grass. Having crossed the legs and having washed the feet, having put the body straight, making the mindfulness present in front, sitting, first tie the mindfulness to

8. A Japanese translation is found in Ishiguro 1936, 326-27.

9. The corresponding element in the *Vimuttimagga* is as follows: 去曼陀羅不遠不近，如輒如尋遠．應安坐具對曼陀羅結跏趺坐．令身平正．内心起念閉眼小時．除身心亂，攝一切心成一．心小開眼．彷彿令觀曼陀羅．(T32:413b). Note that *okokettabbañ* is translated as *guan* 觀.

10. Tena yoginā tasmiṃ sarīre yathāvuttanimittaggāhavasena suṭṭhu nimittaṃ gaṇhitabbaṃ, satiṃ supaṭṭhitaṃ katvā āvajjitabbaṃ; evaṃ punappunaṃ karontena sādhukaṃ upadhāretabbañ c'eva vavatthapetabbañ ca. Sarīrato nātidūre naccāsanne padese ṭhitena vā nisinnena vā cakkhuṃ ummīletvā oloketvā nimittaṃ gaṇhitabbaṃ. (1) Uddhumātakapaṭikkūlaṃ (2) uddhumātakapaṭikkūlan ti satakkhattuṃ sahassakkhattuṃ (1) ummīletvā oloketabbaṃ, (2) nimīletvā āvajjitabbaṃ.

Evaṃ punappunaṃ karontassa uggahanimittaṃ sugahitaṃ hoti. Kadā sugahitṃ hoti? Yadā ummīletvā olokentassa nimīletvā āvajjentassa ca ekasadisaṃ hutvā āpāthaṃ āgacchati, tadā sugahitaṃ nāma hoti.

> the one-pointedness and the non-distraction of mind, . . .[11]

Therefore, we notice that this kind of technique was used both in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhism. For our present purpose, the Sanskrit traditions are more directly relevant.[12]

Also, in this quotation, the use of paintings or statues are mentioned clearly for the purpose of visualization.

This type of visualization practice also comes to involve more esoteric-looking images. See, for example, the following line from the *Wumen chanjing yaoyong fa* 五門禪經要用法 compiled in the fifth century (*The Essence of the Meditation Manual Consisting of Five Gates*, T15:326c9-11 [No.619], *WCYF*):

> Then one further fixes the mind on the white bone. One sees by oneself a bright star (*mingxing* 明星)[13] appearing on the bone. There are golden balls on the four corners. The star is the cognitive object of brightness, and the golden balls are the cognitive objects of wisdom. [When one sees] twenty-five [stars?], it is called the completion of the visualization of white bones.[14]

Such images as "a bright star" or "golden balls" are very different from the

---

11. śmaśānādim (text *-dy*) upasaṃkramya vinīlakād vā nimittam udgṛhāṇa / yāvad asthīnām vā asthiśaṃkalikānām vā no cec chmaśānād api tu citrakṛtād vā kāṣṭhāśmaśādakṛtād (text *kāṣṭhaśmaśāna-*) vā nimittam udgṛhāṇa udgṛhya śayanāsanam (text *śayanāsanāsanam*) upasaṃkrama, upasaṃkramyāraṇyagato vā vṛkṣamūlagato vā śūnyāgāragato vā maṃce vā pīṭhe vā tṛṇasaṃstarake vā niṣīda / paryaṅkam ābhujya pādau prakṣālya ṛjuṃ kāyaṃ praṇidhāya pratimukhām smṛtim upasthāpya niṣadya tatprathamata ekāgratāyāṃ cittāvikṣepe smṛtyupanibandhaṃ kuru, . . .

Text is emended according to Schmithausen1982, 63 and my own understanding.

12. There is a very similar passage also in the **Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā* (*Apidamo Dapiposa lun*) 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 T27:205b14-19 (No.1545], *AMV*).

13. *Mingxing* literally means "bright star," but in some context it also means Venus in the morning. See *Hanzi dacidian* 2:2990.

14. 復更係心白骨. 自見骨上有明星出. 四邊有金丸. 星者明淨境界, 金丸者智慧境界. 二十五此名白骨境界滿也.

The last sentence literally means, "This is the completion of [visualization of] white bones [as meditative objects]."

straightforward images of the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭāna-sutta*. They must symbolize something, but the precise significance is unclear.

These two developments, namely the establishment of a concrete technique of visualization (taking an external image into one's mind and meditating on it) and the esotericization of meditation, are very important and seen in other areas of meditation as well.

A further example of the technique of visualization can be found in the *Visuddhimagga*. These instructions concern the famous *kasiṇa* practice[15] (100.32-102.10):

> When one prepares for meditation, one should stretch the [movable *kasiṇa*] on the ground and look at it (*oloketabbaṃ*).
>
> . . . Having rubbed the [ground] with a stone spoon and made it flat like the surface of a drum, having swept the place and having bathed, come and be seated on a well-spread seat with four legs of one *vidatthi* (hand) four *aṅgulas* (fingers) long at the designated place two and a half cubits away from the *kasiṇamaṇḍala*. . . .
>
> . . . one opens the eyes in a balanced way, one should practice the grasping of the image.
>
> The reason for this is, if one opens [the eyes] too widely, the eye is tired, and the circle (*maṇḍala*) is too clear, and thus the image does not arise. If one opens [the eyes] too little, the circle is not clear, and the mind becomes sluggish. In this way also the image does not arise. Therefore, as if seeing the image of [one's own] face on the surface of a mirror, one should open the eyes in the balanced way and practice the grasping of the image.
>
> . . . One should contemplate the image, sometimes with [the eyes] open, sometimes with [the eyes] shut. As long as a grasped image does not arise, one should practice according to this method, for a hundred times, a thousand times, or even more.
>
> To a person practicing this way, when he shuts [the eyes] and is contemplating [the image, the image] appears as when [the eyes] are open, then it is said that a grasped image has arisen. Once [the image] arises, one should not be seated in that place. One should enter his own residence and practice there seated. . . . Then, if the tender *samādhi* disappears by some hindrance, one should wear sandals, hold a walking stick, and go to that place. [One should then] take the image (*nimittaṃ ādāya*), come back, be seated comfortably and practice . . .
>
> For the person who is doing this way, gradually the obstructions are

---

15. *Kasiṇa* corresponds to Skt. *kṛtsnāyatana*, "the entire realm." This is a method of meditation in which one meditates that the entire space is filled with the elements of blue, yellow, red, white, earth, water, fire, wind, ether, and consciousness. See the *MVy*, no.1528-40.

> suppressed and the defilements are subdued. His mind is concentrated by the *upacāra-samādhi* ("simulacra *samādhi*"), and the "corresponding image" arises.[16]

Let us note that these instructions sound very similar to the following guidelines on the "visualization of the Buddha" in the *WCYF* (T15:325c18-29):

> When one observes the Buddha, one should earnestly observe the major and minor bodily marks of the Buddha. Having observed them very clearly, one should shut the eyes and contemplate them in mind. If [the image] is not clear, one should open the eyes and make [it] extremely clear [in his] mind. Afterwards, one returns to one's own seat, with correct bodily posture and mind, makes one's mindfulness present in front [and meditate on the images] as if one were facing the real Buddha. [The image] is extremely clear, no-different from [seeing the Buddha himself]. Then one rises up from the seat, kneels down, and says to the master: "I concentrate on [the Buddha] in my chamber as if seeing the Buddha [in person]." The master says: "Return to your own seat. Fix your mind on the forehead[17] and meditate on the Buddha in one mind." . . . They make the ground golden and these Buddhas all enter the ground. The ground is as plain as a palm, and as pure as a mirror. One observes one's own body luminous like the ground. This is called the attainment of the meditative object of the *samādhi* of calling the Buddha to mind (*nianfo sanmei* 念佛三昧,

---

16. Taṃ parikammakāle bhūmiyaṃ attharitvā oloketabbaṃ. . . .

. . . pāsāṇapāṇikāya ghaṃsitvā samaṃ bheritalasadisaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānaṃ sammajjitvā nhatvā āgantvā kasiṇamaṇḍalato aḍḍhateyya-hatthantare padese paññatte vidatthhicatuuraṅgulapādake suattthate pīṭhe nisīditabbaṃ. . . .

. . . samena ākārena cakkhūni ummīletvā nimittaṃ gaṇhantena bhāvetabbaṃ.

Ati-ummīlayato hi cakkhu kilamati, maṇḍalañ ca ativibhūaṃ hoti, ten'assa nimittaṃ n'uppajjati. Atimandaṃ ummīlayato maṇḍalaṃ avibhūtaṃ hoti, cittañ ca līnaṃ hoti, evam pi nimittaṃ n'uppajjati. Tasmā, ādāsatale mukhanimittadassinā viya, samena ākārena cakkhūni ummīletvā nimittaṃ gaṇhantena bhāvetabbaṃ.

. . . Kālena ummīletvā, kālena nimīletvā āvajjitabbaṃ. Yāva uggahanimittaṃ n'uppajjati, tāva kālatam pi kālasahassam pi tato bhiyyo pi eten'eva nayena bhāvetabbaṃ.

Tass'evaṃ bhāvayato yadā nimīletvā āvajjantassa ummīlitakāle viya āpāthaṃ āgacchati, tadā uggahanimittaṃ jātaṃ nāma hoti. Tassa jātakālato paṭṭhāya na tasmiṃ ṭhāne nisīditabbaṃ; attano vasanaṭṭhānaṃ pavisitvā tattha nisinnena bhāvetabbaṃ. . . . Athānena, sace taruṇo samādhi kenacid eva asappāyena nassati, upāhanā āruyha kattaradaṇḍaṃ gahetvā taṃ ṭhānaṃ gantvā nimittaṃ ādāya āgantvā sukhanisinnena bhāvetabbaṃ . . .

Tassa evaṃ karontassa anukkamena nīvaraṇāni vikkhambhanti, kilesā sannisīdanti, upacārasamādhinā cittaṃ samādhiyati, paṭibhāganimittaṃ uppajjati.

17. Note that forehead is one of the common spots to concentrate on in the meditation on corpse. See, for example, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Pradhan 2nd ed., 338.6, *AKBh*).

buddhānusmṛtisamādhi).[18]

The structural similarity with the previous *kasiṇa* practice is obvious. In both cases, one first observes concrete external objects and catches the visual image in one's mind. Once the image is established in one's mind, one leaves the object and meditates on the mental image in the privacy of one's own residing place. Attainment of a truly clear image is associated with some stage of *samādhi*.[19] The occurrences of the "flat ground" in both passages may well be a coincidence,[20] but the general similarity of these two paragraphs is beyond any doubt.

The subject of this dissertation, the *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* (*GSHJ*), is a sūtra specifically dedicated to the topic of *guanfo*. Naturally, the same structure is maintained in this text (T15:689a23-b6):[21]

> There was a prince, Golden Banner by name, who was arrogant, holding wrong views, and did not believe in the True Dharma. A master monk, Mastery in Dhyāna by name, told the prince: "There are Buddhist statues[22] decorated with various jewels and are extremely lovely. You

---

18. 若觀佛時當至心觀佛相好. 了了分明諦觀了已. 然後閉目憶念在心. 若不明了者, 還開目視極心明了. 然後還坐正身正意繫念在前. 如對眞佛明了無異. 即從座起跪白師言. 我房中係念見佛無異. 師言. 汝還本坐, 係念額上一心念佛. . . . 作地金色. 此諸佛盡入於地. 地平如掌明淨如鏡. 自觀己身明淨如地. 此名得念佛三昧境界.
The term *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* will be discussed in a later chapter.

19. Such a structure is also observed in the *Siwei lüeyao fa* 思惟略要法 (*The Abridged Essence of Meditation*, T15:299a [No.617], *SLF*). The relevant portion is translated in Stephan Beyer 1977, 337.

20. See also Gregory Schopen 1977, 198.

21. The structure of the Buddha visualization in the *GSHJ* is discussed in Myōjin Hiroshi 1994, 71-77.

22. Chinese character *xiang* 像 can mean any sort of visual representation. In most of the relevant passages, it seems to mean "a statue," but sometimes it is expressly specified as "a painted image." Therefore, as the translation of this character, "image," including both statue and painting, may be more accurate. Nevertheless, in this dissertation I would like to reserve the word "image" primarily for mental

should enter a stūpa and <u>observe a statue of the Buddha</u>." Then the prince, according to the words of the good friend, enters the stūpa, observes the image and sees the major and minor bodily marks. Then [the prince] tells the monk: "Even a statue of the Buddha is so beautiful. How much more so the real body of the Buddha would be." When he has said so, the monk tells him: "You have now seen the statue. If you cannot worship, you should chant, 'Homage to the Buddha.'" Then the prince holds his hands in the *añjalī* position and respectfully chants: "Homage to the Buddha." <u>Returning to the palace, with his mindfulness present, he calls the image in the stūpa to the mind</u> (*nianfo sanmei*). Thus in the last watch of the night, in his dream, he sees the image/statue of the Buddha. Because he has seen the image/statue of the Buddha, his mind is greatly rejoiced . . . He always diligently practices with various Buddhas and attains profound <u>*samādhi* of calling the Buddha to mind</u>. Because of the power of this *samādhi*, Buddhas appear in front [of him] and gives him the prediction of the buddhahood.[23]

We should also note that the famous passage from the *GWSJ* (T12:341c29-42a5) shares essentially the same structure:

All sentient beings, as far as they are not born blind and have [healthy] eyes, should all look at the setting sun. One should make the mindfulness present, be seated facing the west, and <u>look at the sun</u>.[24] One should make the mind stay firm, make the mind concentrated [on the sun] and let it not move away. One sees the sun, which is about to set, looking like a hanging drum. <u>Having seen the sun, one makes [the image] clear whether the eyes are open or closed</u>. This is the visualization of the sun, which is called the first visualization. If one visualizes this way, it is a

images (*nimitta*, *xian* 相). Therefore, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, in principle I translate the character *xian* 像 as "statue."

23. 有一王子名曰金幢. m慢邪見不信正法. 知識比丘名定自在. 告王子言. 世有佛像衆寶嚴飾極爲可愛. 可暫入塔<u>觀佛形像</u>. 時彼王子隨善友語入塔觀像見像相好. 白言比丘. 佛像端嚴猶尚如此. 況佛眞身. 作是語已比丘告言. 汝今見像, 若不能禮者, 當稱南無佛. 是時王子合掌恭敬稱南無佛. <u>還宮係念念塔中像</u>. 即於後夜夢見佛像. 見佛像故心大歡喜. . . 於諸佛所常勤精進, 逮得甚深<u>念佛三昧</u>. 三昧力故, 諸佛現前爲其授記.

24. Cf. In the *Śrāvakabhūmi* also, *sūryamaṇḍala*, "the sun's disk," is mentioned in the context of "catching an image" (*nimittam ud-grah-*) practice. Shukla ed., 416, 3-4. Further, note that in the *Chan miyaofa jing* 禪秘要法經, T15:248a5-23 [No.613], *CMJ*), the construction of the mental images of the suna and the moon culminates in the visualization of the Buddha.

> correct visualization. Otherwise, it is a wrong visualization.[25]

In this case, the meditator does not begin with a statue but with the setting sun. Nevertheless, it is clear that the text shares the same basic structure of visualization (catching an image in mind and contemplating it).

This type of "Buddha visualization" (in Chinese *guanfo* 觀佛) is a common technique of meditation and is widely found in the meditative texts introduced to the Chinese Buddhist world in the fifth century. Although none of these texts have directly corresponding Sanskrit texts, and although we are not even sure what the Sanskrit word for *guanfo* was,[26] the continuity between *guanfo* and the demonstrably Indian methods of meditation seems obvious. Therefore, the concept of "Buddha visualization" itself may well have been a natural development of Indian meditative methods.

Concerning the second point, the "esotericization" of meditation, let us look at some further examples. It is well known that the practice of mindful inhalation and exhalation (*ānāpānasati*) was a very basic method of meditation from the early Buddhism onward. Again in the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*, the method is described as follows (*DN* 2:291.6-14):

> He inhales mindfully and exhales mindfully. Breathing in long, he knows: "I am breathing in long." Breathing out long, he knows: "I am breathing out long." Breathing in short, he knows: "I am breathing in short." Breathing out short, he knows: "I am breathing out short." He learns thus: "I shall breathe in feeling the whole body." He learns thus: "I shall breath out feeling the whole body." He learns thus: "I shall breathe in calming down the whole physiological functions." He learns thus: "I shall breathe

25. 一切衆生，自非生盲，有目之徒，皆見日没．當起想念，正坐西向，諦觀於日．令心堅住．專想不移．見日欲没，状如懸鼓．既見日已，閉目開目，皆令明了．是爲日想．名曰初觀．作是觀者，名爲正觀．若他觀者，名爲邪觀．

26. We shall discuss this point more in detail in Section 1.4.

out, calming down the whole physiological functions."[27]

Needless to say, this is a very straightforward instruction on meditation. It is very easy to understand, and there is nothing mysterious about it. If we look at an anonymous Sanskrit meditation manual found in Central Asia (the so-called *Yogalehrbuch*, *YL*),[28] however, we find the following, rather amazing description of the same basic technique (Schlingloff 1964a, 79):

> Furthermore, a crystal world and a crystal body appear to [the meditator] practicing inhalation and exhalation. Then (a jewel tree) stands on [the crystal man's] head filling the boundless realms of the world. On the leafy branches of that tree Buddhas are seen preaching the dharma. Colorful rains of jewels, flowers, and lotuses coming out of the mouths of them [=the Buddhas] are scattered over the world. The hollow roots of the tree shining like beryl are seen to be based on the golden circle together with (?) the soles of the feet of the *yogācāra*.[29]

The basic topic is unmistakably the traditional practice of inhalation and exhalation. Nevertheless, the atmosphere differs greatly from that of the *Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*. Intriguingly, one finds similar mysterious images in the *GSHJ*.

Concerning the gigantic cosmic tree on which Buddhas are teaching the Dharma, compare the following passage from the *GSHJ* (T15:663c16-19):

---

27. So sato va assasati, sato passasati. Dīghaṃ vā assasanto 'Dīghaṃ assasāmīti' pajānāti, dīghaṃ vā passasanto 'Dīghaṃ passasāmīti' pajānāti. Rassaṃ vā assasanto 'Rassaṃ assasāmīti' pajānāti, rassaṃ vā passasanto 'Rassaṃ passasāmīti' pajānāti. 'Sabba-kāya-paṭisaṃvedī assasissāmīti' sikkhati 'Sabba-kāya-paṭisaṃvedī passasissāmīti' sikkhati. 'Passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃkhāraṃ assasissāmīti' sikkhati, 'Passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃkhāraṃ passasissāmīti' sikkhati.

28. Details of this text will be discussed in a later chapter.

29. punar āśvāsapraśvāsān vāhayataḥ sphaḍikamayo [l]oka ā[śraya]ś ca dṛśyaṃte / [ta]t[o] mūrdhno [rat]n(amayo vṛkṣo) 'naṃtāṃ lokadhātūṃ spharitvā tiṣṭhati / tasmiṃ vṛ[k](ṣ)e ghanapa[t](r)aśākhāsu Buddhā dṛśyaṃte dharmaṃ deśayaṃtaḥ taṃmukhaniḥsṛtai [rat]na[p]u[ṣ]papadmavarṣair [n]ā[n](ā)varṇair loko (vyava)[k](ī)ry(a)te / vṛkṣamūlāni ca vaiḍūryābhāny antaḥsuṣirāṇi (*ca*) . . . y(o)gācārapādatalaiḥ kāṃcanacakre pratiṣṭhitāni dṛśyante /

> The pores of the body [of the emanation Buddha] are like flower trees. Each tree reaches upward to the world of Brahmās. Among the flowers and leaves[30] there are tens of hundreds of billions of Śrāvaka monks. Each monk wear one thousand monastic robes. The thousand robes are in a thousand colors, and in each color is hundreds or thousands of emanation Buddhas, all in a pure golden color.[31]

Further, concerning the "crystal body," see the following passage, also from the *GSHJ* (T15:657b21-23):

> The lights of emanation Buddhas make a silver mountain. That mountain is boundlessly huge. On that mountain only silver trees with golden flowers and silver fruits grow. Under every tree there is a crystal lotus, on which also is a crystal emanation man.[32]

Admittedly neither of these quotations from the *GSHJ* comes in the context of a discussion of *ānāpānasmṛti*. Nevertheless, the similarity between the images in the *YL* and the *GSHJ* is clear. Thus, it is very likely that the *GSHJ* was not directly linked to the early meditative methods as seen in the *Mahā-satipaṭṭāna-sutta* but to the later, more esoteric methods as found in the *YL*.

The history of Buddhist meditation is a big topic, and we cannot and should not oversimplify the complicated process of its development. Nevertheless, the validity of the aforementioned two basic developments (among many other possible ones) would be confirmed from the above observations. Namely, I believe there were two lines of development in Indian meditation; (1) one is the establishment of the method of "catching

---

30. According to the *Dai kanwa jiten* 9:771c, *yehua* 葉華 means "leaves and flowers." I take *huaye* 華葉 in the same way.

31. 身諸毛孔猶如華樹, 一一華樹上至梵世. 諸華葉間, 有百千億聲聞比丘. 一一比丘著千衲衣, 千衲千色, 一 一色中百千化佛. 皆純金色.

32. 化佛光明成一銀山. 其山高大無量無邊. 於其山間, 純生銀樹金華銀果. 樹下皆有白玉蓮華. 華上復有白玉化人.

the visual image into one's mind" as a concrete technique of meditation, and (2) the other is the esotericization of meditation. The *GSHJ* seems to combine these two directions in a single text. In that sense, this text appears to reflect faithfully the developments in Indian Buddhist meditative methods.

c. Chinese Elements

A significant problem arises at this juncture in the argument. An important study of the *GSHJ* and other related texts by Tsukinowa (1971, 59-86) found that this text contains numerous typically Chinese expressions that do not seem to be restorable into Sanskrit, as well as many elements apparently taken from other Chinese Buddhist texts. Based on these points, he strongly argues for the Chinese origin of the *GSHJ*.

My own research also indicates that not only words but also numerous phrases are taken from prior Chinese sources. Further, the descriptions of a famous pilgrimage spot in northwest India in this sūtra (the "Buddha Image Cave," Foying ku 佛影窟), which led some scholars to propose a Gandhāran origin of the text, do not agree with those in the records of Chinese pilgrims. These points strongly suggest that the *GSHJ* was an apocryphal text originally written in Chinese as Tsukinowa claims.

d. "Hybrid Apocrypha"

If the *GSHJ* was indeed an apocryphal text, how can we understand the fact that the developments in Indian meditation techniques are so faithfully reflected in a text written in Chinese? As we shall discuss in more detail later, some of the apparent sources of the *GSHJ* were probably not available in Chinese to the author(s) of the text. Borrowings from

other Chinese texts do not explain everything of the *GSHJ*. In what way, then, did the Chinese author(s) of the *GSHJ* have access to the information only found in non-Chinese sources?

There is another element that makes us curious about the background of the *GSHJ*. In one chapter of the text, the Buddha reveals his gigantic male organ reaching to heaven to convert a ring of prostitutes. This is a very unusual story apparently unparalleled in other Buddhist texts, either Sanskrit or Chinese. As we shall discuss later, this story seems to have been influenced by Shaivite phallicism. If the *GSHJ* was an Indian text, it would be easy to explain such an influence, and indeed, partly based on this phallic element, Alexander C. Soper (1949, 325-26), an eminent art historian, claimed a Gandhāran origin of the *GSHJ*. In Japan also, even before Soper, another art historian Ono Genmyō ([1923]1977, 77-114) argued for the Gandhāran provenance of the text mainly based on the close ties between the *GSHJ* and Gandhāran Buddhist art. In the face of Tsukinowa's detailed textual study, however, it is difficult to accept their conclusion. If that is the case, the problem of the apparent Shaivite influence in this text presents a formidable puzzle. Even though Śiva (Maheśvara) is a common figure in Buddhist texts, phallic references are rarely found in Chinese Buddhist texts.

Apparently the (presumably Chinese) author(s) of the *GSHJ* had some kind of direct access to Indian sources. The only possible way to explain this phenomenon seems to me to postulate that the *GSHJ* was compiled somewhere between India and China, namely in Central Asia, where Indian and Chinese cultures actively intersected with each other. As we shall discuss in subsequent chapters, there are many indicators that point in this direction. Various pieces of evidence suggest that the areas around Turfan were the likely site of its compilation.

I believe that the *GSHJ* is an apocryphal text, but a very exceptional one. Chinese apocrypha are receiving considerable amount of scholarly attention both in the West (Robert E. Buswell, Jr. 1990) and in Japan (Yabuki Keiki 1933, Mochizuki Shinkō

[1930]1972; 1946; Makita Tairyō 1976). Typically, these apocryphal texts are studied as products of native Chinese religious culture.[33] The widely shared view of the scholars working on Chinese apocrypha seems to be that Buddhist texts translated from Indic languages were no doubt very important in Chinese Buddhism but did not satisfy every aspect of Chinese religious mentality. Chinese apocrypha, as purely Chinese texts written in response to the needs of Chinese people, are thus considered to be more significant sources of information about Chinese religious culture.

This approach is of course valid in most cases, and much more work needs to be done from this perspective. It is fortunate in this regard that many scholars are once again focusing their attention on Chinese apocryphal texts owing to the recent discovery of several important apocrypha from the Nanatsudera 七寺 documents (see Ochiai Toshinori 1991, 5-48). Their achievements are being published as *Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho* (Makita and Ochiai 1994; 1995), and we can certainly expect many important discoveries in the course of this project.

Nevertheless, in the case of the *GSHJ* (as well as the *GWSJ* discussed by Fujita Kōtatsu [1970]1990), such a "pure Chinese" approach does not seem sufficient. Without assuming considerable amount of cross-cultural interactions, many aspects of this peculiar text would become simply incomprehensible. In other words, even though the *GSHJ* is an apocryphal text written in Chinese, it should be studied more as a reflection of cross-cultural transmission of Buddhism rather than as a source for understanding Chinese native culture.

Such an approach to the study of the *GSHJ* presents a significant challenge, but, in a way, it makes the *GSHJ* an interesting subject of study. The text contains important material that provides concrete examples of cultural interactions taking place in Central

33. For example, Buswell 1990, 1: "Because these texts typically reflect their domestic authors' own religious interests and social concerns, which were not directly addressed in translated Indian texts, they are of immense value in any accounting of the development of the non-Indian traditions of Buddhism."

Asia. By careful analysis, we can obtain a clearer picture on how this type of "hybrid apocryphal" text was compiled out of active cultural exchanges.

e. Central Asia

The issue of cross-cultural influences is closely linked to another important problem. It has been already pointed out that the *GSHJ* is very closely related to the *GWSJ*.[34] The *GWSJ* is an extremely important text in the East Asian Pure Land traditions and is well-known in the West through several translations (Takakusu Junjirō 1894; Kawagishi Yoshitaka 1949; Yamamoto Kōshō 1955; Assaji Bhikkhu 1962; Lu K'uan Yu 1964; Chinese Buddhist Society of Australia 1975; Jean Éracle 1984; Ryukoku University Translation Center 1984, Inagaki Hisao 1994) and studies (e.g., Soper 1959, Julian F. Pas 1977; Fujita [1970]1990; Kenneth K. Tanaka 1990). The origin of the *GWSJ* is very obscure, and active debates have occurred among Japanese scholars on this point.

The most extensive and influential studies on this topic by Fujita (1970; [1970]1990; 1985) suggests that Central Asia, especially the area around Turfan, is the likely point of origin of the *GWSJ*. In spite of Fujita's extensive efforts, however, the evidence supporting this hypothesis is rather circumstantial and not necessarily decisive. Although more solid evidence is desired, the available materials on the *GWSJ* seem to have been already exhausted by scholars. If we stick only to the *GWSJ*, it would be difficult to significantly advance the arguments already presented by Fujita.

The origin of the *GWSJ* needs to be discussed in conjunction with that of the *GSHJ*. Because of the close relationship between the *GWSJ* and the *GSHJ*, clarification of

34. Close parallelism in both expressions and structures between these two texts have been demonstrated by Shikii Shūjō 1978, 536-44; Fujita 1970, 127-29; and Tsukinowa Kenryū 1971, 146; 159, and so forth. There is no room for doubt on this point.

the origin of the latter would immensely contribute to the research of the former. Nevertheless, the attention the *GSHJ* has received is not nearly comparable to that received by the *GWSJ*. Thus the *GSHJ* represents a relatively unexploited but very promising object of investigation.

In the course of this investigation, artistic evidence will be consulted extensively. This is not a novel approach; as we have seen, two important early studies of the *GHSJ* were carried out by art historians, both of whom relied heavily on artistic evidence (mainly Gandhāran Buddhist art). Recent publication of the mural paintings in the Toyok caves (in the Turfan area), however, provides us with some important new materials not consulted by previous scholars (Xinjiang Weiwuer Zizhiqu Bowuguan and Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe1990; Zhongguo Bihua Quanji Bianji Weiyuan Hui 1990). These paintings, which clearly depict scenes of visualization, will give much more solid basis for our arguments than was previously available.

In this context, I would like to suggest another new approach in this dissertation. When art historians study art, their typical method seems to be to find a textual source and thereby identify the subject of the artwork in question.[35] I have no question concerning the general validity of this approach (and, in the first place, as a non-specialist of art history, I am not qualified to discuss the general methodology of this field). Nevertheless, in the particular case of the *GSHJ*, I suspect that we also need to consider whether art may have influenced the minds of those who compiled the *GSHJ*. The *GSHJ* contains many extraordinary images, but some of them become more easily understandable if we posit that those strange images were inspired by artistic representations that originally meant entirely different things.

To use artistic evidence in this way entails two problems. First, the dating of most of Central Asian art is very uncertain, and there are widely divergent opinions among

35. Methodology of Buddhist art history is surveyed in Miyaji Akira 1992, 8-12.

specialists.[36] If the paintings in question are far later than the *GSHJ*, we cannot put too much emphasis on them in discussing the origin of the text. In fact, German and Japanese scholars tend to date paintings from the Turfan area to relatively late periods, which problematizes my argument (but Chinese scholars date the relevant paintings to earlier periods). Second, when paintings are based on texts, the proof of their relationship is relatively easy. When, conversely, a text was inspired by paintings but did not faithfully follow their original purport, it is much more difficult to establish their relationship in an objective way.

Specific points will be discussed later, but my basic attitude to these problems is as follows. First, with the very limited amount of information available to us, we cannot be too selective about our choice of materials. If some paintings (in concrete, those from Toyok) suggest direct ties with the *GSHJ* and with its kindred texts in a way that no paintings from other areas do, I believe we should treat them as significant pieces of evidence, even if their dating is rather uncertain. Also, the uncertain dating means that the dating of these paintings cannot be a strong argument for or against my hypothesis. I cannot quote the date of these paintings in favor of my argument, but one cannot reject my hypothesis solely based on the date of the paintings either. The final judgement must be made based on a comprehensive examination of all the available materials, both textual and artistic.

Concerning the second point, I would like to point out that the *GSHJ* as a whole is a very liberal text. It does not seem to follow any textual tradition very carefully, and the imaginations of the author(s) roam freely, only loosely based on prior sources. In order to study such a text, we need to exercise our own imagination also. We cannot confine ourselves to the realm of completely objective argument. If we did so, our outcome would be a very poor, skeletal picture. Of course nobody can decisively demonstrate how

---

36. For example, see Miyaji's survey of the opinions about the dating of Qïzïl caves (1988, 50-55)

imagination developed within the minds of people who lived in the fifth century. Nevertheless, at least we should attempt to follow their imagination.

Needless to say, I will try to make my argument as solid as possible, but, by the very nature of the topic, it is impossible to be completely objective. Therefore, (at least some parts of) my arguments must remain hypothetical. This thesis presents the best ways I can explain several very peculiar elements of the text. Alternative explanations will be always possible, and the plausibility of my hypotheses must be left to the judgements of the reader.

Final Remarks

This dissertation is a case study of only one, relatively unknown text, but, as we have seen above, many important problems hinge on this text. The biggest attraction of this text is that this can be a test case to clarify the intricate process of cultural interactions in the multi-cultural and multi-lingual settings of Central Asia. Although the *GSHJ* is a representative text in this regard, we should note that it was not an isolated text. As we shall see in the subsequent chapters, various other meditative texts and even some of the narrative texts were closely related to the *GSHJ*. Therefore, if we can successfully clarify the background of the *GSHJ*, we may acquire a significantly new perspective to an unexpectedly wide range of texts. The *GSHJ* is not an easy text to study, but it is a very inviting text.

Section I

BASIC INFORMATION

1. Contents and Basic Information on the *GSHJ*

a. Contents

The titles of the chapters of the *GSHJ* are as follows:[1]

Table 1

1. 六譬品 "The six similes"	645c
2. 序觀地品 "The enumeration of the objects of visualization"[1]	647b
3. 觀相品 "The visualization of [the Buddha's] bodily marks"	648c
4. 觀佛心品 "The visualization of the heart of the Buddha"	668b
5. 觀四無量心品 "The visualization of the four types of boundless mind"[2]	674b
6. 觀四威儀品 "The visualization of the four types of deportment [of the Buddha]"	675b
7. 觀馬王藏品 "The visualization of [the Buddha's] hidden male organ"	683b
8. 本行品 "Acts in past lives"	687b
9. 觀像品 "The visualization of statues"	690a
10. 念七佛品 "Calling the [past] seven Buddhas to mind"	693a
11. 念十方佛品 "Calling the Buddhas in the ten directions to mind"	693c

1. In the translations of the titles, I omit the word "chapter" (corresponding to *pin* 品) to save space. The references are to the beginning of each chapter in the Taishō canon vol.15. More detailed summary of the contents is found in Soper 1959, 184ff. See also Shikii 1978, 517-19.

12. 觀佛密行品 "Secret practice of the visualization of the Buddha"	695b

In Chapter 1 ("The six parables"), King Śuddhodana asks the Buddha how people in the future can see the radiant body of the Buddha just as he is seeing it now.[2] In response, the Buddha first explains the merits of the practice of calling the Buddha to mind (*nianfo* 念佛, *buddhānusmṛti*) by six parables. Although I cannot identify the specific sources, these stories show the influence of Tathāgatagarbha doctrine (see Shikii 1978, 529-30).

Chapter 2 ("The enumeration of the objects of visualization") gives lists of the objects of visualization. The items to be visualized include not only the Buddha's bodily marks but also his various acts. The lists of the bodily marks do not follow the usual number (thirty-two major and eighty for minor marks) and are in disorder.

These two chapters are introductory.

Chapter 3 ("The visualization of [the Buddha's] bodily marks") is the longest and most essential part of this text and occupies about one third of the entire sūtra. It gives concrete descriptions of the visualization of the bodily marks of the Buddha. Here again, the descriptions are very disorderly. Some items include narratives, and others contain mysterious visions not directly related to the Buddha's bodily marks. The descriptions begin with the head and proceed downwards,[3] but they end in the middle (the last item discussed is the navel). In any case, the explanation is itemized according to the objects of visualization, and at the end of every item, the following stock phrase is repeated: "if one visualizes this way, it is correct visualization, otherwise it is wrong visualization" 如是觀者

2. As has been already noticed by scholars (for example, Sueki 1992, 68; 143), this setting is similar to that of the *GWSJ*, where Vaidehī asks the Buddha how people can see the Pure Land of Amitāyus after Śākyamuni Buddha's demise as she is doing now.

3. This order is disturbed in a few places, but in general the explanation moves downwards.

名爲正観，若異観者名為邪観. Although these features are widely seen in the six visualization sūtras in general, they are most conspicuous in the *GWSJ*.[4]

In chapter 4 ("The visualization of the heart of the Buddha"), rays of light from the heart of the Buddha illuminate various types of hells, and the Buddha describes these hells in detail. The basic scheme of the list seems to be the Avīci major hell and surrounding minor hells, but the list contains many peculiar elements. These peculiarities can be one of the clues to clarify the background of the *GSHJ*.

Chapter 5 ("The visualization of the four types of boundless mind") discusses the four items called "boundless mind" (*wuliang xin*) 無量心, *apramāṇa* ("benevolence" 慈, *maitrī*; "compassion" 悲, *karuṇā*; "rejoicing" 喜, *muditā*; "equanimity" 捨, *upekṣā*). Descriptions are very short and do not contain many substantial elements.

Chapter 6 ("The visualization of the four types of deportment [of the Buddha]") is a collection of several narratives on the Buddha's acts each associated with the four types of deportment (walking, standing, sitting, reclining). The story of the "Buddha Image Cave" (Foying ku) 佛影窟 (a famous pilgrimage spot in northwest India) is told here in the section on "sitting." At the end of this chapter, King Śuddhodana returns to the palace, and the rest of this sūtra is told to Ānanda. Shikii (1978, 517-19) suspects that chapters one through six constitute the original components of the sūtra, and that the remaining portions were added later.

Chapter 7 ("The visualization of [the Buddha's] hidden male organ") is a peculiar chapter that discusses the Buddha's hidden male organ (*yinmazang xiang*) 陰馬藏相. This chapter can be another important clue to clarify the complicated background of the *GSHJ*.

Chapter 8 ("Acts in past lives") is a small collection of *jātaka*/*avadāna*-type stories.

---

4. The quoted phrase is widely seen in other visualization texts, too. See Fujita Kōtatsu 1970, 128; [1970]1990, 164. This phrase will be discussed in detail in Sections I.4 and III.2. Also, as is already mentioned, the *GSHJ* shares many other features with the *GWSJ*. On this point, see Introduction, Section I.2, and Appendix 2.

In this chapter, it is told that Śākyamuni and Caishou 財首 Bodhisattva each practiced visualization of the Buddha in their former lives. The benefits of the visualization of the Buddha is emphasized.

Chapter 9 ("The visualization of statues") explains the standard technique for the visualization of the Buddha. First one begins by observing an image of Śākyamuni Buddha and capturing the individual bodily marks in the mind. Once one has attained the vision of one Buddha, one should increase the number of visualized Buddhas.

Chapter 10 ("Calling the [past] seven Buddhas to mind") discusses further advanced stages of visualization, in which one visualizes the images of the past seven Buddhas.

Chapter 11 ("Calling the Buddhas in the ten directions to mind") explains the method of visualizing the Buddhas in the ten directions. An unidentified text, *Fohai sanmei* 佛海三昧 (*The Samādhi of the Buddha-Sea*), is referred to three times in the chapter (T15:694a22; b2; b8-9).[5]

Chapter 12 ("Secret practice of the visualization of the Buddha") relates various parables emphasizing the solid, indestructible nature of the *samādhi* of calling the Buddha to mind. Here again, the general atmosphere is reminiscent of the Tathāgatagarbha thoughts.

From Chapter 8 onwards, chapters are relatively short, and especially chapters 9 to 11 seem to form a compact visualization manual by themselves. Such observations suggest the composite nature of the text.

As is indicated, for example, by the mention to the "Buddhas in the ten directions," this sūtra is undoubtedly a Mahāyāna sūtra. Nevertheless, we should note that distinctively

---

5. Perhaps the *Fohai sanmei* refers to the *GSHJ* itself. If the last chapters were later additions as Shikii suspects (see Section I.3 of this dissertation), it is possible that the supplemented chapters refer to the original portion of the *GSHJ*. It is true that the *GSHJ* can be roughly divided into the two major portions; the very wordy first several chapters and more compact following chapters. Since it is questionable if a well-organized *GSHJ* existed at any point at all, philological analysis of internal disorder does not necessarily reveal the process of compilation. Nevertheless, concerning the general structure of the text, Shikii's hypothesis seems possible.

Mahāyānist elements are very limited, and the sūtra hardly discusses philosophical aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Throughout the sūtra, emphasis is on pictorial descriptions of visionary world and dramatic presentation of narrative stories. The following observation of Soper is very appropriate and worth quoting (1959, 184-85):

> A great deal of the text is devoted to stories about Śākyamuni's life; and though these are retold in the florid vein that is most familiar in Mahāyāna literature, and are permeated by the miraculous, the general effect is not very different from that reached in the latest Hīnayāna narratives. The work is conservative, again, in glorifying the great disciples of the Buddha rather than the great Bodhisattvas. A few of the latter, notably Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra, are named in passing as participants in the miracles, or as members of the Buddha's audience who may occasionally be given a speaking role. The figure on whom the highest degree of reflected luster shines, however, is Ānanda, who is introduced again and again as a "beloved disciple," cherished not only by his historic master Śākyamuni, but by the other six Buddhas of the Past, and even by all the Buddhas of the Four Quarters, or of the Ten.

We should note here that, although it is not a narrative text, the *YL* shares exactly these kinds of "latest Hīnayāna" features, very dramatic and miraculous. Along with other points, such predominantly "Hīnayāna" atmosphere of the *GSHJ* makes it likely that the *GSHJ* was directly connected to the Traditional[6] meditative methods used in Central Asia as represented by the *YL*. This is one of the reasons to suspect that the *GSHJ* may have been the oldest and the most basic text among the six visualization sūtras.

---

6. What to call non-Mahāyāna Buddhism is a difficult problem. Just to give a few alternatives preferred in recent studies: "Mainstream Buddhism" (Paul Harrison 1992, p.231, n.5); "Śrāvakayāna" (David Seyfort Ruegg 1992, 111); "Sectarian" or "Background Buddhism" (Jonathan Alan Silk 1994, 3). All of them have some difficulties.

In this dissertation, I would like to use the word "Traditional" (with capitalization) in referring to the non-Mahāyāna Buddhism. This is a very tentative appellation, and I certainly do not mean that Mahāyāna Buddhism did not have its own traditions. Nevertheless, it would be fair to say that the weight of the "transmitted scripture" (*āgama*) is far greater in non-Mahāyāna than in Mahāyāna Buddhism, and that in that sense non-Mahāyāna Buddhism is more "traditional" than Mahāyāna Buddhism.

b. Texts

No Sanskrit original or Tibetan translation of this sūtra is known to us. The complete text is available only in one Chinese version (T15:645c-97a [No. 643]).[7] The *LSJ* (T49:78c12) and the *KSL* (T55:513b21) list a one-fascicle version of the *Guanfo sanmei jing* 觀佛三昧經 (*The Sūtra on the Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha*) among the translations by Kumārajīva, but as is often the case with the *LSJ*, this information should not be taken seriously. Jiang Liangfu once reported the existence of a variant translation among the Dunhuang manuscripts (1956, 73; followed by Kanaoka Shōkō 1971, 77). This text, however, is probably a chanting manual excerpted from the *GSHJ*[8] and should not be considered as a separate translation.

There is a fragmentary Sogdian version (E. Benveniste and P. Demiéville 1933), but this is regarded as a translation from Buddhabhadra's Chinese version (Friedrich Weller1936-37, 342), so it does not have an independent value.[9] Thus, there is no source independent from the Chinese tradition to confirm the Indian origin of this sūtra. This

---

7. The *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記 (*The Record of the Three Baskets [of Buddhist Canon] in Successive Periods* T49:78c12 [no.2034], *LSJ*) mentions the *Guanfo sanmei jing* 觀佛三昧經, one fascle as a translation of Kumārajīva. The *LSJ*, however, is in general very unreliable and this record is also probably baseless.

On the other hand, there seems to have been a few texts that consisted of different numbers of fascicles. The *Chu sanzang jiji* (*The Collection of the Records on Translating the Three Baskets [of Buddhist Canon]*, T55:11c11 [No.2145], *CSJ*) says that the *GSHJ* consists of eight fascicles, but the *Gaoseng zhuan* (*The Biographies of Eminent Monks*, T50:335c11[No.2059], *GSZ*) indicates that the *GSHJ* has six fascicles. Fajing's 法經 *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目録 (*A Catalogue of Sūtras*, T55:182a26 [no.2146]; hereafter *Fajing lu*) and the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教録 (*The Catalogue of Buddhist Canon Compiled in the Kaiyuan Era*, T55:505b27-28 [No.2154], *KSL*) indicate that there were eight fascicle version and ten fascicle version of the *GSHJ*. As we have seen, it is possible that some of the last chapters of the *GSHJ* were added later, and these varying numbers of fascicles may reflect such enlargement of the text. Nevertheless, since the arrangement of fascicles vary frequently for no substantial reason,we cannot put too much emphasis on this point.

8. The text, also titled as *Foshuo xianghao jing* 佛說相好經, will be discussed in detail later.

9. This Sogdian text was re-edited and retranslated by D. N. Mackenzie 1976, 53-77. I thank Professor Oktor Skjaervo for the reference.

alone, of course, is not a sufficient reason to conclude that the *GSHJ* is apocryphal, but it certainly does not argue for an Indian origin of the text.

c. The Translator and the Date and Place of Translation

The Chinese translation of the text is usually attributed to Buddhabhadra based on the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (*A Collection of the Records on Translating the Three Baskets* [*of Buddhist Canon*], T55:11c11; 104a27 [no.2145], compiled in ca. 515, *CSJ*) and the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (*Biographies of Eminent Monks*, T50:335c11 [no.2059], compiled in 519[?], *GSZ*).[10] Since the *CSJ* and the *GSZ* are generally reliable sources, both compiled in the early sixth century, there seems to be no doubt about the translator of the *GSHJ*. We should note, however, that neither of these texts gives a specific date, place, or occasion at which this sūtra was translated. It is therefore questionable how much information was available to the compilers of the *CSJ* and the *GSZ* on the background of the *GSHJ*. Fajing's 法經 *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 (*A Catalogue of Sūtras*, T55:115a23 [no.2146]; hereafter *Fajing lu*), from the late sixth century, on the other hand, states that the *GSHJ* was translated by Buddhabhadra in the Yongchu 永初 era (420-22) in Yangzhou 揚州.[11] The *Fajing lu* is in general a carefully compiled work,[12] so we should not treat its testimony lightly. Generally speaking the early fifth century is indeed a likely date for a

10. The *Meisōden shō* 名僧傳抄, an excerpt from Baochang's *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳 (*MSZ*) does not contain relevant portion (ZZ 2B.7.9d16-10a5).

11. Yangzhou is the name of an old province that covers the present-day Zhejiang 浙江 Province and part of the Anhui 安徽 Province, but in this context, Yangzhou probably refers to its capital Jiankang 建康.

12. For example, the attitude of this catalogue to suspicious texts is much more critical than that of the later *LSJ*. See Tokuno Kyoko 1990, 41.

number of reasons. Nevertheless, in this case we have to ask how Fajing got this particular piece of information that had not been available to either the *CSJ* or the *GSZ*. As we shall see later, there are serious reasons to doubt Buddhabhadra's involvement in the *GSHJ*, and therefore, we cannot put too much weight on the translation date and place that presupposes that Buddhabhadra translated this text.

According to the records of the *CSJ* (T55:103b27-4a28) and the *GSZ* (T50:334b26-35c14), the alleged translator Buddhabhadra was a disciple of the Buddhasena 佛大先 ("When young, he received teachings from the great meditation master Buddhasena" 少受業於大禪師佛大先; *GSZ* T50:334c18-19). Buddhabhadra was born at "the city of Naheli" 那呵利城 (Nagarahāra?) in "North India" and was a descendent of the Śākya clan of Kapilavastu.[13] He practiced meditation for many years with his colleague

---

13. Although some scholars believe that he was a native of Kapilavastu, this is wrong. The *GSZ* says that he was "a man from Kapilavastu" 迦維羅衛人 (T50:334b27-28), but this means that his clan was originally from Kapilavastu (cf. Kumārajīva, who was born in Kuchā, is said to be "a man from India" 天竺人 in the same *GSZ* [T50:330a11], because his father was from India). In the following part, the same text clearly states that his grandfather Dharmadeva 達摩提婆 moved to north India and settled there (T50:334b28-29) and that "there is a certain Buddhabhadra who was born in the city of Naheli in India" 有佛馱跋陀羅者, 出生天竺那呵利城. The *CSJ* and the *MSZ* also clearly state that he was "a man from north India" 北天竺人也 (T55:103b28; ZZ 2B.7.9d16). Therefore it seems certain that he was a native of "the city of Naheli," which was somewhere in North India. Then, where exactly was this "city of Naheli"?

The biography of Huiyuan 慧遠 of Mount Lu (Lushan) 廬山 in the same *GSZ* mentions the site of the famous "Buddha Image Cave" as "the city of Najiehe 那竭呵城, in the state of Yuezhi in north India" 北天竺月氏國那竭呵城(T50:358b9); here "the state of Yuezhi" must mean Kuṣāṇa. In the early 5th century, Kuṣāṇa ruled Gandhāra. (Schwartzberg [1978]1992, plate III.D.1). According to the biography of Tanwujie (Dharmodgata?) 曇無竭 in the *GSZ*, the state of Yuezhi 月氏國 and the state of Jibin 罽賓國 ("Kashmir"; on this transcription, see below) were separated by the "Sindhunadī River" 辛頭那提河, i.e. Indus (T50:338c14-15).

Note also that a passage very similar to T50:358b9 appears in the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (T52:197c8-10 [no.2103]), where this place is spelled as "the state of Naqieheluo" 那伽訶羅國. Najiehe 那竭呵 and Naqieheluo 那伽訶羅 are clearly transcriptions of Nagarahāra, which Sanskrit name is attested to by an inscription (Alexander Cunningham [1871]1963, 37). The capital of this district was about 2 miles to the west of Jelālābād (Afghanistan; ibid., 38). On the other hand, Huijiao 慧皎 is not entirely consistent in transcribing Indian words (for example, he transcribes the name Buddhabhadra as 佛馱跋陀羅 and 佛馱跋陀). "The state of Najie" 那竭國 in the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (*The Record by the Eminent Monk Faxian*, T51:858c25 [no.2083]) and "the state of Naqianheluo" 那乾訶羅國 in the *GSHJ* (T15:679b7) both clearly refer to Nagarahāra. Considering all these examples, it would be very likely that Naheli 那呵利 also refers to Nagarahāra. Demiéville (1954, p.377, n.3) and Robert Shih (1968, 91) also regard Buddhabhadra's birthplace Naheli as Nagarahāra (with question marks).

This identification of "the city of Naheli" 那呵利城 with Nagarahāra is still not entirely certain. It is nevertheless clear that Buddhabhadra was from "north India," and that this "north India" includes Nagarahāra ("north India" is one of the "Five [parts of] India"五天竺; from the usage of "north India" by

Saṅghadatta in "Kashmir" (Jibin 罽賓) and showed miraculous powers. According to the *GSZ*, one day when Saṅghadatta was practicing meditation in a closed room with all the doors shut, suddenly he saw Buddhabhadra coming. Surprised, Saṅghadatta asked Buddhabhadra where he came from. Buddhabhadra answered: "I was in Tuṣita for a while and saluted Maitreya," and then disappeared (後於密室閉戶坐禪. 忽見賢來驚問何來. 答曰. 暫至兜率致敬彌勒. 言訖便隱; T50:334c9-11; cf. Demiéville 1954, 380). Saṅghadatta later knew that Buddhabhadra had attained the fruit of non-returner (*anāgamiphala* 不還果).[14] Later, a Chinese monk, Zhiyan 智嚴, came to Kashmir and practiced meditation for three years under Buddhasena and made remarkable progress (T50:339b3-7). When he asked for a master to come with him to China to instruct the Chinese people, everybody, including Buddhasena himself, recommended Buddhabhadra. Therefore, Zhiyan ardently entreated Buddhabhadra to come to China, and the latter finally consented. They traveled through the

---

Faxian [T51:857c25-29], it is clear that this corresponds to what we usually call northwest India). As the biography of Buddhabhadra in the *GSZ* says, "always with his colleague Saṅghadatta he roamed/studied in 'Kashmir'" 常與同學僧伽達多,共遊 罽賓 (T50:334c7-8), his native place must have been outside of "Kashmir." (The charadter *you* 遊, which I translated as "roam/study," usually means that one is outside of one's original area).

Jibin 罽賓 "Kashmir," is a problematic word, and what this word exactly meant is a matter of controversy. According to a recent study by Enomoto Fumio (1993, 265), in texts translated from Indic languages, Jibin is clearly used as a transcription of Kaśmira or its derivative form. On the other hand, according to him, in texts written by Chinese Buddhists, especially in the *CSJ* and the *GSZ*, Jibin seems to have included Gandhāra, and perhaps other adjoining areas as well.

Sadakata Akira 1991, 479 (based on Kuwayama Shōshin 1990, 43-59) points out that Faxian 法顯 and Songyun 宋雲, who travelled to India, distinguishes Gandhāra from Kashmir, but Sengyou 僧祐, the author of the *GSZ*, who has never been to India does not make this distinction. Therefore, Sengyou, in his *GSZ*, writes that the "Buddha's bowl" was in "Kashmir," which actually must have been in Gandhāra (Puruṣapura).

From the foregoing discussion, it is very likely that "Kashmir" in the *GSZ* included the Gandhāra area, but the native place of Buddhabhadra seems to have been excluded from "Kashmir" even in the *GSZ*'s usage. Since Nagarahāra was west of Gandhāra, if Buddhabhadra was from Nagarahāra, this treatment of the *GSZ* can be easily explained. For these reasons, I think it is highly likely that "the city of Naheli" from which Buddhabhadra came was indeed Nagarahāra. This point will prove important when we later discuss the "Buddha Image Cave." See also Zürcher 1972, 224, where "Buddha Image Cave" and the *GSHJ* are briefly discussed.

Considering the uncertainty about the exact referent of the word Jibin, in this dissertation, when some Chinese text has Jibin, in principle I indicated it as "Kashmir" (with quotation marks).

14. Note that the stage of Buddhabhadra, who was clearly a Mahāyānist, is described in a Traditional term. We can observe a similar phenomenon in Guṇavarman's biography also (*GSZ*, T50:3421-b). Actually, this type of Mahāyāna-Traditional "hybridism" is very widely seen among the meditators of this period.

Pamir plateau up to Jiaozhi 交趾 (the vicinity of the present-day Hanoi, Vietnam) on land, then took a ship and reached Qingzhou Donglaijun 青州東莱郡 (in present Shandong province 山東省). They went to Chang'an, where they associated with Kumārajīva, but later Buddhabhadra was involved in a conflict with Kumārajīva's disciples and moved to Mount Lu (Lushan) 廬山 (at this time Zhiyan went to the Shandong monastery [Shandong Jingshe] 山東精舍, *GSZ*, T50:339b11). There, welcomed by Huiyuan 慧遠, he translated several meditation texts. Later he translated the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* (*Huayan jing*) 華嚴經 at the Daochang monastery (Daochang si) 道場寺 in Jiankang 建康 (the present-day Nanjing). The texts he translated are listed in the *CSJ* (T55:11c9-25). He died in the sixth year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 era (429) at the age of seventy-one. Therefore his dates are 359-429.

d. Later Quotations

One of the ways to assess the position of a text in Buddhist history is to check instances in which the text is quoted in later works. The *GSHJ* was liberally quoted in a wide variety of sources as the following examples will illustrate. Although they are by no means comprehensive, let us look at a few noteworthy quotations of the *GSHJ* in later works.

The *GSHJ* is already quoted extensively in Baochang's 寶唱 *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相 (No.2121), compiled in 516, as follows: T53:17b4 (from the *GSHJ* Chapter 3); 23b17-24a9 (from Chapter 7); 29c25-30a5 (from Chapter 6); 124c4-25b16 (from Chapter 6); 239a23-b17 (from Chapter 1); 253c17-54a2 (from Chapter 1); 262c9-67a14 (from Chapter 4). The quoted text is almost the same as the one we have in the Taishō canon. This probably indicates that the *GSHJ* existed in its present form at the latest by the early sixth century.

The *Cibei daochang chanfa* 慈悲道場懺法 attributed to Emperor Wu 武帝 of the Liang dynasty (r. 502-49) also contains lengthy quotations from the *GSHJ* (T45:939b5-40c2; cf. 958b17-21 [from Chapter 4]). This attribution, is questioned by Yang Liansheng (1961, 966), who points out that this text does not seem to have been in circulation until the Sui period (581-618). Shioiri Ryōdō, on the other hand, believes that the text is indeed from the age of Emperor Wu (quoted in Daniel Bruce Stevenson 1987, 303-5). This may well be another example of early quotation of the *GSHJ*.

The *CSJ* mentions the *GSHJ* as the source of story on the "Buddha Image Cave" (T55:88a9). As Soper points out (1959, 191), this suggests that people in the period of the *CSJ* had particular interest in this story. Soper even claims that the passage concerning the "Buddha Image Cave" in the *GSHJ* "suggests very strongly a possible prototype for the layouts of the colossal caves with seated Buddhas at Yün-kang [雲岡]" (ibid.).

Zhii 智顗 (538-97), the famous de-facto founder of Tiantai school, drew upon the *GSHJ* when he described the method of *Pratyutpannasamādhi* in his magnum opus, the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀. See Daniel Bruce Stevenson 1987, 167.

Another noteworthy early source is Daochuo's 道綽 (562-645) *Anle ji* 安樂集 (T47:5a28-b26 [from Chapter 1]; 6c5-7a4 [from Chapter 8]; 13c23-24a19 [from Chapter 8]; 17c8-29 [from Chapter 8]).[15] He refers to the *GSHJ* to support his interpretation of the concept "calling the Buddha to mind" (*nianfo* 念佛).

Later in the Tang period, Shandao 善導 (613-81), another eminent Pure Land master, also relied heavily on the *GSHJ*. In the *Zhuanjing xingdao yuan wangsheng jingtu fashi zan* 轉經行道願往生淨土法事讚 (*The Praise of the Ritual of Chanting Sūtras and Circumambulation Wishing to be Reborn in the Pure Land*, [No. 1979]; hereafter *Fashi zan* 法事讚), there are following quotations: T47:428c7-29b19 (from Chapter 4); 430a4-b10

15. I owe these citations to my colleague Miyai Rika 宮井里佳.

(from Chapter 4; under the title *Diyu jing* 地獄經, *"The Sūtra on Hell"*). His *Guannian Emituofo xianghai sanmei gongde famen* 觀念阿彌陀佛相海三昧功德法門 (*The Dharma Gate of the Merits of the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of Amitābha Buddha's Bodily Marks*, [No.1959]; hereafter *Guannian famen* 觀念法門) also contains a neat summary of the methods of visualization set forth in the *GSHJ* (T47:22c8-23a21 [from Chapter 3]) and a lengthy quotation from it (T47:29c9-29 [from Chapter 12]).

His disciple Huaigan 懷感 also refers to the *GSHJ* in his *Shi jingtu qunyi lun* 釋淨土群疑論 (*A Treatise to Solve Various Questions on the Pure Land*, [No.1960]). The quotation concerning repentance in T47:76c12-25 (mentioned by Yang 1961, 966-67) would be significant.

Daoshi 道世 (-668-) quotes the *GSHJ* extensively in the sections on *nianfo* and *guanfo* in his voluminous anthology of Buddhist texts, the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T53:381c21-82c21 [No.2122]).

In Korea, Wŏnhyo 元暁 (617-86) refers to the *GSHJ* as a text on visualization and repentance in his commentary on the *Maitreya Visualization Sūtra* (*Mile shangsheng jing zongyao* 彌勒上生經宗要, *"The Essential Teaching of the Sūtra on Maitreya Bodhisattva Being Reborn* [*in the Tuṣita Heaven*]," T38:300b13-16 [No.1773]; discussed in Alan Sponberg 1988, 99).

In Japan, Genshin's 源信 famous work, the *Ōjō yōshū* 往生要集 (*A Collection of the Essentials on the Rebirth* [*in the Pure Land*], No.2682) frequently refers to the *GSHJ*, and particularly his detailed description of the bodily marks of Amitābha are largely taken from the *GSHJ*, as Genshin himself acknowledges (T84:53a5-55b22).

The chanting manual titled *Foshuo xianghao jing* 佛說相好經 (*The Sūtra on the* [*Buddha's*] *Major and Minor Bodily Marks Spoken by the Buddha*) found in Turfan and Dunhuang is another example of the influence of the *GSHJ* (the aforementioned text considered as a variant translation of the *GSHJ* by Jiang [p.30 of this dissertation]). This

text seems to correspond to the *Guanfo xianghao jing* 觀佛相好經 (The *Sūtra on the Visualization of the Buddha's Major and Minor Bodily Marks*) listed in the *KSL* (T55:654a28).[16] From the contents, the *Foshuo xianghao jing* appears to be a manual excerpted from the *GSHJ*, in which the directive "chant the name of Amitābha three times" is repeated after the description of every item of bodily marks of Śākyamuni Buddha. The combination of the cults of Śākyamuni and Amitābha is curious, and this text will be discussed in more detail later.

Again, the above list is by no means comprehensive, but even a casual survey of Buddhist literature reveals that the *GSHJ* was noted by later Buddhists in such various contexts as visualization, repentance, description of hells, and chanting. Such divergent ways of approaching this text reflect the multifaceted nature of the *GSHJ* itself and serve as an indication that the *GSHJ* was not regarded simply as a manual of visualization.

The *GSHJ* itself never became a particularly popular text in East Asia, but, as we have seen just above, it remained one of the important textual sources especially in Pure Land traditions. Considering the close relationship between the *GSHJ* and the *GWSJ*, it is natural that they interpreted the latter text in conjunction with the former. Although the main focus of this dissertation is Central Asia, we should note that the *GSHJ* was a significant text to the well-known Buddhist masters in East Asia as well.

---

16. Under this text, the *KSL* notes that "it appears in volume 1 of the new compilation of the *GSHJ*" 出觀佛三昧海經新編上. What this "new compilation of the *GSHJ*" means is not clear, but since this is a section listing the texts abridged from larger texts, probably what the *KSL* means is that the *Guanfo xianhao jing* is also an abridgement of the *GSHJ*. This text is already noted by Yamada Meiji (1967, 42).

Notes to the Table

[1] This chapter gives several lists of the objects of meditation. Therefore, in this case *di* 地, like its Sanskrit equivalent *bhūmi* sometimes means, seems to signify the objects of meditation. Yamada Meiji (1967, 43) considers it strange that the title of the second chapter has the character *xu* 序, which often means "preface," and counts this point as one of the structural problems. It seems to me, however, that here the character *xu* 序 means "to state in order, enumerate" rather than "preface."

[2] 四無量心 is a standard translation of Sanskrit *catvāri apramāṇāni*. My translation is based on Chinese.

2. A Survey of Related Texts

To better understand the *GSHJ* and the intellectual environment from which it developed, it would be wise for us to first examine other meditative texts from the same period. The relevant texts purportedly "translated" during the early fifth century can be classified into two basic types: the "visualization sūtras" (*guanjing* 觀經), which take the format of Mahāyāna sūtras; and the "meditation manuals" (*chanjing* 禪經), which largely follow the framework of Traditional meditative practice.[1] This examination of "meditation manuals" includes a discussion of the *YL* because it also follows essentially Traditional meditative methods. Though its date of composition remains uncertain, and though a Chinese version does not seem to exist, the *YL* is of particular interest because we can include a Sanskrit meditation manual in our discussion.

Many of these texts are closely related to the *GSHJ* in style and content, but, like the *GSHJ* itself, their backgrounds are often very unclear. The bibliographic information on these texts found in the Taishō canon, which basically follows the *KSL*, is often questionable and sometimes entirely wrong. Even the information found in older and more reliable sources, such as the *CSJ* and the *GSZ*, is not always accurate and needs to be examined carefully. These texts can serve as valuable gauges in measuring the position of the *GSHJ* in the textual history of Buddhism. If, however, the gauges themselves are unstable they will not be of much help in clarifying the background of the *GSHJ*. For this reason we need to examine these texts in detail.

The methodology of this chapter is chiefly philological in nature. First, we have to examine the external evidence, namely the old bibliographic and historical records (such as the *CSJ*, the *GSZ*, and the *MSZ*). While this is a standard procedure in discussing the

---

1. For this difference in the formats, I translate the same character *jing* 經 differently for *guanjing* and *chanjing*.

textual background of Chinese Buddhist texts, in the cases of such problematic texts as we are discussing in this chapter, external examination alone does not provide conclusive results. In order to reach more decisive conclusions, we need to look into the contents of the texts themselves. Structural disorder of these texts will be carefully analyzed, and their contents will be closely compared with other relevant texts. Often the findings from the external method will be forced to be reexamined in the light of the internal textual evidence.

This philological examination will reveal that virtually all of these texts are compilatory works; none of them seems to have been composed by a single author with coherent intention. Some of them (especially those compiled by Kumārajīva) are more carefully organized than others, but in many cases (including the *GSHJ* itself) structural disorder is conspicuous. Furthermore, some of these texts have greatly variant versions, suggesting that these texts remained unstandardized and fluid for a certain length of time. The importance of these points will become apparent through the discussion in subsequent chapters.

a. Six Visualization Sūtras

Including the *GSHJ* itself, there are altogether six visualization sūtras (六觀經), all allegedly translated into Chinese in the early fifth century.[2] The following is a list of these six texts and their translators according to traditional attributions:

---

2. According to the *CSJ* (T55:106c4) and the *GSZ* (T50:337a13), Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲 obtained another sūtra on the visualization of Avalokiteśvara at Turfan. This one is not extant.

See also the *Zhonjing mulu* 衆經目録 (*A Catalogue of Various Sūtras* [No.2147]), which lists the *Guan yueguang pusaji jing* 觀月光菩薩記經 (*The Sūtra on the Records of Visualizing Moon-Light Bodhisattva*, T55:173b20) as a doubtful text and the *Wenshou guanjing* 文殊觀經 (*The Sūtra on the Visualization of Mañjuśrī*, T55:176b18) as a lost text.

(1) *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經. (*The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha*, T15:645c-97a [No.643], *GSHJ*). Translated by Buddhabhadra 佛陀跋陀羅.

(2) *Guan Mile pusa shangsheng Doulütian jing* 觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經 (*The Sūtra on the Visualization of Maitreya Bodhisattva Being Reborn in the Tuṣita Heaven*, T14:418b-20c [No.452], *GMSJ*). Translated by Juqu Jingsheng 沮渠京聲.

(3) *Guan puxian pusa xingfa jing* 觀普賢菩薩行法經 (*The Sūtra on the Method of the Practice of Visualizing Samantabhadra Bodhisattva*, T9:389b-94b [No. 277], *GPXJ*). Translated by Dharmamitra 曇無蜜多.

(4) *Guan Xukongzang pusa jing* 觀虛空藏菩薩經 (*The Sūtra on the Visualization of Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva*, T13:677b-80c [No.409], *GXJ*). Translated by Dharmamitra 曇摩蜜多.

(5) *Guan Yaowang Yaoshang erpusa jing* 觀藥王藥上二菩薩經 (*The Sūtra on the Visualization of Two Bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata*, T20:660c-66b [No.1161], *GYYJ*). Translated by Kālayaśas 畺良耶舍.

(6) *Guan Wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經 (*The Sūtra on the Visualization of Amitāyus*, T12:340c-46b [No.365], *GWSJ*). Translated by Kālayaśas 畺良耶舍.

Since we surveyed the *GSHJ* in the last chapter, let us move on to the other five sūtras in this chapter. Most of these sūtras are discussed in Soper 1959, and more briefly in Julian Pass 1977 (200-4) and Raoul Birnbaum [1979]1989 (37-38). As in the previous chapter, I shall discuss in principle the following three points on each text: (1) brief summary of the contents; (2) bibliographic information (translator, etc.) and textual background; (3) the influence of the text in later Chinese Buddhism. Discussion of the last point is not at all intended to be comprehensive. I shall name just a few examples of the usage of the text in subsequent Buddhist history in order to illustrate the significance of the text.

b. *Guan Mile pusa shangsheng Doulütian jing. (The Sūtra on the Visualization of Maitreya Bodhisattva Being Reborn in the Tusita Heaven, GMSJ).*

In the *GMSJ*, Śākyamuni Buddha predicts Maitreya's rebirth in the Tuṣita heaven and describes the beauty of this heaven. He then explains the practice that will result in rebirth in the Tuṣita heaven (meditation on the Buddha's image, chanting Maitreya's name [T14:420a14], etc.). This portion, however, is very simple and cannot be characterized as a systematized manual of visualization (Soper 1959, 216). We should also note that the *Mile xiasheng jing* 彌勒下生經 (*The Sūtra on Maitreya's Rebirth in This World*," T14:421a-28b [Nos. 453-55]) is mentioned in this text (T14:420a8), thus clearly the *GMSJ* presupposes the *Mile xiasheng jing*. In general, the *GMSJ* seems to be a carelessly compiled text based on prior texts on Maitreya (Matsumoto Bunzaburō 1911, 87-88).[3]

The record in the *CSJ* (T55:13a9-15) indicates that this text was brought to the "capital" 京都 (of the southern dynasties, i.e., Jiankang 建康) by Juqu (Jingsheng), Marquis of Anyang 沮渠安陽侯.[4] According to his biographies in the *CSJ* (T55:106b22-c19) and the *GSZ* (T50:337a4-23), he was a younger cousin of Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜, King of Hexi 河西 (Northern Liang 北涼). While an infant he received the five precepts (according to the *GSZ*, from Dharmakṣema) and studied Buddhist texts. It is said that what he read he could immediately recite (from memory). When young he crossed the desert to Khotan. There he

3. The contents of this sūtra are surveyed in Soper 1959, 215-16; see also Demiéville 1954, 382-83.

Hayashiya Tomojirō 1945, 141-215 and Myōjin Hiroshi 1988?, 81-85 discuss the relation between this and other sūtras on Maitreya.

4. According to the *LSJ* (T49:84c12), his given name was Jingsheng 京聲.

met the Indian master Buddhasena 佛陀[5]斯那 at the Great Temple of *Gomatī 衢摩帝大寺.[6] This Buddhasena may have been the same person that composed the *Damo duoluo chanjing* 達摩多羅禪經 (The **Yogācārabhūmi* of Buddhasena, T15:301b-25c [No.618], *YBhB*).[7] According to the records on Juqu Jingsheng, Buddhasena originally studied Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is said that he was a genius who could recite fifty million verses and was also competent in meditation. He was completely versed in Buddhist and secular texts, and hence he was called "a lion among men." Jingsheng studied the *Zhi chanbing miyao fa* 治禪病秘要法 (*The Secret Essential Methods to Cure the Diseases Caused by Meditation*, T15:333a-42b [No.620], *ZCMF*) with Buddhasena and recited the Sanskrit text until he became proficient in it (因其胡本口誦通利; *CSJ*, T55:106c3; *GSZ*, T50:337a12). On his way back to the east, he obtained two visualization sūtras on Maitreya (*GMSJ*) and on

5. The *GSZ* has *tuo* 馱 (the right-hand part is 大, not 太) instead of *tuo* 陀.

6. On this temple, see Myōjin 1988?, 80.

7. Generally the master of Buddhabhadra and the master of Juqu Jingsheng are thought to be the same person (for example, see Lin 1949, 350), but this point is uncertain.

Juqu Jingsheng is not mentioned in dynastic histories, and the date of the instruction by Buddhasena is not recorded even in the *CSJ* and the *GSZ*. Therefore determining the date of this instruction is difficult, and in the first place I am not entirely sure if this instruction was a historical fact. If we assume the historicity of the episode for the time being, this instruction must have taken place at least several years before the downfall of Northern Liang 北涼 (439). See the *CSJ*, T55:106c2-6; *GSZ*, T50:337a7-15. According to the *GSZ*, Juqu Jingsheng went to Khotan after studying Buddhism for a while with Dharmakṣema. On the other hand, according to the biography of Dharmakṣema, he began translating the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* in 414 after studying Chinese for three years (T50:336a23-b5). Therefore he must have come to Northern Liang in 411. If so, Juqu Jingsheng would not have been in Khotan before the mid 410s.

On the other hand, the date of Buddhabhadra's arrival in China is also not known, but as he met Kumārajīva, who died around 409 (see Kamata Shigeo 1983. 213-25), at Chang'an 長安, and as his travel from "Kashmir" to China must have taken three years or more (T50:334c22), he must have left Kashmir and his master Buddhasena around the very beginning of the fifth century. Therefore there is a gap of about fifteen years or more between Buddhabhadra's leaving from Buddhasena and Juqu Jingsheng's encounter with Buddhasena.

As Buddhabhadra's dates are 359-429, he must have been around forty when he left "Kashmir." On the other hand, usually a master would be significantly older than his disciple. If we assume that Buddhasena was ten years older than Buddhabhadra, Buddhasena must have been around fifty when Buddhabhadra left him, and in the mid 410s he must have reached sixty-five or so. It seems rather unlikely such an old man could have traveled easily all the way from "Kashmir" to Khotan.

Here the *GSZ* is evidently based on the *CSJ*, and the latter does not mention Dharmakṣema in conjunction with Jingsheng. If we ignore the relation between Jingsheng and Dharmakṣema, the difficulty is resolved. Nevertheless, at this stage, it would be safer not to assume that the master of Buddhabhadra and the master of Juqu Jingsheng were the same person.

Avalokiteśvara in Turfan. Then, returning to Hexi, he translated the meditation manual 禪要 into Chinese. After the downfall of Northern Liang (439) he fled to the territory under the rule of the Song 宋 dynasty in the south. There he first wrote down (or recited) the two visualization sūtras on Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara (初出彌勒觀[世][8]音二觀經; *CSJ*, 55:106c8; *GSZ*, T50:337a16-17).[9] In 455 the nun Huijun 慧濬 heard him reciting the meditation text (*ZCMF*) and asked him to write it down. As he had long recited this text, he wrote it down with ease and in seventeen days he completed a manual of five fascicles (至孝建二年, 竹園寺比丘尼慧濬, 聞其諷誦禪經, 請令傳寫. 安陽通習積久, 臨筆無滯. 旬有七日出爲五卷; *CSJ*, T55:106c10-13; cf. *GSZ*, T50:337a18-20).[10] In the same year he also wrote down (or translated 續出)[11] the *Fomu nihuan jing* 佛母泥洹經 (not extant)[12] at the upper Dinglin monastery 定林上寺 in Mount Zhong 鍾山 (near Nanjing). He died in the late Daming 大明 era (457-64).

Elsewhere the *CSJ* (T55:13a9-15) says that the two visualization sūtras on Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara were brought to the "capital" (Jiankang 建康) by Juqu Jingsheng. Both of these sūtras were obtained in Turfan, where they had been "long since translated." As

---

8. This character is missing in the *GSZ*.

9. According to the record elsewhere in the *CSJ* (T55:13a14-15), these two sūtras were "translated into Chinese" long before Juqu Jingsheng came to Turfan. Therefore, the *chu* 出 here would not mean "to translate."

10. Here again, this *chu* 出 does not mean "to translate." Cf. the following: "On the eighth day of the ninth month of the second year of the Xiaojian era (455), under the rule of the Song dynasty, he wrote down this manual at the Monastery of Bamboo Garden" 以宋孝建二年九月八日, 於竹園精舍書出此經 (*CSJ*, T55:66a29-b1). In the light of these records, another line from the *CSJ*: "In the second year of the Xiaojian era (455), under the rule of the Song dynasty, [this text was] translated at the Monastery of Bamboo Garden" 宋元孝建二年於竹園精舍譯出 (T55:13a11) should be regarded as a mistake.

11. See n.9.

12. The *GSZ* has *fofu* 佛父 instead of *fomu* 佛母 (T50:337a20), but this is wrong. Cf. *CSJ*, T55: 13a12. The *GSZ* adds *bo* 般 after *fomu* 佛母.

scholars have already noted (Fujita 1970,123; [1970]1990, 157; Tsukinowa 1971, 132), this record strongly suggests that these two texts were actually compiled in this area. Tsukinowa identifies many suspicious points (especially on the *dhāraṇī*) in the Chinese text of the *GMSJ* and argues for its apocryphal nature (ibid., 131-44). Based on Jizang's 吉藏 (549-623) commentary on this sūtra (*Milejing youyi* 彌勒經遊意, T38:263b23-25 [No.1771]), Tsukinowa (1971, 139) maintains that a phrase describing Maitreya's place of birth and natal family ("he was born in the family of Brāhmaṇa Bāvari [Ch. Boboli],[13] at the village of Kapāli [Ch. Jieboli] in the state of Vārāṇasī [Ch. Boluonai]" 波羅捺国，劫波利村，波婆利大婆羅門家生; *GMSJ*, T14:419c14-15) was based on the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 (*The Sūtra on the Wise and the Foolish*, T4:432b13-c2 [No.202], *XYJ*),[14] which itself was translated and compiled in Turfan (*CSJ*, T55:67c17-18). The *XYJ* is also an important text in regard to the *GSHJ*. This is a point to which we shall return later in our discussion (see Section III.3).

The *GMSJ* is counted as one of the so-called "six sūtras on Maitreya" 彌勒六部經 (Matsumoto 1911, 67-91). Visionary encounter with Maitreya was a very important experience for advanced meditators, and many such experiences of both Indian and Chinese monks are recorded in Chinese sources (Demiéville 1954, 376-87). It is almost certain that the *GMSJ* came out of such general milieu. When we consider the fact that the *GMSJ* specifically addresses the issue of rebirth in Tuṣita heaven (ibid., 88-91), an issue of central importance to the Maitreya cult in East Asia, the prominent position of this sūtra in East Asian Buddhism is easily understandable. It would be suggestive of its importance that the

13. Bāvari is the name of a Brāhmaṇa who sent his disciples, including Ajita and Tissametteyya (Skt. Tiṣya-Maitreya), to the Buddha in the Pārāyanavagga of the *Suttanipāta* (V.976-1149). See Matsumoto 1911, 169-90; Tsukinowa 1971, 139. See also Étienne Lamotte [1958]1988, 699-701. On the form Bāvari instead of Bhāvarī, see Nakamura Hajime 1984, 411-12.

14. The word "the village Kapāli (Ch. Jieboli)" 劫波利村 is not found in the text of the *XYJ* in the Taishō canon. Jizang, however, quotes the *XYJ* this way, so at one point there must have been a version of the *XYJ* that had contained this word. Concerning the Sanskritization of 劫波利, I follow Lamotte [1958]1988, 700.

GMSJ was commented on by such eminent figures as Jizang 吉藏 (T No.1771), Cien 慈恩 (632-82; T No.1772),[15] Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617-86; T No.1773), and Kyŏnghŭng[16] 憬興 (n.d.; T No.1774).[17] Further, we should refer to the section on the Maitreya veneration in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T53:402a-8b), in which the *GMSJ* figures as one of the major sources (Stevenson 1987, 245).

In addition, there is a text of popular exposition of this sūtra found in Dunhuang (P. 3093; Kanaoka Shōkō 1971, 104). This is another indication that these "visualization sūtras" were not necessarily used for visualization.

We could also add that at the death bed of Kūkai 空海, the renowned founder of the Japanese Shingon school, his disciples are said to have chanted the name of Maitreya (其間御弟子等共唱彌勒寶號, *Kongōbuji konryū shugyō engi* 金剛峯寺建立修行緣起 [*The Records Concerning the Establishment of and the Practice at the Kongōbuji Temple*] in *Kōbō Daishi den zenshū* 弘法大師傳全集 1:55a15). The cult of chanting the name of Maitreya is apparently found only in the *GMSJ* (Kobayashi Nobuhiko 1990, 18-20).

c. *Guan puxian pusa xingfa jing (The Sūtra on the Method of the Practice of Visualizing Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, GPXJ)*

The *GPXJ* is a better organized text on seeing the vision of Samantabhadra bodhisattva mounted on a white elephant with six tusks (surveyed in Soper 1959, 222-23; Pas 1977, 202). This sūtra clearly presupposes the *Samantabhadrotsāhana-parivarta*,

---

15. Cien is his style after the name of the temple he resided in (Da Cien si 大慈恩寺). Due to the problems concerning his real Buddhist name, I use this style. See Stanley Weinstein 1959, 129-36.

16. He was Korean.

17. See Tsukinowa 1971, 135 and Alan Sponberg 1988.

"the chapter on the encouragement by Samantabhadra," of the *Lotus Sūtra* (the last chapter in Kumārajīva's version) and develops the image found there. Thus it is in a way natural that the Tiantai 天台 tradition regards this sūtra as the "concluding sūtra" 結經 of the *Lotus* and highly respects it. The *GPXJ* puts a strong emphasis on repentance, and naturally this sūtra is closely linked to bodhisattva precepts. The ultimate form of repentance presented in this sūtra is the so-called "formless repentance" 無相懺悔 (see David Chappel 1990, 257-58). The following verses of the *GPXJ* are very famous and considered as the fundamental principle of the Tiantai repentance (T9:393b10-12), which is quoted in an abridged form in the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 at a critical juncture (Sekiguchi 1:87-88):

> The sea of all the karmic obstructions arise from deluded thinking. If one wishes to repent, one should be seated upright and meditate on the true aspect [of dharmas]. Sins are like frost or dew; the sun of wisdom can remove them.[18]

Further, the method of self-ordination stipulated towards the end of this sūtra is very important. Again, in the Tiantai tradition, the ritual of conferring the bodhisattva precepts of the famous *Fanwang jing* (*Brahmā Net Sūtra* 梵網經, T24:997b-1010a [No.1484]), including the self-ordination that requires visionary experience, is performed according to this method of the *GPXJ* (Fukuda Gyōei 1954, 612-14). Although all of the six visualization sūtras emphasize the expiation of sins, the *GPXJ* is representative in terms of the close combination of visionary experiences and ordination/repentance.

On the position of this sūtra in China, we should also refer to the work of Funayama Tōru (1995, 29-32; 67-77), which points out that the *GPXJ* was instrumental in introducing bodhisattva precepts to southern China, and that the *GPXJ* was closely associated with a religious ceremony called *puxianzhai* 普賢齋, "Samantabhadra

---

18. 一切業障海　皆從妄想生
若欲懺悔者　端坐念實相
衆罪如霜露　慧日能消除

Observance." Stevenson collects various texts that mention this ceremony (1987, 244; 249-51).

The translation is attributed to Dharmamitra 曇摩蜜多 by the *CSJ* (T55:12b28-c4), *MSZ* (ZZ 2B.7.10a12), and the *GSZ* (T50:343a5). The *LSJ* lists two other versions (by *Jitamitra [Qiduomi] 祇多蜜/訶友 [T49:71c7] and by Kumārajīva [T49:78c10]), but this information is considered to be baseless (Mochizuki 1946, 282-83).

On Dharmamitra, we have two almost identical biographies (*CSJ*, T55:104c29-5b16; *GSZ*, T50:342c8-343a29) and another slightly different biography (*MSZ*, ZZ 2B.7.1.10a6-16). Here let us briefly see his life mainly based on the first two sources.

Dharmamitra was from "Kashmir" and practiced there under eminent masters. Although he was widely conversant in sūtras, he was particularly proficient in meditation. He wished to spread the Dharma and, after traveling around various states, came to Kuchā. There he was patronized by the king and stayed for several years. After that he came to China in 424 via Dunhuang 敦煌 and Liangzhou 涼州. (According to the *MSZ*, he reached Jiangling 江陵 [in the present-day Hebei province 湖北省] in 422). At the Qihuan Temple 祇洹寺 in the capital, he translated the *Chanjing* 禪經 (*WCYF* ?), *Chan fayao* 禪法要,[19] *Puxian guan* 普賢觀 (=*GPXJ*), *Xukongzang guan* 虛空藏觀 (=*GXJ*). According to the *MSZ*, the *Chan miyao* 禪秘要 (*CMJ*) and the *Wumen chanjing* 五門禪經 (*WCYF*) were translated in 441.[20] He died in 442 at the age of 87 (*GSZ*) or 80 (*MSZ*), and so his dates are 356-442 (*GSZ*) or 363-442 (*MSZ*).[21]

Here what the "*Chanjing*" in the *CSJ* (biography portion) and the *GSZ* refers to is

---

19. This must mean the *CMJ*. The *CSJ* says that the *Chan miyao* 禪秘要 was also called *Chan fayao* 禪法要 (T55: 12c1).

20. The *CSJ* gives the same translation date (441) on the *CMJ*. See T55:12c1.

21. Dharmamitra's biography is surveyed in Kodama Daien, Nakayama Masaaki, and Chokkai Gentetsu (1992, 131).

not entirely clear, but if we read these records in conjunction with the *MSZ* and the catalogue portion of the *CSJ*, probably the referent is the *WCYF*. Therefore we can fairly safely conclude that an old tradition attributed four meditative texts (*GPXJ*, *GXJ*, *WCYF*, and *CMJ*) to Dharmamitra. As we shall discuss later, however, all of these texts have serious textual problems and are very likely apocryphal. Especially, the *GXJ* is clearly a patchwork of several Chinese Buddhist texts and cannot be a translation. Concerning the *GPXJ* itself, Mochizuki Shinkō (1946, 282-98) considers that this is a sūtra compiled based on the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經 (*The Sūtra on the Good Morality of Bodhisattvas*, T30:960a-1013c [No.1582]; 1013c-18b [No.1583]; hereafter *Shanjie jing*), and so forth. Tsukinowa (1971, 119-22) further points out several questionable points in the translation and expressed strong suspicion about its authenticity. The *GXJ* and the *GPXJ* are both texts on bodhisattva precepts and are closely interrelated. Therefore in a way it is reasonable to believe that these two texts should be attributed to the same "translator," but it is equally unlikely that these two texts were translated from a non-Chinese language. If they were not translations, of course there cannot be a "translator." Thus, we need to be very cautious when dealing with "Dharmamitra's translations" (cf. Tsukinowa asserts that there is no translation by Dharmamitra at all [1971, 123]).

According to his biographies, Dharmamitra seems to have been an eminent meditator. Perhaps his name was used as a convenient mark to give some apocryphal texts an air of authority. Together with the *Shanjie jing* and the *GXJ*, the *GPXJ* had close ties to south China (cf. Funayama 1995, 29-32; 67-77). As a renowned meditator (but probably a poor Chinese reader/speaker) who had eventually settled down in south China, Dharmamitra's name would have been easy to use for such a purpose.

d. *Guan xukongzang pusa jing (The Sūtra on the Visualization of Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva, GXJ)*

The *GXJ* is a very short sūtra.[22] Instructions on visualization methods are very incomplete, and many important concepts are left unexplained. It is not unfair to say that this text was an unfinished draft (Tsukinowa 1971, 118). The main emphasis of the text lies in repentance and in the vision of Ākāśagarbha as a proof of his purification. As I have discussed elsewhere (Yamabe, n.d.; see also Tsukinowa 1971, 112-14; cf. 88-89), this text is clearly a compilation based on the *Shanjie jing* (with the incorporated *Upālipariprcchā*) and the *Ākāśagarbhasūtra*, and as such it is one of the representative texts of the tradition of "visionary repentance" in China. In its contents this text is closely related to the previous *GPXJ*, and thus in a way it is natural that the *GXJ* is attributed to the same "translator" Dharmamitra. Nevertheless, for the foregoing reasons, this cannot be a translation at all.

The *GXJ* was naturally understood as a text of repentance in the subsequent Chinese Buddhism. The *Fayuan zhulin* (T53:913b-c), for example, quotes this sūtra as a source of repentance (Stevenson 1987, 243).

e. *Guan yaowang yaoshang erpusa jing (The Sūtra on the Visualization of Two Bodhisattvas Bhaisajyarāja and Bhaisajyasamudgata, GYYJ)*

The *GYYJ* is a text on the visualization of the brother-bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata. Bhaiṣajyarāja is a bodhisattva appearing fairly frequently in Mahāyāna sūtras, with or without his younger brother Bhaiṣajyasamudgata (Raoul Birnbaum [1979]1989, 24-35; 224-27).[23] Especially, the *Lotus Sūtra*, which has a chapter

22. Soper mentions this sūtra very briefly (1959, p.206, n.17).

23. Bhaiṣajyarāja is far more popular than Bhaiṣajyasamudgata, but in some exceptional cases, Bhaiṣajyasamudgata appears without Bhaiṣajyarāja. See Birnbaum [1979]1989, 226).

specifically dedicated to the elder brother (*Bhaiṣajyarājapūrvayogaparivarta*, "The chapter on the former practice of Bhaiṣajyarāja") should be noted.[24]

As a meditation manual, this text is better organized than the *GXJ*, and the *GYYJ* is not a "draft" unlike the *GXJ*. Nevertheless, here again, as Tsukinowa points out, there are numerous problems in the text of the *GYYJ*, especially in the *dhāraṇī*s contained therein (1971, 86-101). Moreover, the sūtra clearly presupposes the *GSHJ*, and many expressions seem to have been taken from other Chinese Buddhist texts (see the table in Appendix 1). This cannot be a translation of an Indian text. Even among the six visualization texts, this must be a relatively late, "second generation" text (Pas 1977, 202 of the same opinion).

The *GYYJ* is treated as an anonymous translation in the *CSJ* (T55:22b20-21), but the *GSZ* mentions this text as a translation of Kālayaśas in his biography (T50:343c17). The *LSJ* lists another version by An Shigao 安世高 (T49:52b20), but this information should be disregarded (Tokiwa [1938]1973, 511).

According to the biography in the *GSZ* (T50:343c11-44a4),[25] Kālayaśas was from "western areas" 西域人.[26] Although he was versed in the Three Baskets of Buddhist scriptures, his real specialty was in meditation. When he practiced meditation, sometimes he did not rise up for seven days. In the early Yuanjia era (424-53), he travelled across the desert and reached the capital (Jiankang 建康). Emperor Wen (Wenhuang) 文皇 deeply praised him. First he stayed at the Daolin monastery 道林精舍 at Mount Zhong 鐘山.[27] A

24. The text of the *GYYJ* is translated by Birnbaum ([1979]1989, 115-48) and discussed (ibid., 35-48). On this sūtra, see also Soper 1959, 203-6.

25. A French translation of this portion is found in Shih 1968, 147-48.

26. In the widest sense, the "western areas" can refer to any part west of China, including India. In the standard terminology of the *GSZ*, however, if somebody is from India, that person is usually described as "an Indian" 天竺人. Probably here "western areas" refers to Central Asia.

27. Note that Juqu Jingsheng was also at Mount Zhong.

monk Baozhi 寶誌 respected his method of meditation. A monk Senghan 僧含 asked Kālayaśas to translate the *GYYJ* and the *Amitāyus Visualization Sūtra* (*GWSJ*) and wrote down 筆受 the translation himself.

Mengyi 孟顗 from Pingchang 平昌 (in the present-day Anhui province 安徽省) admired Kālayaśas's teaching and generously supported him. When Mengyi left to govern Guiji 會稽 (eastern parts of Jiangsu 江蘇 and western parts of Zhejiang 浙江), he asked Kālayaśas to follow him, but the latter did not accept.

Later, Kālayaśas moved to Jiangliang 江陵 (in the present Hubei province 湖北省). On the nineteenth year of the Yuanjia era (442), he travelled to Ming 岷 and Shu 蜀 (both in the present Sichuan province 四川省) and disseminated the Way. Later he returned to Jiangliang and died there at the age of sixty.

Since the year of his death is not specified, we cannot determine his dates. As for the translation of the *GYYJ* and the *GWSJ*, as far as we follow the data given above, it must be between 424-42.[28]

The *GYYJ* was an important source for the ritual of repentance of the Three Stages School (Stevenson 1987, 272ff.). Further, J. J. M. de Groot (1893, 185) reports that in Fujian 福建 province in his days, this sūtra was the most popularly used text for the purification of sins.

28. The translation must have been after the first year of the Yuanjia era (424), when he reached Jiankang, and before Kālayaśas moved to Jiangliang in 442.

According to Fujita (1985, 20), since Senghan entered the capital on the seventh year of Yuanjia (430), the translation date of these two texts must be between 430-42. The *GSZ* states that when Tao Zhongzu 陶仲祖 established the Lingwei temple 靈味寺 (T50:370b16-17; which was in Jiankang; see ibid., T50:381c11-12), he invited Senghan to stay there. The *GSZ*, however, does not specify where Senghan was before entering the temple. Therefore, it is not certain if Senghan entered the capital this year. Accordingly, this argument is not necessarily conclusive.

f. *Guan wuliangshou jing (The Sūtra on the Visualization of Amitāyus, GWSJ)*

The *GWSJ* is by far the most famous sūtra among these six texts. Since the contents are well known, I shall avoid a detailed description of them here and provide only a brief summary. For a more detailed discussion, see Soper 1959, 145-46.

Ajātaśatru, crown prince of King Bimbisāra, is instigated by Devadatta to usurp the throne and confines the father King in a prison. Queen Vaidehī secretly carries food to the King and keeps him alive. When Ajātaśatru learns this, he gets furious and imprisons Vaidehī also. Entreated by the lamenting Queen, Śākyamuni Buddha miraculously visits her in her confinement and teaches her the method to see Amitābha's Pure Land. What is taught is the famous "sixteen methods of visualization" 十六觀, comprising thirteen modes of visualizing the Pure Land and Amitābha himself and three methods (subdivided into nine) of observing the people being reborn in the Pure Land.

Like the *GYYJ*, the *GWSJ* is also listed as an anonymous sūtra in the *CSJ* (T55:22a8). As I previously mentioned (p.51), however, the *GSZ* treats the text as a translation by Kālayaśas, and usually this attribution is accepted (Fujita [1970]1990, 152). The *Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定衆經目錄 (*The Catalogue of Various Sūtras Edited in the Great Zhou Dynasty*, T55:389c3 [No.2153]) lists another version by Dharmamitra. On the other hand, the *LSJ* lists two anonymous versions of the sūtra, one from the Latter Han 後漢 period (T49:54b25) and the other from the Eastern Jin 東晉 period (T49:74a29). The records on these variant versions are not reliable and should be disregarded (Fujita 1985, 21-22).

Like all the other texts of the "six visualization sūtras," the *GWSJ* is very obscure concerning its origin, and as a result the issue of whether or not a "translator" ever existed at all needs to be examined seriously. As I have suggested concerning Dharmamitra, "Kālayaśas" may have been used simply as a convenient name to lend an air of authority to the text. Concerning the translator of the *GWSJ*, I do not have any significant data to offer

an original argument. Nevertheless, since the attribution of the *GSHJ* to Buddhabhadra seems to be almost impossible in spite of the testimonies of *CSJ* and the *GSZ*, we would have to seriously consider the possibility that "Kālayaśas" was a mere name rather than historically plausible translator of the text.

Reflecting the importance of this sūtra in the East Asian Pure Land tradition, active discussions were exchanged concerning the origin of the *GWSJ*. These theories can be divided into the following three categories: (1) Indian theory; (2) Chinese theory; (3) Central Asian theory (summarized in Fujita 1985, 29-58). Some of them will be discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation. Recently, the Central Asian theory is most widely accepted, and I also concur with this general opinion. In the face of so many textual problems that Tsukinowa pointed out, it seems difficult to maintain the Indian theory now.

It would not be necessary to say much about the significance of the *GWSJ* in Chinese Buddhism. Numerous commentaries[29] and pictorial representations[30] of this sūtra testify to the popularity of this text. Here I just would like to point out that even a text of the Northern School of Chan (*Xiuxin yaolun* 修心要論, transcribed in John McRae 1986) mentions this text as a guide to elementary meditation (ibid., 127).

g. Visualization Sūtras in General

The point I wish to make is that all the visualization sūtras have serious problems concerning their origins. Such doubt was presented as early as 1946 by Mochizuki (282-98) and later more systematically by Tsukinowa (1971, 43-173). According to Tsukinowa

29. The Taishō canon alone contains six commentaries (Nos.1749-54). According to Kenneth Tanaka (1990, xvii): "From the Sui to Sung period, at least forty commentaries of the *Kuan-ching* are known . . . Nine have survived, and two more have been partially restored."

30. There are many *bianxiang* 變相 (so-called "transformation tableaux") based on this sūtra.

(ibid., 44-45), the problems can be summarized in the following points:

> (1) There are no Sanskrit originals, even fragments, quotations [in other Indian texts], other Chinese versions, Tibetan translation, or anything else that confirms the existence of the original texts.
>
> (2) It is unlikely that these sūtras can be restored to Sanskrit. In particular, it is almost impossible to know the Sanskrit original of the word *guan* 觀 in the title of the sūtra.
>
> (3) Attribution of these sūtras to the alleged translators is often doubtful; there are also many questionable words in these sūtras.
>
> (4) The contents are not very Indian.

Further, although Tsukinowa does not mention this in his own list, we can easily deduce one more point from his arguments.

> (5) These sūtras frequently presuppose other Chinese Buddhist texts.

We should further note that many of these texts are very carelessly organized. Moreover, in spite of their titles, not all of them are indeed designed as practical visualization manuals.

If we observe the texts that are clearly intended as practical manuals of the *"guan"* practice, they share certain typical features. They contain instructions on visualizing a certain Buddha/bodhisattva typically by first observing some external object (usually a statue) and impressing the visual image on the practitioner's consciousness.[31] The process

31. Robert Sharf in his unpublished manuscript read at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, 1994, points out that, contrary to the prevalent understanding, Japanese Esoteric *maṇḍalas* are not necessarily used as aids for visualization. This point needs to be taken into consideration. In the *GSHJ* also, the use of statues are advised only when the creation of images in one's mind does not go well. The use of statues may not be an indispensable element of the *guanfo* practice. Nevertheless, as we discussed in the Introduction, it is also true that many of the Chinese meditation texts from the fifth century mention the use of statues at the first step of visualization. I believe it is still fair to say that the use of the statue is one of the characteristic features of *guanfo*.

of observation/visualization usually follows an itemized list of objects to be observed/visualized in the mind, like individual bodily marks of the Buddha, or individual aspects of the Pure Land. Such a structure is not only seen in the visualization sūtras but also in some meditation manuals 禪經, such as the *ZSJ*, *CMJ*, *WCYF*, and can be considered as the standard technique of visualization in the meditative texts we are concerned with (visualization sūtras and meditation manuals). If we understand that such texts are practical visualization manuals, we should note that among the six so-called "visualization sūtras," only the *GSHJ* and the *GWSJ* have such expected features in full.[32]

The *GMSJ* and the *GXJ* hardly talk about concrete techniques of visualization, and in the case of the former, the emphasis is clearly on the rebirth in the Tuṣita heaven after the death, and in the latter, the concern is almost exclusively in the expiation of sins (Soper 1959, 216; Pas 1977, 200-1).

Although the *GMSJ* shares the stock phrase of the visualization sūtras: "If one visualizes this way, it is called correct visualization; otherwise, it is called wrong visualization," it is not a text designed to be a practical meditation manual. Rather, the *GMSJ* seems to be a second-generation text, apparently compiled in the Turfan area, modeled after the preceding visualization sūtras.[33]

As I have already mentioned, the *GXJ* is primarily a text on visionary repentance probably compiled based on the *Shanjie jing* in south China. Although this sūtra is closely related to the *GPXJ*, it shares few expressions typical of the other visualization sūtras, and

---

32. Cf. "A comparison between this treatise [*GSHJ*] and its better-known rival in the *kuan* group, the '*Sūtra* on Visualizing Amitāyus [*GWSJ*],' is instructive. Both teach what I have earlier described as 'a systematic building-up of visual images,' each as complete and precise as possible, in a sequence from the simple toward the complex.'" (Soper 1959, 190)

33. This is the opinion of Soper 1959, 216. Pas 1977, 201-2 objects this view and claims that "it is more likely that the Sūtra was written before the *KFC* [=*GWSJ*]." Pas's reasoning is not clear to me. If there are several texts that are all called "visualization sūtra," and if some of them, in spite of their titles, do not contain a concrete description of technique for visualization, it would be more natural to consider that those insubstantial so-called "visualization sūtras" were modeled after more substantial "visualization sūtras." I share Soper's opinion here.

in that sense this text seems to be somewhat an "outsider" among these six texts. The *GXJ* is a very important text in the context of bodhisattva precepts, and although the traditions of visualization and bodhisattva precepts are closely interrelated, within the tradition of the visualization sūtras itself, the *GXJ* is not a central text.

The *GPXJ* and the *GYYJ* stand somewhere in between. Although very incomplete, they somehow follow the format of itemized visualization manuals (see infra p.97). The *GYYJ* clearly presupposes the *GSHJ* as is confirmed by the express references to the latter (see the table in the Appendix 1). Moreover, if we follow Soper (1959, 204), the descriptions of Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata seem to have been taken from the descriptions of Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra in the *GWSJ*. This is also clearly a second-generation text modeled after the pre-existing visualization sūtras, particularly the *GSHJ* (see also Pas 1977, 202).

The *GPXJ* gives a step-by-step instruction on obtaining the vision of Samantabhadra. This text, however, is primarily a text of repentance. The basic principle of this text might be characterized as: the more purified the practitioner is, the more aspects of Buddhas and Samantabhadra will become visible to him. Such elements certainly exist in the *GSHJ* as well. Nevertheless, in the visualization-manual-proper portion of the *GSHJ* (Chapter 3) and in the *GWSJ*, the basic structure is that by practicing a certain type of visualization, an enormous amount of sins are expiated. In the case of the *GPXJ*, primary practice is repentance, and when the sins are purified, one gets the vision naturally as a reward or as a proof. This is not a practice of "visualization" proper. "Visualization" should be a conscious act of building some specific visual images within oneself; if a vision is obtained as a natural result of some religious act not specifically intended to build a visual image, it is not what we mean by "visualization."[34] Moreover, the stipulations on self-ordination in the end of the *GPXJ* (T9:393c11-94a11) strongly suggests a tie with the

34. Cf. "The title *kuan* is again not wholly justified" (Pas 1977, 202).

Shanjie jing (and to the *GXJ*) and accordingly to South China (see Yamabe, n.d.). I cannot be too conclusive on this point, but the *GPXJ* gives us the impression that it may have been compiled outside of the centers of the traditions of visualization in Central Asia that we are primarily concerned with.

As Fujita (1970, 127-29; [1970]1990, 164-65) and Tsukinowa emphasize, it is clear that all the six visualization sūtras are closely interrelated. They appear to be referring to one another. Nevertheless, from the foregoing considerations, it is also clear that these texts are not homogeneous. For the purpose of clarifying the traditions of visualization in Chinese Central Asia, not all of them have the same value. Rather, we should concentrate our primary attention to the two cardinal texts, the *GSHJ* and the *GWSJ*.

As I have already mentioned several times, the *GWSJ* and the *GSHJ* are very closely related (see the table in the Appendix 2). Scholars tend to believe that the *GWSJ* was influenced by the *GSHJ* (for example, Akanuma Chizen [1939]1981, 415; Fujita 1970, 130; [1970]1990, 161; Sueki 1992, 141-43). Fujita further suspects that the *GWSJ* was also influenced by the *GMSJ* (1970, 130; [1970]1990, 161). If that was the case, since the *GMSJ* seems to be a relatively late text, the most likely sequence of these three texts would be (1) *GSHJ*, (2) *GMSJ*, (3) *GWSJ*. I have another reason to suspect that the *GSHJ* was older than the *GWSJ*.[35] Nevertheless, any of these points are not strong enough to establish the precedence of the *GSHJ* to the *GWSJ*. Even so, it is now evident that the *GSHJ* is one of the cardinal sūtras in the study of these six visualization sūtras. Although other five visualization sūtras need to be referred to as necessary, our primary attention in this dissertation will be focused on the *GSHJ* itself.

35. Some examples will be discussed later in this dissertation.

h. Meditation Manuals

In addition to these visualization sūtras, we also need to take into account the following meditation manuals (*chanjing*) that were introduced to the Chinese Buddhist world around the same period as the *GSHJ*. Many of these texts also have serious textual problems, but at least it is clear that all of them were written as practical manuals. Moreover, some of them are very closely related to the *GSHJ* and may well have been presupposed by the *GSHJ*. Accordingly, these meditation manuals are in a way more important than the visualization sūtras other than the *GSHJ* itself (and the *GWSJ*). For this reason, I would like to discuss them more carefully than the visualization sūtras. The titles and alleged translators of the relevant texts are as follows:

(1) The *"Yogalehrbuch"*

(2) The **Yogācārabhūmi* of Buddhasena (*Damo duoluo chanjing* 達摩多羅禪經 T15:301b-25c [No.618], *YBhB)*. Translated by Buddhabhadra.

(3) *Zuochan sanmei jing* 坐禪三昧經 (*A Manual on the Samādhi of Sitting Meditation*, T15:269c-86a [No.614], *ZSJ*). Translated by Kumārajīva.

(4) *Chanfa yaojie* 禪法要解 (*The Essential Explanation of the Methods of Meditation*, T15:286b-97c [No.616], *CY*). Translated by Kumārajīva.

(5) *Siwei lüeyao fa* 思惟略要法 (*The Abridged Essence of Meditation*, T15:297c-300c [No.617], *SLF*). Translated by Kumārajīva.

(6) *Wumen chanjing yaoyong fa* 五門禪經要用法 (*The Essence of the Meditation Manual Consisting of Five Gates*, T15:325c-33a [No.619], *WCYF*). Translated by Dharmamitra.

(7) *Chan miyaofa jing* 禪秘要法經 (*A Manual of the Secret Essentials of Meditation*, T15:242c-69c [No.613], *CMJ*). Translated by Kumārajīva.

(8) *Zhi chanbing miyao fa* 治禪病秘要法 (*The Secret Essential Methods to Cure the Diseases Caused by Meditation*, T15:333a-42b [No.620], *ZCMF*). Translated by Juqu Jingsheng.

i. The *"Yogalehrbuch"*

The so-called *"Yogalehrbuch"* (*YL*) is an anonymous Sanskrit meditation manual found in Central Asia. As we have already seen, this text shares many elements in common with the Chinese meditation texts we are concerned with, such as the *GSHJ*, the *CMJ*, and the *ZCMF*. Even though we do not know the author or exact place of composition of the *YL*, and even though the *YL* may have been a little later than these Chinese texts (below p.64), at least it is certain that this is a Sanskrit text that physically existed in Central Asia. Thus it is very valuable in assessing the textual nature of other, often obscure Chinese meditation texts. So far the scholarship on this text has remained quite limited, and it has seldom been examined in comparison with Chinese meditation manuals.[36] The text certainly deserves careful attention, and for this reason, I shall devote some space to a detailed discussion below.

A birch-bark manuscript of this text written in Central Asian Brāhmī was found among the documents unearthed in an ancient library of an old temple at Ming-öi[37] of Qizil

---

36. As we shall see later, two early works (Inokuchi Taijun 1966 ; David Seyfort Ruegg 1967) give some comparison of general structures of the *YL* and Chinese meditation manuals. More recently, Deleanu Florin (1993, 3; 6) and Ōminami Ryūshō (1995, 73; 83) both lightly touch upon the *YL* in comparison with Chinese texts. We shall compare the *YL* with Chinese meditation texts extensively in Section III.1 of this dissertation. (Section III.1 has just been published as Yamabe 1999).

37. Ming-öi is a Uighur word meaning "one thousand caves" (The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, 40; Murakami Shinkan 1984, 289).

in the region of Kuchā by the third German (=second Prussian) "Turfan" expedition in 1906.[38] Dieter Schlingloff painstakingly re-assembled this terribly fragmentary birch-bark manuscript and found that it consists of two distinct texts.[39] The first text covers approximately the first 114 folios, and the second text, the rest of the manuscript up to folio 170 or 171 (Schlingloff 1964a, 12; 1964b, 146). These two texts are so different in both diction and contents that they seem to have been combined in a single manuscript merely because they deal with the same subject, yoga (Schlingloff 1964a,12).

The first text is much more fragmentary than the second, and so far, only a brief introduction with small sample texts has been published (Schlingloff 1964b). According to Schlingloff, this text consists of a main text (sūtra) and the commentary thereto. Based on the fragments of several colophons, the original title has been ascertained as *Yogavidhi*, "the method of yoga," but the name of the author cannot be determined. Schlingloff reports that this text deals with the subject in a purely theoretical manner (1964a, 12), and indeed the sample text published by him appears to be a fairly intricate *abhidharma*-type text.

The second text has been edited and translated into German by Schlingloff in his *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch* (1964a). Other than the birch bark manuscript from Qizil (No.150), Schlingloff has identified three small fragments of the same text in the

38. Altogether four expeditions were dispatched to Central Asia by the Berlin Ethnological Museum (Das Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde) from 1902 to 1914. Le Coq led the second expedition (from 1904 to 1905) to Turfan and Komul (Hami). Then this team was joined by Grünwedel and his team at Kashgar in December 1905, thereafter it is called the third expedition. This third expedition carried out investigations in Kuchā, Karashar, Turfan and Komul. See Le Coq [1926]1928, 25 and his letter to the Berlin Ethnological Museum dated April 8, 1906 (quoted in Dieter Schlingloff 1964a, 9). See also Le Coq [1926]1928, 126; Waldschmidt 1925, 108-9; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, 33-42. I thank Professor Stanley K. Abe for the reference to the last work.

39. Schlingloff 1964a, 10-12; 1964b. See also Inokuchi Taijun 1966, 3-5 and Ruegg 1967, 157. According to Schlingloff (1964a, 10-12) this manuscript was originally kept in the Berlin Academy mixed with other birch bark manuscripts. First the fragments written in Central Asian Brāhmī were separated from those written in Indian scripts. Then they were assembled according to the dark lines of the lenticels characteristic of birch bark. Often the original manufacturer of the birch bark first took thicker pieces of bark from birch trees, cut them into the size of a folio and then cut them into thinner leaves. Accordingly, several folios constitute one group which shares the same features. Therefore, after assembling one folio of a group with certainty, the other folios belonging to the same group could be assembled easily even when they were broken into very small pieces. Then the order of the folios was established using the traces of the writing imprints (Spuren von Schriftabdrücken).

German collection: two (Nos.164a and 183a) also from Qizil and one (No.407a) from Shorchuq (Schlingloff 1964a, 23; Waldschmidt, Clawiter, and Holzmann 1965, 93-94; 103; 185).[40] In addition to these, there are two relevant fragments in the Hoernle Collection, London (photo Nos.170, 178), and one in the Pelliot Collection, Paris (Pelliot sanskrit no. rouge 9.1-6). An edition of the Hoernle manuscripts has been published by Jens-Uwe Hartmann (1996), and an edition of the Pelliot manuscript has been published by myself (Yamabe 1997a). The exact provenance of the Hoernle manuscripts cannot be confirmed, but Hartmann considers the Kuchā area as the likely origin (Hartmann 1996, 129; Hartmann and Wille 1992, 18ff.). The Pelliot manuscript is from the court of a convent of Duldour-âqour (in the Kuchā area; see Yamabe 1997a, 16-17). This manuscript is dated to the seventh or eighth century (see ibid.). Both the Hoernle and Pelliot manuscripts seem to have been parts of a text very closely related to the *Yogalehrbuch* but not necessarily identical to the text edited by Schlingloff (Hartmann 1996, 131; Yamabe 1997a, 35-36).

Concerning the contents, the *Yogalehrbuch* is a practical text in contrast to the *Yogavidhi.* It contains very few theoretical elements and almost the whole text is devoted to the description of various meditative visions. Unfortunately, neither the author nor the title can be determined from the manuscript.[41] In addition, no Chinese or Tibetan parallel is known, no quotation of this text by another text has been reported, and no historical record mentioning this text has been found. We do not even know the title of this text, much less its historical background. In this dissertation, however, let us tentatively call this text the

40. Serial numbers given above are those given in the latter work (catalogue).

41. In Indian manuscripts, usually the title and the author of a work are mentioned in the colophons. In the case of this text, the colophon of each chapter includes only the title of the chapter and not of the whole text, and the last colophon is lost, so we cannot confirm the name of the author from the manuscript.

Yogalehrbuch (*YL*), out of respect for its meticulous editor.[42]

Since all the manuscripts are written in Central Asian Brāhmī, it is clear that they were copied in Central Asia. Schlingloff (1964a, 13; 1964b, 146) points out, based on some characteristic misspellings, that the birch bark manuscript of the *YL* seems to have been copied from an earlier Indian manuscript written in Gupta script. He further considers that this may explain the peculiarity of this manuscript written in Central Asian Brāhmī on birch bark, an Indian writing material; namely, the copyist may have wanted to copy the Indian original on the same Indian material (Schlingloff 1964a, 13). Therefore, we need to consider the possibility that the tradition of this text originally came from India. As we shall see later (p.66, 73 of this chapter), close similarities between the *YL* and some portions of the *YBhB*, which apparently was an Indian text, may promote this suspicion. Nevertheless, judging from the degree of variation among the manuscripts found in the Kuchā area (see Yamabe 1997a), the textual tradition of the *YL* seems to have been still fluid in Central Asia. It is noteworthy that both this Sanskrit manual and other Chinese manuals lack standardization and show a great degree of variation (see p.100 of this chapter).[43]

Concerning the school affiliation, based on the agreement in doctrinal and cosmological framework, Schlingloff considers this text as a Sarvāstivāda work (1964, 10; 30-33). On the other hand, based on distinctive language use, Schmithausen (1970, 109-13; n.257) and Enomoto Fumio (1984, 21-25) suggest that the text belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition. Schmithausen further points out that the emphasis on the bodhisattva ideal in the *YL* suggests a link to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition (1970, n.257).

Here I would like to confirm the following two points. First, judging from the

---

42. *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch* in German simply means "a Buddhist yoga-textbook," and, as is shown by the indefinite article *ein*, Schlingloff is not using this word as a proper noun. This German word, nevertheless, would sound somewhat like a proper noun in the English context.

43. On the Chinese side, see particularly the discussion on the *WCYF*.

number of the manuscripts, the *Yogalehrbuch* (or its variant texts) seems to have been fairly popular in the Kuchā area. We can confirm that this text also existed in Shorchuq (in the Karashar area). We do not have evidence that the *Yogalehrbuch* itself existed in the Turfan area, but, as we shall see below, a Sanskrit text that has a similar list of meditative items was found even in Yarxoto (in the Turfan area). This gives us the impression that such practice as described in the *YL* may have been followed in the Turfan area also. Second, judging from the dates of the manuscripts (p.62), the *Yogalehrbuch* may well have been a little later than the Chinese texts we are concerned with (all from the fifth century). From the contents also, the *Yogalehrbuch* seems to represent a more developed stage of meditation than are represented in the Chinese texts. As we shall see below, there are many similar elements among the *Yogalehrbuch* and some of the Chinese meditation manuals. For chronological reasons, however, these similarities do not necessarily indicate that the Chinese texts were based on the *Yogalehrbuch*. Nevertheless, these similarities give us a strong impression that the core images of these Chinese texts were taken from the traditions of Sanskrit Buddhism of Central Asia, or possibly of India.

The general framework of the *Yogalehrbuch* is as follows:[44]

Table 1

I. *aśubhaprayoga* "The practice of [the meditation on] the disagreeable [= corpse]"
II. *ānāpānasmṛtibhāvanā* "The practice of mindful inhaling and exhaling"
III. *dhātuprayoga* "The practice of [the meditation on] elements"
IV. *skandhaparīkṣā* "The examination of aggregates"
V. *āyatanaparīkṣā* "The examination of sense realms"

44. I follow the titles of the chapters given by Schlingloff. Not all of them are confirmed by the manuscripts.

VI. *pratītyasamutpādaparīkṣā* "The examination of dependent origination"
VII. *maitrī* "Friendliness"
VIII. *karuṇā* "Compassion"
IX. *muditā* "Joy"
X. *upekṣā* "Equanimity"
XI. *anusmṛti* "Calling to mind"
i. *buddhānusmṛti* "Calling the Buddha to mind"
ii. *dharmānusmṛti* "Calling the Dharma to mind"
iii. *saṃghānusmṛti* "Calling the monastic community to mind"
iv. *śīlānusmṛti* "Calling the morality to mind"
v. *devatānusmṛti* "Calling deities to mind"

Some other sections might have existed, but this is all we can ascertain from the present manuscripts. This framework itself is not particularly original. As Schlingloff (1964a, 27-28) points out, the major items of this list (*aśubhā*, *anāpānasmṛti*, *dhātuprayoga*, *skandhaparīkṣā*, and *āyatanaparīkṣā*) can be traced back to the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhānasutta* of the *DN* (2:290-315 [No.12]) and the *Satipaṭṭhānasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* (*MN*, 1:55-63 [No.1.10]), corresponding to the *Smṛtyupasthānasūtra* in the *Madhyamāgama* (*Zhong ahan jing*) 中阿含經 T1:582b7-84b29 (No.26, *MĀ*). Also, the items under XI, *anusmṛti* are included in the list of ten *anusmṛti*s (十隨念) in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (1:42 [No.1.20], *AN*) and the *Ekottarikāgama* (*Zengyi ahan jing*) 增壱阿含經 (T2:552c8-54a7; 780c7-14 [No.125], *EĀ*). This list is as follows (in Sanskrit forms): 1.

buddhānusmṛti; 2. *dharma-*; 3. *saṃgha-*; 4. *śīla-*; 5. *tyāga*; 6. *devatā-*; 7. *upaśama-*; 8. *ānāpāna-*; 9. *kāya-*; 10. *maraṇa-* [45](Lin Li-kouang 1949, 122-24; Ruegg 1967, 158-59).[46] Inokuchi Taijun (1966, 10-12)[47] points out that all of these items are found in the *Vimuttimagga* (*Jietuodao lun*) 解脱道論 (T32: 399c-461c [No.1648]) and the *Visuddhimagga* (Harvard Oriental Series, vol.41), and that a fairly similar framework is seen in the *YBhB* (on the author of this text, see infra p.75). Schlingloff (1964a, 27) quotes a manuscript of another text from Yarxoto which gives a very similar list of the items of practice.[48]

The peculiarity of this text does not lie in its formal structure. As we have already seen a few examples, the most notable point of this text is in its many mysterious visions. In order to illustrate the nature of this text, let us quote a few more passages. For example, the *karuṇā*, "compassion," chapter begins, quite naturally, this way (*YL*, 134.1-4):[49]

> (1) (After [the explanation of] the counter-element to the rage,) in order to clarify the cause that removes (the comfort and) the welfare of others; (2) after [the explanation of] the counter-element to resentment, (in order to clarify the harm) as a natural consequence of resentment; (3) (after) [the explanation of] the counter-element to . . . , in order to clarify the counter-element to the cause of . . . , instruction in the practice of compassion is given [in this chapter].

---

45. The order is that of the *EĀ*.

46. There also is a list consisting of the first six items of this list (六随念), such as the *Saṃyuktāgama* (*Za ahan jing*) 雑阿含經 (T2:237c9-38c28 [No.99], *SĀ*). For more variants of this list, see Masunaga Reihō 1944, 94-97. I thank Harada Wasō 原田和宗 for kindly drawing my attention to this book at an early stage of this project.

47. This article was also in the bibliographic information Mr. Harada had given me at the early stage of this project.

48. Aśubhā 'nāpānasmṛtir dhātuprayogaḥ smṛtyupasthānaparīkṣaḥ skandhaparīkṣaḥ āyatana[pa]rīk(ṣ)aḥ pratītyasamu(tpādaparīkṣaḥ).

49. In counting the line number, I ignore the German introductory paragraph.

> Now what is the nature (of compassion? That is explained [below]).[50]

This is a standard style of technical Buddhist texts. Nothing is peculiar here. After a few lines of theoretical discussion, however, suddenly the atmosphere changes (*YL*, 135.10-136.2):

> Then in the middle of the brows of the [meditator], excited by compassion, (grows) a black and heated boil. . . . A woman coming out of [his] head sprinkles a shower of milk on [his] body until [his] sensation becomes tranquil.
>
> The sea of all the sentient beings is flooded with the shower of milk from his body. (Then) he sees the physical and mental sufferings (of all the sentient beings disappearing).[51]

One wonders what is happening here. In such a short quotation we find several strange visual images: "boil"(*piṭaka*); "woman" (*strī*); "shower of milk" (*kṣīradhārā*); "sea of sentient beings" (*sattvasamudra*).[52] It should be stressed that the whole rest of this chapter is literally filled with these kinds of strange visual images. Actually it is not only in this chapter. Every chapter of this text begins with a very short theoretical introduction and then suddenly turns into a description of mysterious yogic visions. Therefore, in the case of the *YL*, the formal structure of the text, as shown in the table above (pp.64-65), does not have primary significance. The peculiarity of this text lies in its mysterious visions (see

---

50. (1) (krodhapratipakṣānaṃtaram / parasukha)h[i]tāpa[naya]nakāraṇāviṣkaraṇārtham / (2) vyāpādapratipakṣānaṃtaraṃ vyāpādaniṣya(nda*vihiṃsāviṣkaraṇārtham /*) (3) ... pratipakṣ(*ānaṃtaraṃ*) ... ḍakāraṇapratipakṣāviṣkaraṇārtham / karuṇāprayoganirdeśaḥ kriyate /
atha kiṃs[v]a(bhāvā karuṇā tad ucyate/)

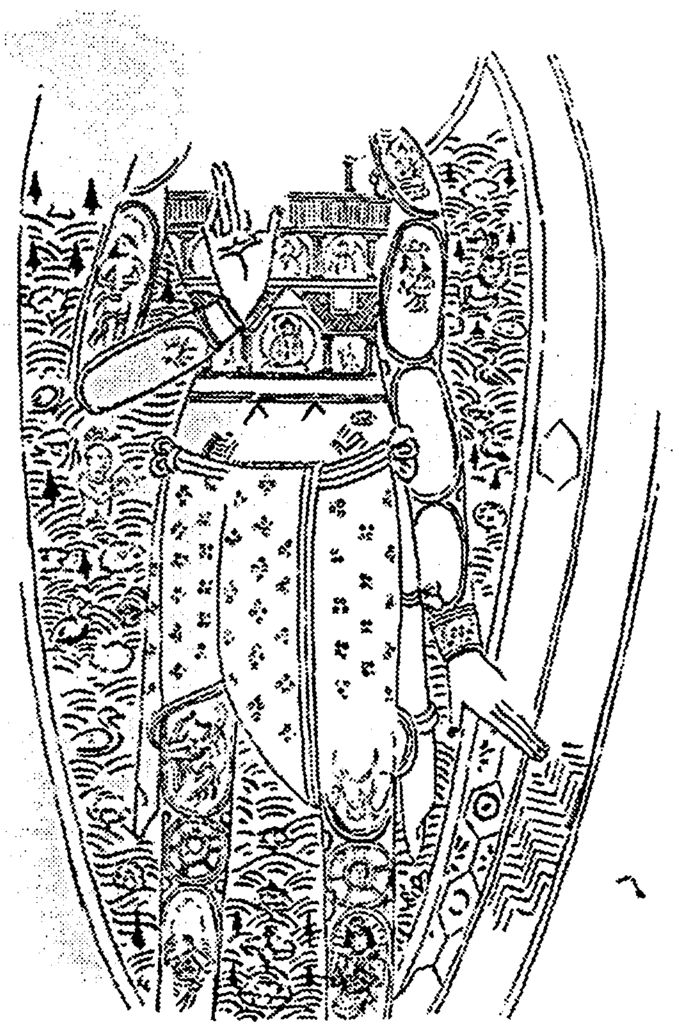
51. tato 'sya karuṇārtasya bhruvor madhye kṛṣṇataptaṃ piṭaka(m utpadyate/) . . . mūrdhno niḥsṛtā strī kṣīradhārābhiḥ śarīram a(vasiṃcati) [y]āvad vedanopaśāmyati
tasmāc char(ī)[rā]t kṣīradhārābhiḥ sarvasatvasamudraḥ plāvyate / (*tato naśyamānāṃ* sarvasat)[v](ā)[n](āṃ) [ś](ā)r[ī]ramānasaduḥkhāṃ paśyati /

52. The quoted text (n.51) spells this word as *satvasamudra*. Although *satva* is a spelling frequently seen in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, in this dissertation I would like to use the more regular spelling *sattva*, except in direct quotations. The same goes for such other irregularly spelled word in the *YL* as *aghaniṣṭha* (= *akhaniṣṭha*).

Schlingloff 1964a,33-54; Ruegg 1967, 165) and tantric-looking elements (such as *abhiṣeka*,[53] see Ruegg 1967, 162ff.), and it is these points that we should direct our attention to. This point is particularly important to bear in mind when we try to identify the position of this text relative to other Buddhist meditation manuals.

Among the above images, concerning the "sea of sentient beings," we should perhaps refer to the painting in the next page from Karashar dated to the seventh century (see Simone Gaulier, Robert Jera-Bezard and Monique Maillard 1976, 1:23).

53. The image of *abhiṣeka* itself is not unique to Esoteric Buddhism, but we should note that in this text, *abhiṣeka* is considered to be an experience of human practitioner, not of "celestial" bodhisattva. See Section III.1 of this dissertation.



38. Vairocana. Karashahr.

Figure 1
(After Simone Gaulier, Robert Jera-Bezard and Monique Maillard 1976, 1: figure 38)

In this painting, the Cosmic Buddha Vairocana is standing against the background of aquatic themes, in which nāgas, water birds, and lotuses are floating. This seems to be a depiction of the Cosmic Ocean (ibid., p.23). Although it is impossible to connect this clearly Mahāyānist painting directly to the *YL*, it would not be unreasonable to suspect that

the imagery of the "sea of sentient beings" may be close to this painting. We should note here that Karashar, where this painting was found, is very close to Shorchuq, where one of the manuscripts of the *YL* was discovered. The "sea" imagery is also common in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, which is believed to have been compiled in Khotan. This seems to have been a popular motif in Central Asia.

At this juncture, let us see one more painting on the sea from Qizil dated to ca. 500:

15 Swimmers
Kizil, Cave of the Seafarers, ca. 500
Wall painting, 37.8 × 39.5 cm.
MIK III 8398

Figure 2
(After the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, p.75, figure 15)

Although the subject of this painting is uncertain, the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, 75 speculates that this may have been the scene of shipwrecked seafarers in the *Maitrakānyakāvadāna.* If this is correct, again we cannot connect this painting directly to the *YL*. Nevertheless, it would not be impossible to suspect that this painting of people suffering in the sea may suggest the underlying connotation of the expression, "sea of sentient beings." As the expressions *bhavārṇava*, "the sea of existence [in saṃsāra]" (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan 2d ed., 2.22, *AKBh*) and *saṃsāramahārṇava*, "the ocean of saṃsāra" (ibid., 3.1) suggest, "sea" often has a negative image in Buddhism. Even if sentient beings are not literally drowning every day, they are constantly floating in the sea of saṃsāra. It must be to appease the sufferings of sentient beings that the "shower of milk" is poured onto them in the *YL*. In such a sense, this painting would also convey the atmosphere of the "sea" imagery. It may not be coincidental that this painting is from Qizil, where most manuscripts of the *YL* were found.

In terms of its formal structure, as we have seen (supra p.66, 73), the *YL* resembles the *YBhB*. As we shall see below (p.73), the *YBhB* consists of larger verse portion and smaller prose portion. The prose portion contains some elements significantly similar to those in the *YL*. Nevertheless, the verse portion, which occupies more than 80% of the text, is a straightforward technical text and contains few mystical elements as are seen in the *YL*. We cannot consider that the *YBhB* as a whole was particularly close to the *YL*.

As we shall discuss towards the end of this chapter (p.112), Chinese meditation manuals from the fifth century are largely divided into two categories: (1) more straightforward manuals; and (2) more mystical texts that contain many peculiar visions. The *YL* seems to form a textual circle with the latter group, and this circle is closely connected to the *GSHJ* itself.

We should also note that the *YL* shares similar visions with Tibetan Vajrayāna traditions (Ruegg 1967, 162-64; Ferdinand D. Lessing 1950) as well as with Mongolian traditions (Schlingloff 1964a, p.34, n.9; p.35, n.11; p.36, n.2; corresponding respectively to

Pozdneyev [1887] 1927, 26; 28; 26; [1887] 1978, 292; 293; 292). Especially, as Schlingloff duly notices, the similarity with the Mongolian tradition is noteworthy, because this Mongolian text is significantly related to the *WCYF* (see p.94).

j. The **Yogācārabhūmi* of Buddhasena (*Damo duoluo chanjing, YBhB*)

The **Yogācārabhūmi* of Buddhasena (*YBhB*) consists of the following sections:[54]

Table 2

1. 安那般那念 [*ānāpānasmṛti*][1] "Mindful inhaling and exhaling"	301b23
2. 不淨觀 [*aśubhāparīkṣā*] "The examination of the disagreeable[2] [= corpse]"	314b17
3. 觀界 [*dhātuparīkṣā*] "The examination of elements"	317c6
4. 四無量三昧 [*caturapramāṇa-samādhi*] "The *samādhi* of the fourfold boundlessness"	319c5
5. 觀陰 [*skandhaparīkṣā*] "The examination of aggregates"	320b19
6. 觀入 [*āyatanaparīkṣā*] "The examination of sense realms"	321c12
7. 觀十二因緣 [*pratītyasamutpādaparīkṣā*] "The examination of dependent origination"	322c26

54. The references given in the tables of this chapter are to the beginning of each section and not necessarily to the places where the given words appear. In the case of the word *annabona nian* 安那般那念, it does appear in the indicated line, but it is not always true.

In the tables of this chapter, I will try to give corresponding Sanskrit words for the Chinese terms. Although I omit asterisks, they are not necessarily attested in Sanskrit texts. They are merely meant to be convenient "marks," and I do not always attempt to Sanskritize all the characters in the Chinese terms. When there are no concise Sanskrit equivalents or there are problems in restoring the Sanskrit, only English translations will be given.

Nevertheless, if the items are standard Indian Buddhist concept, we can assume the underlying words fairly safely, especially in the cases of the *YBhB*, the *ZSJ*, and the *CY*, in which the contents are largely Indian. For the purpose of the comparison with the *YL*, it is more convenient to consider the underlying Sanskrit in translation. It is difficult to be entirely consistent, but for this reason the translations do not always literally correspond to the Chinese terms.

This text has one obvious formal peculiarity: the first three chapters (which occupy nineteen pages in the Taishō canon) all consist of verses while the last four chapters (only six pages) are totally composed in prose. Although it contains some questionable phrases from the standpoint of orthodox Sarvāstivāda (such as 去來不可得, 亦不須臾住, "The past and the future are not graspable, nor does [the present] abide even for a moment," T15:306a18), the verse part (Chapters 1-3) largely follows the framework of orthodox Sarvāstivāda doctrine. The overall atmosphere is very straightforward.

On the other hand, the latter prose part (Chapters 4-7) contains such elements as we would typically encounter in Mahāyāna sūtras, for example: various types of *samādhi*s, such as "moon-light *samādhhi*" (*yueguang sanmei*) 月光三昧 **candraprabhasamādhi* (T15:320c5-14); "the meditator sees himself on a lotus flower, adorned and surrounded by marvelous flowers of jewels" 修行自見身在蓮花上, 衆寶妙花莊嚴圍遶 (322c13-14); "in the ponds of seven jewels, there are lotus flowers of seven jewels, and on all the lotus flowers of seven jewels, there are the seated Buddhas" 七寶池中各有七寶蓮華, 七寶蓮花上皆有坐佛 (324a26-27). As Florin Deleanu rightly points out (1993, 4-8), this part is definitely less straightforward, and the atmosphere is much closer to that of the *YL*. See, for example, the following passage from the *YBhB* (T15:320c19-24):

> Then the practitioner observes in his clear meditative vision <u>the stream of aggregates</u>, which <u>comes out</u> of a spot and splits into two. When [the practitioner] has thus observed, [the streams] again become one. He further sees five images . . . Form is like splashes, sensation like bubbles, ideation like flames, volitions like plantain, and consciousness like illusion. These five [aggregates] are characterized by false deceptions. When the practitioner has observed this way, the <u>body becomes calm, tender and comfortable</u>.[55]

---

55. 復次修行者, 於明淨境界觀察陰流. 從一處出分爲二分. 如是觀已還合爲一. 一一流中, 復見五相. . . . 色如聚沫, 受如水泡, 觀想如炎, 行如芭蕉, 觀識如幻. 是五虛妄欺誑之相. 修行 (者)#如是觀已, 其身安隱柔軟快樂.

#I supply this character according to the variant indicated in the footnote of the Taishō canon. This passage is discussed in Deleanu 1993, 7 (but not compared with the *YL*).

Compare this with the following quotation from the *YL* (Schlingloff 1964a, 101:13-102.4):

> Then blue, yellow, red, and white streams . . . comfort the body, come out successively, and fills the place . . . and in a place elevated at the center, . . . a pure image with a burning sword for meditative examination appears. . . . the symbols of the aggregates.[56]

Unfortunately due to the fragmentary state of the text, the contents are not entirely clear. Nevertheless, the quotation is from the chapter on aggregates (*skandha*), and it seems certain that the text is talking about some symbolic[57] streams representing aggregates, just like the *YBhB* does. Considering the prevalence of the "stream" (*pravāha*) imagery in the *YL*, it is striking that similar imagery appears in the *YBhB*. Such similarities do not seem coincidental.

Needless to say, it seems unusual that a single text (*YBhB*) should be divided into two clearly distinct parts with very different styles and atmosphere. We might suspect that the prose part is a later addition to the original text that consisted solely of verses.[58] The topics of the chapters themselves (*ānāpānasmṛti* to *pratītyasamutpāda*), however, are standard ones and we can find the same or similar sets elsewhere (see above p.65). From

---

56. t(a)to [n](ī)lapītalohitāva[d](ātāḥ *pravāhāḥ*) . . . gatā āśrayaṃ prīṇayanti krameṇaiva ca nirgatāḥ sthitim āpūrayaṃ(ti /) . . . madhye cābhyunnate pr(a)[d](eśe) . . . nirmalaṃ jvalaśastracitaṃ pratyavekṣanānimittam utpadyate/ śa . . . [ṇ]āni skandhanimittāni/

57. In this dissertation, I use the word "symbolic" primarily in this sense, namely visual images representing some doctrinal concepts. It should be noted, however, that the symbolic meanings of visual images are not always explained by the texts.

58. Demiéville 1954, p.363, n.2 and Fukuhara 1975, 415 expresses the same suspicion. Another possibility is that only the verse portion belongs to the manual of Buddhasena and the prose portion came from the manual of Dharmatrāta, who is said to have promoted Mahāyānist methods of meditation (T15:301b11-14; T55:66a13-16; I owe this idea to Professor Ronald Davidson). This means that both Buddhasena and Dharmatrāta's texts were incomplete, which may seem unlikely. Since, however, we know another example in which an incomplete manual was mixed with another text (see the section on the *WCYF* and the *SLF* in this chapter), this hypothesis deserves serious consideration.

this point of view, it is difficult to say that some chapters are added later.[59] At this stage I am unable to offer a conclusive opinion on this matter, but I hope the reader will bear in mind the possibility that the *YBhB* may not be a coherent text.

In spite of the prevalent title meaning "the meditation manual of Dharmatrāta," various scholars who have analyzed the preface by Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416; *Lushan chu xiuxing fangbian chanjing tongxu* 廬山出修行方便禪經統序, *"The Preface to the Meditation Manual on the Means of Practice Translated on Mount Lu,"* T15:301b8-21 [in the *YBhB*]; T55:66a10-23 [in the *CSJ*]) have unanimously concluded that the authorship should be attributed to Buddhasena, not Dharmatrāta (Nukariya Kaiten [1923]1979, 232-36; Satō Taishun 1931, 346-48; Sakaino Kōyō 1935, 910-12; Lin 1949, 341-46; Demiéville 1954, p.362 and n.2).[60]

Buddhasena was a renowned meditation master active in "Kashmir."[61] The *YBhB* itself claims that the author gives the teaching transmitted by such masters as Mahākāśyapa (Da Jiaye) 大迦葉, Āanda (Anan) 阿難, Madhyāntika (Motiandi) 末田地, Śanavāsin (Shena poxi) 舍那婆斯, Upagupta (Youbojue) 優波堀, Vasumitra (Poxumi) 婆須蜜, Saṅgharakṣa (Sengqie luocha) 僧伽羅叉, Dharmatrāta (Damo duoluo) 達摩多羅, and Puṇyamitra (Buremiduoluo) 不若蜜多羅 (T15:301c6-9). Most of these names appear in the two lists of

---

59. Deleanu 1993, 5-6 considers that these portions belonged to the original text translated by Buddhabhadra.

60. Their reasoning is that Huiyuan's preface says that Dharmatrāta propounded Mahāyānist methods of meditation (emphasizing on *tathatā*), while Buddhasena taught Traditional methods, but that such Mahāyānist philosophical elements are not found in the *YBhB*.

The name Dharmatrāta (Damo duoluo 達摩多羅; Fajiu 法救) is mentioned in several different contexts (as a commentator on the *Dharmapada*; as one of the major masters mentioned in the *AMV*; as the author of the *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論, (T28:869c-965c [No.1552]); and as the alleged author of the *YBhB*). I cannot go into the detail of this problem here. See, for example, Lin 1949 , 314-51; Yamada Ryūjō 1959a, 422-38.

61. "Buddhasena taught in 'Kashmir'" 佛陀斯那化行罽賓 (*Xiuxingdi bujingguan jing xu* 修行地不淨觀經序 [*The Manual of the Stages of Practice and the Meditation on Impurity*] by Huiguan 慧觀 [-424-] in the *CSJ*, T55:66c26). On Jibing 罽賓, see Section I.1 of this dissertation.

the masters of the "Kashmir" Sarvāstivāda school in the *CSJ* (T55:88c29-90a11). Huiguan 慧觀 (-424-), the direct disciple of the translator of this text, Buddhabhadra (*GSZ*, T50:335b5), also says that this was the teaching transmitted in "Kashmir" (*Xiuxingdi bujingguan jing xu* 修行地不淨觀經序 [*The Manual of the Stages of Practice and the Meditation on Impurity*] in *CSJ*, T55:66c20-26). As far as we follow these Chinese records, this text must have been closely related to the traditional meditation method of the Sarvāstivāda school in "Kashmir" (or *yogācāra* meditators belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school).

As Huiyuan says ("sought for and collected the essence of sūtras" 搜集經要, T15:301b10; T55:66a12), this text seems to be a compilation of the traditional teachings rather than Buddhasena's original work. Just after this Huiyuan adds that Dharmatrāta and Buddhasena "promoted Mahāyāna" 勸發大乘 (T15:301b10; T55:66a12). As Demiéville (1954, 396-97) stresses, at this stage of the *yogācāra* the boundary between Mahāyāna and Traditional Buddhism was very vague, but as far as the *YBhB* is concerned, Mahāyānist elements are almost exclusively found in the last prose portion. Although we do not have the Indian original of this text, there is no particular reason to doubt its Indian origin.

The translation of this text is attributed to Buddhabhadra (*CSJ*, T55:11c13; *GSZ*, T50:335c12). Again, I have no reason to question this attribution.

k. *Zuochan sanmei jing (A Manual on the Samādhi of Sitting Meditation, ZSJ)*

The *ZSJ* is a compilation by Kumārajīva largely based on Indian sources. The contents of this text are as follows:

Table 3

1. [聲聞道] "The path of *śrāvaka*s"	
1.0.1.[3] The introductory verses	269c29
1.0.2. Temperaments	270c28
1.1. 治貪欲法門: 不淨觀 [*aśubhā*] "The Dharma Gate to remedy craving: The examination of the disagreeable [= corpse]"	271c6
1.2. 治瞋恚法門: 慈心法門 [*maitrī*] "The Dharma Gate to remedy hatred:[4] The Dharma Gate of kind mind"	272b1
1.3. 治愚癡法門: 因緣法門[5] [*pratītyasamutpāda*] "The Dharma Gate to remedy ignorance: The Dharma Gate of dependent origination"	272c10
1.4. 治思覺法門: 安那般那三昧 [*ānāpānasmṛtisamādhi*] "The Dharma Gate to remedy discursive thoughts: The *samādhi* of [mindful] inhaling and exhaling"	273a12
1.5. 治等分法門: 念佛三昧 [*buddhānusmṛtisamādhi*][6] "The Dharma Gate to remedy mixed diseases:[7] The *samādhi* of calling the Buddha to mind"	276a6
1.6. 四禪, 四無色 [*catur-dhyāna*, *ārūpya*] "Fourfold *dhyāna*; fourfold formless [concentration]"	277b16
1.7. 五通 [*pañcābhijñā*] "Fivefold supernatural knowledge"[8]	278b4
1.8. 二種人 "Two kinds of practitioners"	278b27
1.9. 四念止觀 [*catuḥsmṛtyupasthānabhāvanā* (?)[9]] "Practice of the fourfold applications of mindfulness"	278c3
1.10. 煖, 頂, 忍, 世間第一法 [*uṣmagata*, *mūrdhan*, *kṣānti*, *laukikāgradharma*] "heat, summit, recognition, the supreme dharma among the worldly [elements]"	279b9
1.11. 四果 [*catvāri phalāni*] "Fourfold fruits"	280a16
2. 辟支佛 [*pratyekabuddha*] "Solitary Buddhas"	280c24

3. 佛道 [*buddhamārga*] "The path of the Buddha"	
3.1. 念佛三昧 [*buddhānusmṛtisamādhi*] "The *samādhi* of calling the Buddha to mind"	281a22
3.2. 淫欲: 不淨 [*rāga: aśubhā*] "Lust: The disagreeable [= corpse]"	281b26
3.3. 瞋恚: 慈心 [*dveṣa: maitrī*] "Hatred: kind mind"	282a1
3.4. 愚癡: 觀十二分 [*moha: pratītyasamutpādaparīkṣā*] "Delusion: The examination of the twelve items of [dependent origination]"	282c11
3.5. 思覺: 阿那般那 [*vitarka: ānāpānasmṛti*] "Discursive thoughts: [Mindful] inhaling and exhaling"	285a6
3.6. 菩薩見道: 三種忍 [*darśanamārga: kṣānti*] "The Path of Seeing for bodhisattvas: Threefold realizations"	285a9
4. Concluding verses	285c1

The nature of this text is made clear by its famous preface by Kumārajīva's disciple, Sengrui 僧叡 (*Guanzhong chuchanjing xu* 關中出禪經序 [*Preface to the Meditation Manual translated in the Guanzhong Area*], T55:65a19-b20, *GCX*). According to this preface, the method of meditation was taught to Sengrui by Kumārajīva on the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month, 401, right after the arrival of the latter at Chang'an. According to the same preface, 1.0.1 "The introductory verses" were originally composed by Kumāralāta, and 4 "Concluding verses" by Aśvaghoṣa. 1.1 "The examination of the disagreeable" 不淨觀 to 1.5 "The *samādhi* of calling the Buddha to mind" 念佛三昧 are excerpted from the meditation manuals of Vasumitra (Poxumi) 婆須蜜, Saṅgharakṣa (Sengqie luocha) 僧伽羅叉, Upagupta (Oubojue) 漚波崛, Saṅghasena (Sengqie sina) 僧伽斯那, Pārśva (? Le biqiu) 勒比

丘,[62] Aśvaghoṣa (Maming) 馬鳴, and Kumāralāta (Luotuo) 羅陀.[63] The verses quoted in 1.4 "The Dharma Gate to remedy discursive thoughts" 治思覚法門 are the ones practiced by Aśvaghoṣa. 1.0.2 "Temperaments" is composed by Saṅgharakṣa, and "six matters on breathing" 息門六事 (i.e., "six marvelous gates" 六妙門 of "the *samādhi* of [mindful] inhaling and exhaling" 安那般那三昧) of 1.4 is based on the theories of various masters. The meditation method for bodhisattvas in 3 "The path of the Buddha" 佛道 was later expanded by the **Vasudharasūtra* (*Chichi jing*) 持世經 (T14:642a-666b [No.482]).

Incorporation of the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghoṣa at the parts exactly designated by Sengrui guarantees the reliability of this preface (Matsunami Seiren [1954]1967, 131-44). Also, as Sengrui says, the discussion of the temperaments is evidently based on the *Yogācārabhūmi* of Saṅgharakṣa (*Xiuxing daodi jing* 修行道地經, T15:192b28-93c1 [No.606], *YBhS*). On the other hand, this text has some typical Dārṣṭāntika doctrines, such as the negation of pleasant sensation 樂受 *sukhavedanā* (T15:278c12-79a1) and a quotation from the *Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra* (*Shengyi kongxing jing*) 勝義空性經 (本無今有已有還無, "[It] did not exist before but now exists; having existed [for the present moment], it will

62. There are two lists of the transmission of the Sarvāstivāda school recorded in the *CSJ*. In the first one, "Sthavira Pārśva *arhat*, no.10" (Zonglao Xie luohan dishi) 長老脇羅漢第十 is mentioned just before "Aśvaghoṣa bodhisattva, no.11" (Maming pusa dishiyi) 馬鳴菩薩第十一 (T55:89a24-25), while in the second one, what comes right before "Aśvaghoṣa bodhisattva, no.9" (Maming pusa dijiu) 馬鳴菩薩第九 is "Le (Headstall) bhikṣu *arhat*, no.8" (Le biqui luohan diba) 勒比丘羅漢第八 (ibid., c7-8). I think it is very likely that these "the arhat Pārśva" 脇羅漢 and "the bhikṣu Le" 勒比丘 refer to the same person. Also, *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* (1:559b) mentions that the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (*The Treatise on the Great Prajñāpāramitā*, [No.1509], *DZL*) refers to Pārśva as "Diligent bhikṣu" (Qin biqiu) 勤比丘 (T25:748c24). In the case of "Diligent bhikṣu" 勤比丘, it is possible that he is called so by his legendary great diligence (please see the portion of the *DZL* mentioned above). Evidently, however, the characters *le* 勒 and *qin* 勤 look very similar, and I would rather suspect some confusion in China.

Of course it is very difficult to know what happened exactly, but one of the possibilities may be as follows: 勒 *lak* (Sui/Tang pronunciation, spelling approximate [similarly below]; *Gakken kanwa daijiten* p.163a) "headstall" may have been a substitute for 肋 *lak* (ibid., 1052c). 肋 "rib" makes good sense, because this is the basic meaning of the Sanskrit word *pārśva*. 勤 *gian* (ibid., p.163b) would have been a miscopy of 勒 *lak* influenced by the story of his great diligence. See also notes 18 and 19 of T25:748; the variants listed there seem to indicate that these characters were often confused.

63. The biographies of these figures are surveyed in Kodama Daien, Nakayama Masaaki, and Chokkai Gentetsu 1992, 124-28.

again not exist," T15:279a2-3), which very likely derived from the Dārṣtntika master Kumāralāta.[64] The discussion of the stages of practice, which follows the standard Sarvāstivāda system, would have come from some orthodox Sarvāstivāda master (perhaps Vasumitra or Pārśva?). Therefore, the Traditional part of this text is a mixture of orthodox and heterodox Sarvāstivāda traditions.

On the other hand, Sengrui does not say much about the sources of the latter Mahāyānist part of the text. As Ikeda Eijun (1937, 110-11) suspects, perhaps this part was written by Kumārajīva himself. In any case, this is largely a straightforward text and even in its Mahāyānist portion we find very few symbolic elements comparable to those in the *YL* or the *GSHJ*. Probably the only portions directly relevant to our present concern are the sections on *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* 念佛三昧. In the *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* section for *śrāvakas* (section 1.5, T15:276a6-77b9), we find a description of the visualization of the thirty-two major and the eighty minor bodily marks of an image of the Buddha and the subsequent appearance of "the physical bodies of various Buddhas in the boundless worlds of ten directions" (ibid., 277a4-5). In the *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* portion for bodhisattvas (section 3.1, T15:281a22-b25), it is also said that once a bodhisattva attains this *samādhi*, he sees all the Buddhas of the three periods in the ten directions just like the constellations in the sky (ibid., 281a29-b6). It is worth mentioning that in both sections *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* is related to the removal of sins (ibid., 277b9; 281b5-6). As this is one of the conspicuous features of the visualization sūtras, it shows that even this relatively straightforward *ZSJ* did not stand completely apart from the large stream of Buddhist visualization.

---

64. The *Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra* is also quoted in Sarvāstivāda literature. Nevertheless, in this context right after the negation of *sukhavedanā*, the relations with Dārṣṭāntika is more likely.

On the *Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra*, see Miyashita Seiki 1986, 9-31. None of the three Chinese versions of this text has exactly the same phrase (*SĀ*, T2:92c12-26; *EĀ*, T2:713c12-14b12; T15:806c24-807a10). The *ZSJ* must be directly based on a Sanskrit text. On the other hand, Dharmakṣema's version of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* does have this phrase (T12:524b23-24 [No.374], *MMPS*). Note, however, that the *ZSJ* was first compiled in 401 and then edited in 407 (n.90 of this chapter), but Dharmakṣema began translating the *MMPS* in 414 (see n.7). In any case, it is unlikely that this phrase of the *ZSJ* was based on a Chinese source.

1. *Chanfa yaojie (The Essential Explanation of the Methods of Meditation; CY)*

The *CY* is a relatively small, but well organized text. The text makes the attainment of the *caturthadhyāna* 第四禪 the first goal of practice because, according to the *CY*, after attaining the *caturthadhyāna*, other methods of meditation can be easily practiced (290a16-22). The contents are as follows:

Table 4

1. Introduction	286b17
2. 得一心, 五蓋 [*cittaikagratā*, *pañcanīvaraṇa*] "Obtaining the one-pointed mind, five hindrances"	287b3
3.四禪 [*dhyāna*] "Fourfold *dhyāna*s"	
3.1. 初禪 [*prathamadhyāna*] "The first *dhyāna*"	288b11
3.2. 第二禪 [*dvitīyadhyāna*] "The second *dhyāna*"	288c5
3.3. 第三禪 [*tritīyadhyāna*] "The third *dhyāna*"	289a10
3.4. 第四禪 [*caturthadhyāna*] "The fourth *dhyāna*"	289c3
4. 四無量 [*apramāṇa*] "The fourfold boundlessness"	
4.1. 慈 [*maitrī*] "Benevolence"	290a22
4.3. 悲 [*karuṇā*] "Compassion"	291b6
4.4. 喜 [*muditā*] "Joy"	291b20
4.5. 捨 [*upekṣā*] "Equanimity"	291c27

(5. 白骨觀 [*asthi*] "The meditation on white bones"	292b5)[10]
6. 四無色 [*ārūpya*] "Fourfold formless [concentration]"	
6.1. 虛空處 [*ākāśānantaryāyatana*] "The realm of [boundless] space"	292c10
6.2. 無邊識處 [*vijñānānantaryāyatana*] "The realm of boundless consciousness"	293a29
6.3. 無所有處 [*ākiñcanyāyatana*] "The realm of nothingness"	293b23
6.4. 非想非無相處 [*naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana*] "The realm without ideation or not without ideation"	293c16
7. 四諦 [*catuḥsatya*] "The fourfold truth"	294a1
8. 五神通 [*pañcābhijñā*] "The fivefold supernatural knowledge"	295a28

Translation of this text is attributed to Kumārajīva by reliable sources, i.e., the *GCX* (T55:65b6), the *CSJ* (T55:11a13), and the *GSZ* (T50: 332b16), so there seems to be little room for doubt about the translator. Tsukinowa, however, doubts this attribution (1971, 53-55) and maintains that this was a work by Kumārajīva's disciple and not by Kumārajīva himself. His argument is based on the following points: (1) The introduction (286b17-87a21) is an almost literal incorporation of the *Chanyao jing* 禪要經 (*The Sūtra on the Essentials of Meditation*, T15:237c21-38c15 [No.609]),[65] but it is unlikely that Kumārajīva would have done such a thing. (2) In many places this text is based on the *ZSJ*; in particular, the text added after fascicle one (5 "The meditation on white bones" 白骨觀 T15:292b5-c4) is identical to a part of the *ZSJ* (T15:272a8-29). (3) Often the *CY* refers to the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (*The Treatise on the Great Prajñāpāramitā*, T25:57c-756c

65. This point is also noted by Demiéville (1954, p.354, n.3). As Tsukinowa points out, the *CSJ* notes that the *Chanfa yaojie* was also called *Chanyao jing* (禪法要解二卷或云禪要經; T55:11a13). This note suggests that the relation between the *Chanfa yaojie* and the *Chanyao jing* was known from the period of the *CSJ*.

[No.1509], *DZL*) under the name of the *Moheyan lun* 摩訶衍論 (*The Treatise on Mahāyāna*). (4) The *GCX* states that the *Shier yinyuan* 十二因緣 (not extant), the *CY*, and the *ZSJ* are all by Sengrui.

These points, however, are not convincing for the following reasons: (1) It is true that the *CY* incorporates the *Chanyao jing*, but Tsukinowa does not explain why it is unlikely for Kumārajīva to do so. It is clear from the *GCX* that he incorporated many prior works in his *ZSJ*. (2) 5 "The meditation on white bones" 白骨觀 is almost certainly a later interpolation (the section is clearly out of context), and so it should be ignored for the present investigation.[66] Also, we should not be surprised that there are some expressions based on the *ZSJ*, because the *CY* was compiled clearly later than the *ZSJ* (see *GCX*, T55:65b6). On the other hand, there is a portion of the *CY* (287c21-29) which seems to be based on the *Saundarananda* (Johnston ed.), XIV.24-27. If this part is indeed from the *Saundarananda*, it is only explicable if the *CY* was actually translated/compiled by Kumārajīva himself.[67] (3) I do not see any reason why Kumārajīva cannot refer to another work of his own. (4) Tsukinowa's reading of the *GCX* seems to be mistaken. The character *men* 蒙 of 尋蒙抄撰衆家禪要得此三卷 (T55:65a27) indicates that Sengrui was the recipient of the text (*ZSJ*) abridged by Kumārajīva; Sengrui was not the compiler himself.[68]

66. It also seems that the first half of this interpolation (292b5-20) is indeed based on the *ZSJ* (272a8-23), but the latter half (292b20-c4) is clearly from some other source.

67. Large parts of the *Saundarananda* are incorporated into the *ZSJ*, and so it is certain that Kumārajīva was familiar with this work (Matsunami Seiren [1954]1967, 160-61 considers that Kumārajīva possessed many Sanskrit texts of Aśvaghoṣa's works). On the other hand, as this text has not been translated into Chinese except for a very short excerpt (T No.615, see Demiéville 1954, p.362, n.1), there is no evidence that his disciples were familiar with this *kāvya*.

68. The quoted passage is clearly parallel to the line: *jimeng qishou* 既蒙啓授, "I have already received instruction" (T55:65a25). Since in this case the object of the verb *meng* 蒙, "to receive," is the action noun *qishou* 啓授, "instruction," I think it is more natural to consider that the object of the verb *meng* 蒙, "to receive," in the quotation is also an action noun. Therefore, literally I think Sengrui received the action of abridging the meditation manuals of various masters (抄撰衆家禪要), and as a result he obtained the *ZSJ*, which consists of three fascicles. Therefore, the sentence would amount to mean something like: "Then I asked [Kumārajīva] to abridge the meditation manuals of various masters and got

Accordingly the agent of the phrase 十二因緣一卷要解二卷, 別時撰出, "The *Shier yinyuan*, one fascicle, and the *CY*, two fascicles, were composed at another occasion," (65b6) must be also Kumārajīva himself.

Therefore, I do not consider any of his points strong enough to override the testimony of the authoritative sources (*GCX*, *CSJ*, and *GSZ*). I would like to reconfirm the traditional attribution here and regard this text as an authentic work compiled by Kumārajīva.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that this text was directly translated from a single original text. On the contrary, this seems to be almost certainly a compilation by Kumārajīva (see the incorporation of the *Chanyao jing* and the *Saundarananda* discussed above [p.79]). In this regard, we should note that this *CY* follows the framework of "the twelve gates of meditation" 十二門禪 ("the fourfold *dhyāna*," 四禪; "the fourfold boundless mind" 四無量心 *apramāṇa*; and "the fourfold formless [concentration]" 四無色 *ārūpya*). According to Tsukinowa (1971, 169-71), this system was well-known in China from An Shigao's 安世高 translation of *Da shiermen jing* 大十二門經 and *Xiao shiermen jing* 小十二門經 (both not extant) and Daoan's 道安 prefaces to them (*CSJ*, T55:45b16-46b18). If so, it is possible that Kumārajīva used this popular system when he compiled this new meditation manual.

m. *Siwei lüeyao fa (The Abridged Essence of Meditation, SLF)* and *Wumen chanjing yaoyong fa (The Essence of the Meditation Manual Consisting of Five Gates, WCYF)*

There are many paragraphs of the *WCYF* that correspond to the *SLF* almost

---

these three fascicles." This is, however, a matter of impression. I have no strong reason to rule out the other possibility, namely 抄撰衆家禪要 as a whole is a nominal phrase (abridged meditation manuals of various masters). In either case, it is clear that the role of Sengrui in the compilation of the *ZSJ* was passive.

verbatim. Therefore, we need to examine them together.

The *SLF* is a small meditation manual with the following contents. The corresponding portions of the *WCYF* are shown in the right column:[69]

Table 5

SLF		*WCYF*
1. Introduction (三病／五門禪) "Three diseases, five gates of *dhyāna*"	297c20	332a12-21; 332b21-c6
2. 四無量觀法 [*apramāṇa*] "Four methods of the meditation on the boundlessness"	298a15	332a22-b21
3. 不淨觀法 [*aśubhā*] "The method of the meditation on the disagreeable"	298b18	332c7-25
4. 白骨觀法 [*asthi*] "The method of the meditation on white bones"	298c19	326c25-27a7
5. 觀佛三昧法 "The method of the *samādhi* of visualizing the Buddha"	299a3	327a8-b1
6. 生身觀法 [*rūpakāya*] "The method of visualizing the physical body"	299a29	327b1-9
7. 法身觀法 [*dharmakāya*] "The method of visualizing the Dharma body"	299b9	327b9-c1
8. 十方諸佛觀法 "The method of visualizing the Buddhas in the ten directions"	299c3	327c2-16
9. 觀無量壽佛法 [Amitāyus] "The method of visualizing Amitāyus Buddha"	200c19	

69. In this case, since the sections of the *WCYF* indicated in the table are not consecutive, I indicate both the beginnings and the ends of the sections.

10. 諸法實相觀法 "The method of observing the true aspects of dharmas"	300a11	
11. 法華三昧觀法 [*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasamādhibhāvanā*] "The method of the practice[11] of the *samādhi* of the *Lotus Sūtra*"	300b24	

Because of these extensive correspondences, Tōdō Kyōshun (1960a, 71; 1960b, 399-400) and Tsukinowa (1971, 56) maintain that *SLF* is an excerpt from the *WCYF*. Discovery of these correspondences is definitely an important contribution, but I cannot necessarily follow their conclusion for the following reasons. First, the chapters of the *SLF* are arranged in a reasonable order, but the chapters in the *WCYF* are structured in a very chaotic way. The text of the *WCYF* in the Taishō canon has the following contents. The sections that correspond to the *SLF* are marked with plus signs (+). The sections marked with two plus signs (++) will be discussed later:

Table 6

WCYF	
1. Introduction (五門禪) "The five gates of meditation"	325c11
2. 念佛三昧 [*buddhānusmṛtisamādhi*] "The *samādhi* of calling the Buddha to mind"	325c17
3. 不淨門 [*aśubhā*] "The gate of the disagreeable"	326b19
+4. 白骨觀法 [*asthi*] "The meditation on white bones"	326c25
+5. 觀佛三昧 "The *samādhi* of the visualization of the Buddha"	327a8
+6. 生身觀 [*rūpakāya*] "The living body [of the Buddha]"	327b1
+7. 法身觀 [*dharmakāya*] "The Dharma body [of the Buddha]"	327b9

+8. 觀十方諸佛法 "The method of visualizing the Buddhas in the ten directions"	327c2
++9. 初習坐禪法（不淨觀, 四大觀） "The method of the primary practice of meditation: The meditation on the disagreeable, the meditation on the four gross elements"	327c17
10. 觀佛 "The visualization of the Buddha"	329a11
11. 慈心觀法 [*maitrī*] "The method of meditation on kind mind"	330a21
12. 續教作慈心觀 [*maitrī*] "The meditation on kind mind: continuation"	331a8
+13. 三病 "Three diseases"	332a12
+14. 四無量觀法 [*apramāṇa*] "The methods of the practice of the fourfold boundlessness"	332a22
+15. 五門禪 "The five gates of meditation"	332b21
+16. 不淨觀法 [*aśubhā*] "The method of meditation on the disagreeable"	332c7
++17. Brief remarks on the stages of meditation	332c26

Compared with the well organized *SLF*, the structural disorder of the *WCYF* is evident. The discussion of "The five gates of meditation" 五門禪 (1; +15)[70] appears twice, and the order of the five items is completely different in the two sections. The discussion of "the meditation on the disagreeable" 不淨觀 (including "the meditation on white bones" 白骨觀) appears at three different places (3, +4; 9; +16). The discussions of "visualization of the Buddha" 觀佛 (+5, +6, +7, +8; 10) is interrupted strangely by ++9. These problems seem to be at least partly due to the existence of the sections that have correspondents in the

70. The five methods are: *ānāpānasmṛti* 安般, *aśubhā* 不淨, *maitrī* 慈心, *pratītyasamutpāda* 因緣, and *buddhānusmṛti* 念佛.

SLF (i.e., the sections marked with +).

This observation is further supported by the following evidence. First, in the *SLF* towards the end of the section 3 "the meditation on the disagreeable" 不淨觀, a section on "the meditation on white bones" 白骨觀 is foretold ("if one is extremely disgusted with one's body, one should proceed to the meditation on white bones" 若極厭惡其身, 當進白骨觀, T15:298c16-17). This line makes very good sense in the context of the *SLF* because in this text section 4 "The method of the meditation on white bones" 白骨觀法 follows immediately afterwards. On the other hand, this line also appears in the *WCYF* at the corresponding place (+16 "The method of the meditation on the disagreeable" 不淨觀法) with slightly different wording ("if one exhausts[71] one's body, one should meditate on white bones," 若極其身者, 當觀白骨, 332c22), but no "meditation on white bones" appears after this section. It is true that even in the *WCYF*, another section on "the meditation on white bones" 白骨觀法 (+4) follows section 3 "The gate of the disagreeable" 不淨門, but in section 3 "The gate of the disagreeable" 不淨門, "the meditation on white bones" 白骨觀 is already included (326b27ff.). Therefore in the context of the *WCYF*, it is redundant for section +4 "The meditation on white bones" 白骨觀法 to follow section 3 "The gate of the disagreeable" 不淨門. Furthermore, the sections from +4 to +8 are very different in nature from the preceding two sections (2 and 3). In sections 2 and 3, many symbolic images appear, such as: "beryl stick" 琉璃杖 (326a3), "sword" 刀 (326c7), "bright star" 明星 (326c9), "bright gem" 明珠 (326c14). In the following sections (+4 to +8), however, no such symbolic visions are mentioned. The visions of the Buddha (327a29; c4 etc.) and a "bone man" 骨人 (327a3) do appear, but it is not surprising that the visions of the Buddha and a "bone man" appear in the sections on "visualization of the Buddha" 觀佛 and "the

71. This is the literal translation, but it does not make good sense. Probably *yee* 厭惡, "to be disgusted with," should be supplemented after *ji* 極 "extremely, to exhaust" like in the line of the *SLF*.

meditation on white bones" 白骨觀法 respectively. They are visual but not symbolic. Magical transformation of blood into milk is mentioned (327a3), but again what is meant is fairly straightforward. This does not have a particularly symbolic meaning.[72] Therefore, we get a strong impression that after the highly symbolic sections (2 and 3), a much less symbolic portion (+4 to +8) was introduced from another source, i.e., the *SLF*. One possibility is that the section on "the meditation on white bones" 白骨觀 (+4) was added after section 3 "The gate of the disagreeable" 不淨門 by association, and the following sections (+5 to +8) were copied from the *SLF* just mechanically.

I can not go into too much philological detail here, but when we compare the corresponding sections of the *SLF* and the *WCYF* in the Taishō canon, often the text of the former shows better or more complete forms. This may be simply because the text of the *SLF* was more carefully transmitted than that of the *WCYF*, but it may well be also because the text of the *SLF* was carelessly incorporated into the *WCYF*. At least, this observation is not positively favorable to the hypothesis that the *SLF* was extracted from the *WCYF*.

Furthermore, we have another important text to compare. This is a small meditation manual simply titled *Guanjing* 觀經 (T85:1459c-61c [No.2914]), a manuscript of which was found in Dunhuang and is now held by the British Museum (Stein No.2585). Significantly, as is mentioned by Tōdō (1960b, 410-11), this text consists of several sections that are almost identical to the corresponding sections of the *SLF* and the *WCYF*. Here I will show the contents of this *Guanjing* together with the corresponding sections of the *SLF* and the *WCYF*.

---

72. In order to encourage the meditators who cannot visualize white bones, the following parable is told: There was a leper. To his family members a doctor says that if the patient drank blood whose color is like that of milk, then he would be cured. The family members made everything in the house white, then put blood in a silver bowl and offered it to the patient. When the patient hesitated to drink it, they said that everything in the house was white, and that if he saw blood, it was only because of his sins. Thus they encouraged him to imagine the blood as milk. After seven days, the blood indeed changed into milk. If even blood becomes milk, it must be easy to see white bones, which are indeed white.

This is a miraculous story, but what is intended is clear. In that sense it is very different from the image of stars appearing from white bones.

Table 7

	Guanjing	*SLF*	*WCYF*
1. 觀十方佛法 "The method of visualizing the Buddhas in the ten directions"	1459c19	8.	+8.
2. Introduction (五門禪) "Five gates of meditation"	1460a5		1.
3. 念佛三昧 "The *samādhi* of calling the Buddha to mind"	1460a11		2.
4. 白骨觀 "The meditation on white bones"	1460c1	4.	+4.
5. 觀佛三昧 "The *samādhi* of visualizing the Buddha"	1460c14	5.	+5.
6. 生身觀 "Visualization of the physical body"	1461a4	6.	+6.
7. 法觀 (sic) "Visualization of the Dharma [body]"	1461a10	7.	+7.
8. 無量壽佛觀 "Visualization of Amitāyus Buddha"	1461a29	9.	
9. 觀諸法實相 "The meditation on the real aspects of dharmas"	1461b16	10. (300b8-23)	

The wording of the *Guanjing* is closer to the *WCYF*. This point is particularly clear because some errors of the *WCYF* are also seen in the *Guanjing*. Therefore, the textual affinity of the *Guanjing* to the *WCYF* is certain. This would also suggest that the present form of the *WCYF*, in which the *WCYF* and the *SLF* are mixed up, also existed outside the textual tradition of the *WCYF* itself.

Nevertheless, it is notable that only sections 2 and 3[73] of the *Guanjing*, i.e., the only

73. Note that these two sections appear without separation in the *Guanjing*.

sections of the *Guanjing* that seem to derive from the *WCYF* proper, are introduced by a phrase, "The *WCYF* says [as follows]" 五門禪要經云. This clearly indicates that in spite of the textual confusion, the *SLF* and the *WCYF* were still regarded as two originally separate texts. If the compiler of the *Guanjing* believed that all the sections originally belonged to the *WCYF* (and that the *SLF* took excerpts from it), it would not make any sense to introduce only these sections by the phrase "The *WCYF* says [as follows]," particularly in the middle of the text.

Thus, as far as I can see, everything suggests that the *SLF* was incorporated into the *WCYF*, not vice versa. Therefore I conclude that the sections of the *WCYF* marked with pluses (+4 to +8; +13 to +16) are secondary interpolations from the *SLF* and thus should be eliminated from the *WCYF*.[74]

Even after the elimination of these sections, however, the *WCYF* still has some questionable sections, i.e., ++9 and ++17. Section ++17 is almost certainly an erroneous incorporation of some secondary note and can be safely eliminated. Section ++9 is more subtle, but it also is suspicious for two reasons. First, "a method of the elementary practice of meditation" 初習坐禪法 is something we would expect to find at the beginning of a text. It is not natural for such a topic to appear in the middle of the text. Second, its contents largely overlap with those of section 3 "The gate of the disagreeable" 不淨門. Both stylistically and contextually we have no reason to doubt section 3, so we cannot help doubting section ++9.

Actually, if we examine this section closely, we notice that this is most likely a summary of a part of the *CMJ*. The correspondence is as follows:

74. Demiéville 1954, pp.360-61, n.5 already suspected that sections +13ff. were from another work and also noted the close similarity with the *SLF*.

Table 8

	WCYF	*CMJ*
不淨觀／九想觀／慈心觀 "The meditation on the disagreeable, the meditation on the images of the nine [stages of the decomposition of corpse], the meditation on kind mind"	327c18	258c28
煖[12] "Heat"	327c29	259b20
頂 "Head"[13]	328a1	259c4
"白骨分散" "White bones scattered"	328a6	259c25
"身如草束" "Body like a bundle of grass"	328a10	260a8
灌頂 *abhiṣeka*	328a16	260b15
觀水大 "The visualization of the water element"	328c6	262a2
觀火大 "The visualization of the fire element"	328c22	262c7 (?)
觀風大 "The visualization of the wind element"	329a8	262c25 (?)

Here in the last two items the agreement is not so clear, but for all the other sections the *WCYF* and *CMJ* share all the key terms, and the topics follow the same order in both texts. It is very likely that here the *WCYF* is summarizing the *CMJ*. Accordingly, this part of the *WCYF* is again not an original constituent of the text and thus should be eliminated.

Therefore, in the present text of the *WCYF*, only the following elements can be considered to be the original elements:

Table 9

1. Introduction (五門禪) "Five gates of meditation"	325c11-16

2. 念佛三昧 "The *samādhi* of calling the Buddha to mind"	325c17-26b18
3. 不淨門 "The gate of [the meditation on] the disagreeable"	326b19-c24
10. 觀佛 "Visualization of the Buddha"	329a11-30a20
11. 慈心觀法 "The method of the meditation on kind mind"	330a21-31a7
12. 續教作慈心觀 "The method of the meditation on kind mind: Continuation"	331a8-332a12

Even this list is not totally without its problems. Among the five items given in the introduction, we find substantial discussion of only three (念佛 *buddhānusmṛti*, 不淨 *aśubhā*, and 慈心 *maitrī*). Moreover, the discussion of 念佛 *buddhānusmṛti* appears in two separate places (sections 2 and 10).[75] Nevertheless, with the available material, it is impossible to restore a reasonable structure consisting of five items. It should be noted that even before the elimination of the secondary elements, we did not have any substantial discussion of *ānāpānasmṛti* 阿那波那念 or *pratītyasamtpādaparīkṣā* 因緣觀.

Among these original sections of the *WCYF*, we notice the following features: (1) Unlike many manuals which supplement the largely Traditional meditative methods with some Mahāyānist elements, in this text Mahāyānist elements are indispensable constituents rather than secondary supplements (for example, see T15:325c26-27; 326a6); (2) Under 10 "Visualization of the Buddha" 觀佛 (T15:329a11ff.), 11 "Kind mind" 慈心觀法 (330a21ff.), and 12 "Kind mind: Continuation" 續教作慈心觀 (331a8ff.) this text gives numerically itemized lists of the objects of meditation, which is one of the features commonly seen in

75. Section 2 uses the word *nianfo*, and Section 10 *guanfo*, but in this text they seem to be almost interchangeable. See the following line from the *WCYF* (T15:325c17-18): "if [the practitioner] has not attained the *nianfo samādhi*, one teaches him to practice *guanfo* in one mind" 未念佛三昧者，教令一心觀佛.

the meditation texts, typically in the *GWSJ*.[76] (3) This text contains many mystical visual images similar to those of the *YL*.

One might think that reducing the whole *WCYF* into this small piece of text is too radical a manipulation, but we have another source that supports this philological operation. That is a Mongolian meditation manual entitled, *Diyan-u δoul udqa kiged, bisil-δalqu-yin jang üile-yi üneger üjügülügci kemegdekü orusibai*, "Herein is [a text] which correctly teaches the ritual of meditation (bisil-galqu Skt. *bhāvanā*) and quintessence of *dhyāna*."[77] The text, which was already noted by Schlingloff for its similarity with the *YL* (supra p.72), has an unexpected relationship with the *WCYF*. This Mongolian text has the following structure:[78]

Table 10

		WCYF
1. Initiation/Three methods	p.286	
rāga 貪: *aśubhā* 不淨; *asthi* 白骨 "lust: the disagreeable, white bones" *moha* 癡: *buddhānusmṛti* 念佛 "delusion: calling the Buddha to mind" *dveṣa* 瞋: *maitrī* 慈 "hatred: benevolence"		
Physical methods of meditation	p.288	

76. Compare *MMPS*, T12:483a.

77. I do not read Mongolian. This is a literal translation provided by Professor Jan Nattier at Indiana University. This text, introduced by a Russian scholar Aleksei M. Pozdneyev, is an anonymous meditation manual which was used in a Mongolian meditation monastery . His report has been translated into German ([1887]1927) and English ([1887]1978). The Mongolian title quoted here appears in p.285 of the English version. I thank Professor Nattier for kindly indicating the existence of the English version and sending me a copy of it.

78. Although I am using the English translation of the Russian translation of a Mongolian text, it is easy to infer the underlying Sanskrit and Chinese terms in most cases. Therefore, wherever possible, I give the Sanskrit and Chinese terms. The references are to the English version (Pozdneyev [1887]1978). For the sake of consistency, I translate these terms myself, and therefore the English terms do not always agree with those in Pozdneyev [1887]1978.

paryaṅka 結跏趺坐, etc. "cross-legged posture," etc.		
3. *aśubhā* 貪 and *asthi* 白骨 "The disagreeable, white bones"	p.289	3.326b19-c24
4. *buddhānusmṛti* 念佛 "Calling the Buddha to mind"	p.292	2. 325c17-b18
5. *rūpakāya* 生身 "Physical body"	p.295	+6. 327b1-9
6. *dharmakāya* 法身 "The Dharma body"	p.296	+7. 327b9-18
7. *maitrī* 慈 "Benevolence"	p.296	11. 330a21-31a7
8. Introduction to the higher stages of meditation	p.299	
9. *prathamadhyāna* 初禪 "The first *dhyāna*"	p.301	
10. *dvitīyadhyāna* 二禪 "The second *dhyāna*"	p.302	
11. *tritīyadhyāna* 三禪 "The third *dhyāna*"	p.303	
12. *caturthadhyāna* 四禪 "The fourth *dhyāna*"	p.304	
13. Introduction to the *ārūpyasamāpatti*, "formless concentration"	p.305	
14. *ākāśānantaryāyatana* 空無邊處 "The realm of boundless space"	p.306	
15. *vijñānānantaryāyatana* 識無邊處 "The realm of boundless consciousness"	p.307	
16. *ākiñcanyāyatana* 無所有處 "The realm of nothingness"	p.308	
17. *naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana* 非想非非想處 "The realm without ideation or not without ideation"	p.308	

Here the important point for our discussion is the close similarity between sections 3 through 7 of the Mongolian text and the corresponding sections of the *WCYF* indicated

in the table above. I cannot cite the whole relevant passages here, but the similarity is so great that there cannot be any doubt about the close relationship between these two texts. Another noteworthy point is that with the exception of rather small parts (+6 and +7), the elements corresponding to the Mongolian manual are found only in the sections we considered to be the original elements of the *WCYF*. It suggests that a tripartite meditation manual (only consisting of *aśubhā*, *buddhānusmṛti*, and *maitrī*), which was very close to our restoration of the *WCYF*, was circulating as an independent text and that the Mongolian manual was based on such a text.[79] This would also indicate that our restoration was not far from the truth. We might even be allowed to doubt if a complete *WCYF* consisting of five meditative methods ever existed at all.

In this regard, it is also odd that only the last three items among the apparently original sections of the *WCYF* (sections 10, 11, 12; see the table of p.86) have a numerically itemized structure. Once again, let us reconfirm that it is sections 2, 3, and 11 in this table that have correspondents in the Mongolian text. However, among these three

---

79. Here one possibility is that this Mongolian text was translated from the tripartite original text (before being translated into Chinese) which the *WCYF* was also based on, but this is not very likely for the following reasons: (1) The content of 2 "physical methods of meditation" are very close to those of the *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao*修習止觀坐禪法要 (*The Essentials of the Method of Practicing Śamatha-Vipaśyanā Meditation*, T46:465c12-29 [No.1915]). Usually this type of instruction on the physical aspect is very simple in Indian meditation manuals, and so at least this part of the Mongolian manual must have been based on the Chinese tradition. If so, it would be likely that the other parts were also based on Chinese sources. (2) Although small, this Mongolian manual has two sections (5, 6) that correspond to the *SLF*. As the *SLF* presupposes Kumārajīva's Chinese translations (particularly the *Lotus Sūtra*), it must have been compiled in China. If so, the parts surrounding these two sections would be also from some Chinese source.

We have seen a small text from Dunhuang (*Guanjing*) which largely consists of the sections of the *SLF* but also includes a small portion of the *WCYF*. If so, it would be possible that there was another Chinese text (also from Dunhuang?) which largely consists of the original sections of the *WCYF* with small incorporation of the *SLF*. Our Mongolian manual seems to have been based on such a text. It would be very unlikely that the compiler of the Mongolian manual constructed his well-organized tripartite system from the present highly chaotic version of the *WCYF*.

Most Mongolian Buddhist texts are translations from Tibetan (Inokuchi et al. 1975, 334). However, according to Prof. Nattier (pers. com. 1992), in the formative years of Mongolian Buddhism, there was significant input from Uighur Buddhism. Originally Uighur Buddhism was largely Sarvāstivāda, but later there was a strong Mahāyāna influence from China. If anything Mahāyānist is found in the Uighur language, it is always a translation from Chinese (cf. also Zieme and Kudara 1985, 17). On the other hand, as we have seen above, the original sections of the *WCYF* are highly Mahāyānist. If so, this could have been one of the texts transmitted to Mongolia from China via Uighur version. See also Takakusu Junjiro 1901, 459, which discusses the relationship between the Mongolian and Chinese versions of the *XYJ*.

sections (2, 3, 11), only section 11 "Kind mind" 慈心觀法 is numerically itemized. It is extremely unnatural that only one section was itemized in the original text, and, it should be noted that the Mongolian manual does not show any trace of such itemization either. I suspect that this strange form is the result of an incomplete editorial effort to make an itemized systematic manual from the unitemized original text. At the moment I cannot ascertain what happened to sections 10 and 12, but it might be possible to explain them in a similar way.

Here again, one might think that I am indulging in too much unwarranted conjecture. We should note, however, that there are some other examples of very incomplete itemization in the visualization sūtras, such as the *GYYJ* (p.57), which gives only "the first visualization" 初觀 and "the second visualization" 第二觀 (T20:662c13-15), and the *GPXJ* (p.57), which gives only "the first meditative object" 最初境界 (T9:390b26). On the other hand, almost the whole text of the *CMJ* is numerically itemized, but this itemization does not form a very consistent system.

All of these texts are heavily dependent on prior sources, but we do not find this type of itemization in the source materials.[80] Probably they were itemized only at the stage of compilation (Sueki 1992, 37 suspects the same thing on the *GWSJ*), or perhaps, in the case of the *WCYF*, even later. We cannot help suspecting that the compilers of these texts had for some reason strong preference for making a numbered list of meditative items.

At the same time, we cannot neglect the existence of two sections, although relatively small, deriving from the *SLF* in the Mongolian manual. This portion is clearly introduced as an alternative method: "There is still another contemplation of Buddha by means of which . . ." (Pozdneyev [1887]1978, 295). This introduction suggests that the compiler was aware of the heterogeneous origin of this part. Probably the *SLF* and the *WCYF* were originally two distinct texts, but at the same time, these two texts seem to have

80. For example, the *GYYJ* and the *GPXJ* are both based on the *Lotus Sūtra*, but we cannot find such an itemized visualization method in the *Lotus*.

been circulating in close association as we have also noticed in the case of the *Guanjing* (cf. n.89).

Now let us turn to the problem of the authors and the translators of the *SLF* and the *WCYF*. Nothing is known about the author of the *SLF*. Translation of this text is attributed to Kumārajīva in the Taishō canon (T15:297c19). This again is problematic because this attribution is first found in the *LSJ* (T49:78c15), a notoriously unreliable source from the late sixth century (597). *"The Siwei jing*, one fascicle, also called *Siwei lüeyao fa"* 思惟經一卷 或思惟略要法 is listed in the *CSJ* as one of the translations by An Shigao (T55:6a19). Judging from the terminology, however, it is evidently impossible to attribute this work to anybody before Kumārajīva (Sakaino 1935, 462; Demiéville1954, p.359, n.2). Demiéville (ibid.) further points out that *"The sūtra on the Three Kinds of Physical Illnesses*, [*Such as the One Caused by*] *Wind*, fascicle one, abstracted from the *Siwei lüeyaofa jing"* 形疾三品風經一卷 抄思惟略要法經, the title of which corresponds closely to the contents of the beginning of the *SLF* (T15:297c20-29),[81] is listed as one of the anonymous translations 失譯雜經 in the *CSJ* (T55:29c6). Therefore, it is certain that the *SLF* existed before the compilation of the *CSJ* (ca.510-18). Nevertheless, we do not have any reliable record that proves that the translation was done by Kumārajīva. Demiéville's cautious approach to this text ("it may not be a translation of Kumārajīva, but it must date from around his age"; 1954, 359) is understandable.

Japanese scholars seem to be even more suspicious of this text. Ikeda (1937, 105), referring to Nukariya ([1923] 1979, 228), claims that the *SLF* is clearly a later work (after Kumārajīva). Andō Toshio ([1962] 1975, 204) also says that judging from the contents this cannot be a translation by Kumārajīva. Although Sakaino (1935, 462) hesitantly attributes this text to Kumārajīva, it is only because he cannot find another plausible translator.

On the other hand, because Tōdō (1960a, 71; 1960b, 399-400) regards this text as

81. Apparently this text was based on the *EĀ* T2:604a28-b16 (Demiéville 1954, p.359, n.2).

an excerpt from the *WCYF*, a translation by Dharmamitra, he also attributes the *SLF* to Dharmamitra. Likewise, Tsukinowa (1971, 56-57) regards the *SLF* as an excerpt from the *WCYF*. He further denies that the *WCYF* was translated by Dharmamitra and assumes that both were compiled by some Chinese master.[82] I myself am very skeptical of any involvement of Dharmamitra, but I cannot agree with the argument that the *SLF* was extracted from the *WCYF*.

In spite of all these arguments, if we look at the terminology and the contents of the *SLF*, it seems likely that this text is closely related to the other undisputed translations by Kumārajīva. Therefore, in the absence of literary evidence to attribute this to Kumārajīva himself, a most plausible conclusion would be to regard it as a compilation by someone belonging to his school.

The authorship of the *WCYF* is attributed to Buddhamitra 佛陀蜜多 in the Taishō canon (T15:325c9), which is supported by the *KSL* (T55:622c16). It is, however, unclear what this attribution is based on. As we have seen, it is impossible to regard the present text of the *WCYF* as a consistent work of a single author, and, in any case, we do not know much about this Buddhamitra.[83] Therefore "the author Buddhamitra" cannot have much significance for us.

The translation is attributed to Dharmamitra by the *CSJ* (T55:12c2-4) and the *MSZ* (ZZ 2B.7.10a15). As I have already discussed, however, we cannot put much weight on

82. He points out that the *SLF* and the *WCYF* are very similar in style and structure and claims that the same author must have written both of them (Tsukinowa 1971, 56). I cannot accept this argument. The *SLF* and the *WCYF* proper are very different texts in their nature.

83. There are at least three other texts that mention a person named Buddhamitra: (1) as the master of Vasubandhu defeated by a Sāṃkhya master in Ayodhyā (*Posoupanduo fashi zhuan* 婆藪槃豆法師傳 [*A Biography of Master Vasubandhu*], T50:190a2-17 [No.2049]); (2) as a disciple of Buddhananda and the master of Pārśva (*Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan* 付法藏因緣傳 [*Stories Concerning the Transmission of Dharma*], T50:314a4-b27 [No.2058]); (3) as the person who expanded a text of Kātyāyanīputra (probably the *Jñānaprasthāna*; see the *Sidi lun* 四諦論 [The *Treatise on the Four Noble Truths*],T32:375a11 [No.1647]). See Demiéville 1954 (p.360, n.3). However, as this is not a rare name, there is no guarantee at all that these texts refer to the same person or any of these texts refers to the person who composed the *WCYF* (cf. Erich Frauwallner 1951, p.24, n.1). In particular, the master of Pārśva (2) and the master of Vasubandhu (1) cannot be the same person for chronological reasons.

this point.

We should rather note the chaotic and unstandardized nature of these texts. Especially the present text of the *WCYF* is chaotic to the extreme. There seems to have been a tripartite meditation manual that became the core of the *WCYF*, but it is highly questionable if a well-organized text that consists of five meditative items ever existed at all. Also, apparently there was no single authoritative version of the text. People seem to have been making efforts to put together various meditative methods into some kind of system, each in one's own way. These variant texts (*Guanjing* and the Mongolian manual) seem to indicate such a situation.

Some meditation manuals that apparently came from India (*YBhB*), or that were compiled with a clear intention of a single intelligent person (*ZSJ*), are well-organized. Apart from these texts, lack of order is a conspicuous feature seen in many visualization sūtras and meditation manuals. Concerning the lack of standardization, we have also observed the existence of greatly variant versions in the case of the *YL* (p.63 of this chapter). Whether they are Sanskrit or Chinese, meditation manuals seem to have been fluid works that were still in the process of compilation. Such compilatory nature of these texts is a very important point to keep in mind.

n. *Chan miyaofa jing (A Manual of the Secret Essentials of Meditation; CMJ)*

The *CMJ* is another very disorganized text but is very important for our purpose because it shares many similar elements with the *GSHJ*. The contents are as follows:

Table 11

1. 第一會: 摩訶迦絺羅難陀 (不淨觀) "The first assembly: *MahāKāṣṭhilananda[14] (?; *aśubhā*)"	
1.1 Introduction, story of the past	242c26
(Below is detailed explanations of *aśubhā*)	243b21

1.2.2 第二: 觀白骨 "The second: The meditation on white bones"	244b21
1.2.3 第三: 津膩慚愧觀 "The third: The meditation on the shameful fluid and grime"	245c1
1.2.4 第四: 脹膿血, 易想觀 "The fourth: Swollen body, pus, and blood; the meditation on change"	245c28
1.2.5 第五: 觀薄皮 "The fifth: The meditation on thin skin"	246b21
1.2.6 第六: 厚皮蟲聚觀 "The sixth: The meditation on thick skin on which worms are flocking"	247a2
1.2.7 第七: 極赤淤泥濁水洗皮雜想觀 "The seventh: The imagination of extremely red muddy water washing the skin"	247b1
1.2.8 第八: 新死想 "The eighth: The imagination of a newly-dead body"	247b20
1.2.9 第九: 具身想 "The ninth: The imagination of the full body"	247c3
1.2.10 第十: 節節解觀 "The tenth: The imagination of separating joints"	247c18
1.2.11 第十一: 白骨流光觀 "The eleventh: The meditation on white bones emitting white rays"	248a5
1.2.12 第十二: 地大觀, 火大觀, 風大觀, 水大觀/九十八使境界 "The twelfth: The meditation on the earth element, the fire element, the wind element, the water element/ the meditative objects of the ninety-eight types of defilements"	248a24
1.2.13 第十三: 結使根本觀 "The thirteenth: The meditation on the foundation of defilements"	249a24
1.2.14 第十四: 易觀 "The fourteenth: The meditation on change"	249b23

1.2.14b 第十四b: 地大觀/分別四大相貌/見五陰麁相; 値遇弥勒 "The fourteenth (b): The meditation on the earth element; analysis of the aspects of the four elements; seeing the gross aspects of the five aggregates; encountering Maitreya"	249c3
1.2.14c 第十四c: 觀外四大/漸解學觀空 "The fourteenth (c): The meditation of the external four elements; gradual understanding of the meditation on emptiness"	250c25
1.2.15 第十五: 四大觀 "The fifteenth: The meditation on the four elements"	251a18
1.2.16 第十六: 四大觀 "The sixteenth: The meditation on the four elements"	251c6
1.2.17 第十七: 身念處觀 "The seventeenth: The mindfulness applied to the body"	251c21
1.2.18 第十八: 一門觀 "The eighteenth: The meditation on the one gate"	252a27
2. 第二會: 禪難提 (數息觀) "The second assembly: Meditator Nandiya[15] (*ānāpānasmṛti*)"	
2.1 A question for the people after the demise of the Buddha; repentance[16]	255a4
2.2.1 第十九: 觀佛三昧/灌頂法 "The nineteenth: The *samādhi* of the visualization of the Buddha; the method of *abhiṣeka*"	255a22
2.2.2 第二十: 數息觀 "The twelfth: The meditation by counting the breath"	256c22
3. 第三會: 槃直迦 "The third assembly: Panthaka"	
3.1 Introduction, a story of the past	258b25
3.2.1 第二十一: 暖法觀 "The twenty-first: The meditation on the dharma called 'heat'"[17]	259b20
3.2.2 第二十二: 觀頂法 "The twenty-second: The meditation on the dharma called 'head'" (?)[18]	259c4

3.2.3 第二十三: 觀助頂法方便 "The twenty-third: The meditation on the means to help the dharma called 'the head'" (?)	259c25
3.2.4 第二十四: 火大觀 "The twenty-fourth: The meditation on the fire element"	260a8
3.2.5 第二十五: 火大無我觀 "The twenty-fifth: The meditation on the non-existence of Self in the fire element"	260a29
滅無我觀 "The meditation on the annihilation of Self"	260b10
3.2.6 第二十六: 觀灌頂, 正觀/得須陀洹道 "The twenty-sixth: The meditation on *abhiṣeka*, the correct meditation; attainment of the path of stream-entrant"	260b15
3.2.7 第二十七: 真無我觀/滅水大想/向斯陀含 "The twenty-seventh: The true meditation on non-Self; the imagination of the annihilation of the water element; advance to [the stage of] once-returner"	261c28
3.2.8 第二十九: 水大觀/斯陀含 "The twenty-ninth: The meditation on the water element; once-returner"	262b6
3.2.9 第三十: 阿那含相應境界相 "The thirtieth: The aspects of the meditative objects fit for a non-returner"	262c7
4. 第四會: 阿祇達多 (四大觀) "The fourth assembly: Agnidatta[19] (*mahābhūta*s)	
4.1. Introduction, story of the past: *Jātaka* of Prince *Kṣāntivarman 忍辱鎧太子	263a12
4.2.1 觀佛 "Visualization of the Buddha"	264b8
4.2.2 觀地獄 "Visualization of hells"	264c7
4.2.3 [緣起觀][20] "The meditation on dependent origination"	264c27
4.2.4 心華樹 "The flower tree of the mind"	265b24

4.2.5 四大清淨觀法 "The method of the meditation on the purity of the four elements"	265c17
4.2.6 空・無願・無作三昧 "The *samādhi* of emptiness, wishlessness, and actlessless"[21]	267b19
3. Conclusion: A warning to the people after the demise of the Buddha	267c26

In each chapter, methods of meditation are explained to a particular monk who has some practical problems or questions. With the exception of Chapter 2, the Buddha shows the past acts of these monks that brought about their present problems, after which the Buddha proceeds to give instructions in the remedies. In other words, the beginnings of these chapters follow the style of *avadāna* literature (for example, Chapter 3 is an adaptation of the famous Panthaka story).

The sections of the first three assemblies are numbered consecutively,[84] and they seem to form some loose system. The first two assemblies explain *aśubhā* 不淨觀 (the meditation on corpse) and other preliminary methods of meditation. The third assembly discusses more advanced stages such as: "heat" 暖, *uṣmagata*; "head"[85] 頂 *mūrdhan*; "stream-entrant" 須陀洹, *srotāpanna*; "once-returner"斯陀含, *sakṛdāgamin*; "non-returner" 阿那含, *anāgamin*. Nevertheless, this system is very incomplete, and the fourth assembly does not fit in this system in any way.

On the other hand, this manual contains many mystical images, and so for our purpose this is one of the most important materials. On this text again Tsukinowa (1971, 106-9) enumerates many questionable expressions that cannot be translations from an Indian original and concludes that this is a Chinese compilation based on oral transmissions

84. Here again, we see a numerically itemized structure. Concerning the similarity between the *GWSJ* and the *CMJ* in this regard, see Ōminami Ryūshō 1995, 82.

85. On this translation, see endnote 18.

of (Indian) meditation masters. His points are roughly as follows: (1) Among the heroes of the four introductory stories, Meditator Nandiya (Chan nanti) 禪難提 (Chapter 2) and Agnidatta (Aqi doduo) 阿祇達多 (Chapter 4) are well known names, but the stories are not the ones usually associated with them. Panthaka (Panzhijia) 槃直迦 (Chapter 3) refers to the famous CūḍaPanthaka (Zhouli Pante) 周利槃特 but is transcribed in an unusual way. The name of the hero of the first story *MahāKāṣṭhilananda (Mohe Jiaxiluo Nantuo) 摩訶迦絺羅難陀 is totally unintelligible. (2) There are strange words which could not be restored back to Indian languages, such as, "Jambūdāna (?) gold" (Yanfu tanna jin) 閻浮檀那金 (252b5; 262b18-19); "eighteen hells" 十八地獄 (264c9-10; 268b17); *"śikṣamāṇī* (?)" (*shicha moni*) 式叉摩尼 (267c20-21); "darkness hell" 黒闇地獄 (243b7; 258c16), and so forth. (3) There are strangely structured sentences, such as "[the Buddha] enters the great nirvāṇa and 'does' nirvāṇa," 入大涅槃而般涅槃 (256a15). (4) Chinese style embellished expressions, such as "throwing the whole body to the ground as if a huge mountain/Mount Tai collapsed" 擧身投地如太山崩 (243a17).

I cannot go into detail here, but some of these expressions are also seen in the *GSHJ* and therefore are very important for our purpose.[86] As we shall discuss later, not all of them are convincing, but at least some of them are indeed very problematic.[87] Here I tend

86. The expressions "Jambūdāna gold," "*śikṣamāṇī*," and "throwing the whole body to the ground as if a huge mountain/Mount Tai collapsed" will be discussed in **Section II.1.**

87. Other than the points discussed later, we should note a few points: (1) The *avadāna* attached to the 4 Agnidatta 阿祇達多 story is also found in the *Da fangbian fo baoen jing* 大方便佛報恩經 (*The Sūtra on the Great Skillful Means of the Buddha to Repay the Moral Debt*,T3:137c18-38c4 [No.156]). The *Da fangbian fo baoen jing* itself, however, is a little suspicious and needs to be treated cautiously. (2) In the Chinese version of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (*Yaoshi*) 藥事 of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (*Genben Shuoyiqie youbu pinaiye*) 根本說一切有部毘奈耶 (T24: 85b21 [No.1448]), Panthaka is transcribed as Pantuojia 槃陀迦. If so, Panzhijia 槃直迦 would not be an impossible transcription. (3) "[The Buddha] enters the great nirvāṇa and 'does' nirvāṇa," 入大涅槃而般涅槃 (256a15) could be an awkward translation of **anupadhiṣeṣe nirvāṇadhātau parinirvāti* (similar expressions are frequently seen in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Waldschmidt ed.).

On the other hand, it is definitely true that this text contains very questionable expressions. See endnotes n.18 and n.21.

to concur with Tsukinowa's conclusion; I also think it is unlikely that the *CMJ* as a direct translation of an Indian text.

Nevertheless, we should also note that the *CMJ* contains many visions similar to those seen in the *YL*.[88] Therefore I do not consider that the *CMJ* was a complete Chinese forgery either. Tsukinowa also assumes that the *CMJ* was based on an oral transmission from India (1971, 109). Considering the extensive similarities between the *CMJ* and the *YL*, at least it is very likely that the *CMJ* was based on non-Chinese meditative traditions in Central Asia. I suspect that, like the *GSHJ* itself, the *CMJ* may have been compiled in the Turfan area, as is suggested by artistic evidence. More specific points will be discussed later in conjunction with the *GSHJ*.

The translation of the *CMJ* is attributed to Kumārajīva by the Taishō canon. This attribution, however, is very questionable.

The attribution to Kumārajīva by the Taishō canon is based on the *KSL* (T55:513a19), which follows the *LSJ* (T49:78a2). Sakaino (1935, 862-63) doubts this attribution and regards Dharmamitra as the real translator based on the *CSJ* (T55:12c1). Tōdō (1960a, 70; 1960b, 404) is of the same opinion. On the other hand, Satō (1931, 177-78) disagrees with Sakaino and supports the arguments in favor of Kumārajīva, which is followed by Mizuno Kōgen (1957, 22). Satō points out that the *CSJ* lists "the *Chanjing*, three fascicles" 禪經三巻 and "the *Chan fayao*, three fascicles" 禪法要三巻 separately (T55:11a14; 24) and maintains that it is unthinkable for the same text to be listed twice. He further argues that as the former is expressly identified as "the *Zuochang sanmei jing*" 坐禪三昧經 (*ZSJ*), the latter should mean the *CMJ*. As Satō himself admits, however, the date of the revised translation given under "the *Chan fayao*, three fascicles" 禪法要三巻[89] is clearly

88. Concrete examples will be given later.

89. "On the fifth day of the intercalary month, ninth year of Hongshi [407], the text was further edited" 弘始九年閏月五日重校正 (*CSJ* T55:11a26).

that of the *ZSJ*.[90] Further, as is mentioned by Sakaino (1935, 365-66), it is clear from the biography of Sengrui 僧叡 in the *GSZ* (T50:364a22) that this "*Chan fayao*, three fascicles" 禪法要三巻 means the *ZSJ*. Sakaino notes that the "*Chan fayao*, three fascicles" 禪法要三巻 would merely be the revised version of the *ZSJ* listed separately (1935, 349). It is difficult to relate this to the *CMJ*. The *MSZ* (ZZ 2B.7.10a5) also clearly states that Dharmamitra translated the "*Chan miyao* [=*CMJ*], three parts" 禪秘要三分 in 441. Therefore, together with Sakaino, we should conclude that the oldest available sources attribute this work to Dharmamitra. Accordingly, it is certain that the oldest accessible tradition attributes four texts to this figure, namely, the *GPXJ*, the *GXJ*, the *WCYF*, and the *CMJ*.

As we have seen, however, all of these texts have serious problems, and none of them seems to be a direct translation from an Indian original. The first two seem to have been under the influence of the *Shanjie jing* and likely to have been compiled in south China. The *WCYF* is also an extremely chaotic text which does not seem to have derived from a single Indian source. The *CMJ* also appears to be a text compiled in Chinese (in Central Asia). If none of them were translations, and if indeed these texts originated in two different areas (Central Asia and south China), how they came to be associated with the single person Dharmamitra is a big question. I cannot answer this question at this stage, but at least it is certain that, as in the case of Buddhabhadra and the *GSHJ*, the association between these texts and the alleged translators is extremely doubtful in many cases. We need to be particularly careful on this point.

---

90. "After compiling this manual, on the fifth day of the intercalary month, ninth year of Hongshi [407], I further asked [Kumārajīva] to edit the text" 出此經後, 至弘始九年閏月五日重求撿挍 (*GCX* T55:65b18-19).

o. *Zhi chanbing miyao fa (The Secret Essential Methods to Cure the Diseases Caused by Meditation, ZCMF)*

The *ZCMF* is a manual describing various diseases arising in the course of meditation and the remedies for them. The first part of the text is the teaching of various remedies given by the Buddha to Śāriputra at the latter's request when monks went insane after hearing the strange roars of a black elephant during meditation (T15:333a10ff.). The second part consists of the remedies taught to Ānanda for eliminating troubles caused by various demons (ibid. 341a23ff.). This large division is confirmed because the line, "Thus have I heard" 如是我聞 appears once at the beginning of each part (i.e., twice in the whole text). The two parts, however, are further divided into smaller sections, each with its own title. These smaller divisions are also confirmed by the line, "hearing the teaching of the Buddha, they were rejoiced and followed [the teaching]" 聞佛所說歡喜奉行 at the end of each section.[91] Therefore, like the *CMJ*, formally this text is a collection of many sūtra style works. The contents of the *ZCMF* are as follows:

Table 12

1. Teaching to Śāriputra	
1.1. 治阿練若亂心病七十二種法 "The seventy-two methods of curing the insanity in wildernesses"	333a10
1.2. 治噎法 "The method of curing chokes"	335a26
1.3. 治行者貪淫患法 "The method of curing the disease of lust of practitioners"	335c4
1.4. 治利養瘡法 "The method of curing the wounds of benefits"	336a27
1.5. 治[22]犯戒法 "The method of curing the violation of precepts"	336c16

91. This phrase even appears in the middle of sections (T15:333c21-22; 342a3-4).

1.6. 治樂音樂法 "The method of curing the attachment to music"	337c24
1.7. 治好歌唄偈讚法 "The method of curing the fondness of singing and chanting verses"	338a15
1.8. 治水大猛盛因是得下法[23] "The method of curing diarrhea caused by the vehement water element"[24]	338b7
1.9. 治因火大頭痛眼痛耳聾法 "The method of curing the head-ache, eye-ache, and deafness caused by the fire element"	338c12
1.10. 治入地三昧見不祥事恐怖失心法 "The method of curing the [disease caused by] the fear from seeing inauspicious things in the *samādhi* of the earth element"	339a5
1.12. 治風大法 "The method of curing the [disease caused by] the wind element"	340b11
2. Teaching to Ānanda	
2.1. 初學坐者鬼魅所著種種不安不能得定治之法 "The method of curing elementary meditators who are taken by demons and (afflicted by) various types of uneasiness and cannot attain *samādhi*."	341a23

The note added under the title of the first section (1.1) says that the question of Śāriputra (i.e., the beginning of this section) is found in "the **Āraṇyakavastu* of the *SĀ*" (*Za ahan elianruo shi*) 雜阿含阿練若事, but the source has not been identified. (See *KSL* T55:615a10-11; also *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* s.v. "*Chi zenbyō hiyōhō*"; Tsukinowa 1971, 106; cf. Mochizuki 1946, 287-88) In any case, judging from the contents, it is not likely that the direct source is to be found in the *Āgama/Nikāya* literature.

This text is very closely related to the *CMJ*, the *GSHJ*, and other visualization sūtras. See, for example, the following points. (1) The Bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata 藥王藥上菩薩, the main figures of the *GYYJ*, are mentioned (342a8; 23-24). They are juxtaposed with Piṇḍola (342a17), the protector of the Traditional

dharma.[92] (2) Chanting the names of the past seven Buddhas is encouraged (341c22; 27). (3) The thirty-five Buddhas (337a19) seem to correspond to those of the *GXJ* (T13:677b23, etc.). (4) The eighteen hells (337a1; 22) must be related to those of the *GSHJ* (T15: 668b17ff.). (5) The word *guanfo* 觀佛 is used (337b13). (6) A fair number of mystical symbols are used, and some of them are similar to those of the *CMJ* (for example, compare T15:337b5-6 with 252a12-13).

As we have already seen (p.44), the *CSJ* (T55:106b22-c19), the *GSZ* (T50:337a4-23), and the postface to the *ZCMF* (T15:342b6-14; T55:66a24-b2) attribute this text to Juqu (Jingsheng), Marquis of Anyang. These records indicate that he learned this text from Buddhasena at Khotan and translated it in Hexi. Later he fled to south China and wrote down the text there.

Again, Tsukinowa doubts the authenticity of this manual (1971, 102-6; 108-9). He suspects that this was a text composed around Turfan by Juqu Jingsheng with some Chinese master (1971, 104).[93] His doubt is based on the following points: (1) This sūtra shares peculiar concepts and terms with the *GSHJ* and the *GYYJ*, two sūtras he regards as Chinese apocrypha. (2) Strange transliterations, such as *alile* 阿梨勒, *pilanduo* bird 毘蘭多鳥, *gushiluo* bird 瞿師羅鳥, *anpotuo* medicine 菴婆陀藥 are used. (3) This sūtra shares many Chinese style expressions with *CMJ*, which he considers to be apocryphal. He believes that the *ZCMF* and the *CMJ* originally constituted a single text, and that the text of five fascicles, which is recorded as a mixture of the *ZCMF* and the *CMJ* in the *KSL* (T55:664c15-23),[94] was its original form.

---

92. On Piṇḍola as a protector of the dharma, see Sylvain Lévi and Édouard Chavannes 1916, 192ff.

93. The association with Turfan must be based on Juqu Jingsheng's biographical records that indicate that he came back to Hexi by way of Turfan.

94. This should be noted as another example of a variant text of meditation manuals.

Here again, many of Tsukinowa's points are noteworthy. We would have to admit that the possibility that the *ZCMF* was an apocryphal text is great. Especially we should note that the *ZCMF* indeed seems to presuppose the *GYYJ* ("First one should visualize the two bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata" 先當觀藥王藥上二菩薩 [T15:342a8]; "according to the teachings of the two bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata, one obtains the *samādhi* i which Buddhas appear in front" 隨藥王藥上二菩薩所說，即得諸佛現前三昧 [342a23-24]). On the other hand, since the *GYYJ* clearly presupposes the *GSHJ* (supra p.51), and since some elements of the *ZCMF* could be older than the *GSHJ*, the relation among these three texts are complicated. We should note here, however, that in the *ZCMF* references to the *GYYJ* (or at least the two bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarāja and Bhaiṣajyasamudgata) are found only in the very short second section "Teaching to Ānanda"). Although we cannot make a hasty conclusion, perhaps it is possible to suspect that the very last section was added later to the *ZCMF*. On the other hand, like the *GSHJ* and the *CMJ*, the *ZCMF* has some elements similar to those found in the *YL*. Therefore, it would be too much to say that the *ZCMF* is a complete Chinese forgery. I am inclined to agree with Tsukinowa, who suspects that the *ZCMF* was probably compiled somewhere around Turfan (based on Central Asian meditative traditions). More detailed arguments will be presented in later chapters. At this stage, this is just a working hypothesis to give some direction to our investigation.

p. Chinese Meditation Manuals in General

Based on the foregoing investigations, I believe these meditation manuals should be attributed respectively to the following figures:

Buddhabhadra	*YBhB*
Kumārajīva	*ZSJ*, *CY*, (*SLF*)
Dharmamitra	*WCYF*, *CMJ*
Juqu Jingsheng	*ZCMF*

We have noticed that there is a clear distinction between the texts translated by the first two translators and the ones translated by the last two. *YBhB* was largely a straightforward Traditional manual with few mystical elements (except in the short prose portion). This would have been the meditation manual closest to the orthodox Sarvāstivāda tradition. Kumārajīva's manuals (including the one possibly by his disciple[s]) contain many Mahāyānist elements, but again they do not have many symbolic images. Perhaps it reflects Kumārajīva's personal preference for philosophical *prajñāpāramitā* over mystical visualization (cf. Andō [1962]1975, 206-11).

The texts attributed to Dharmamitra and Juqu Jingsheng are very different in nature. They are far more mystical than the former texts. In addition, they are all poorly organized, contain many Chinese elements, and in some cases betray the traces of compilation process in the Chinese cultural area. Further, we should note that they are itemized like many visualization sūtras. It is these texts that share many elements with the *GSHJ* and, accordingly, these are more important for our present purpose. Some of these elements would go back to India, but we cannot be sure how many. Judging from the physical existence of the *YL* manuscripts at Qizil and Shorchuq, however, it is safe for us to assume that this kind of visualization was popularly practiced in Central Asia.

Notes to the Tables

[1] The *YBhB* classifies the practice of *ānāpānasmṛti* 安那般那念 into "preliminary path" 方便道 and "superior path" 勝道, and then divides each of them into four stages, namely, "the stage open to retrogression" 退分, "the stage of abiding" 住分, "the stage of progress" 升進分, and "the stage of determination" 決定分; thus the chapter of *ānāpānasmṛti* 安那般那念 is divided into altogether eight sections (cf.Satō 1931,343). Therefore, the first eight sections of this text are all subsumed in the single item *ānāpānasmṛti*. In the case of the next chapter *aśubhā* 不淨觀, only the "preliminary path" 方便道 are divided into the same four stages.

Cf. Sarvāstivāda *abhidharma* classifies "pure concentration" 淨等至 *śuddhaka(samāpatti)* into the following four:*hānabhāgīya* 順退分,*sthitibhāgīya* 順住分, *viśeṣabhāgīya* 順勝進分, and *nirvedhabhāgīya* 順決択分 (the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* Pradhan 2nd. ed., p.445, line 5 [*AKBh*]; T29:148c17-18 [No.1558]). These fourfold stages are also found in the *Visuddhimagga*. See Fukuhara Ryōgon 1975, 418.

In order to show the general structure more clearly, I do not indicate these subdivisions in my table. Cf. ibid., 415-17.

[2] The Chinese *bujing* 不淨 means "impure." The Sanskrit equivalent *aśubha* means "disagreeable." Here, for the sake of the comparison with the *YL*, I translate the underlying Sanskrit.

[3] This section number may seem strange, but this is to preserve the numbering of the following five items given by the text itself.

[4] My translation is based on the underlying Sanskrit *dveṣa*.

[5] This word does not appear at 272c, but does at 271c3.

[6] This Sanskrit form will be discussed in Section I.4 of this dissertation.

[7] This translation is loose. Literary "balanced [personality]." In this context, it means that not one type of *kleśa* is predominantly strong, but various problems are coexisting in one personality.

[8] Translation here is from the Sanskrit.

[9] I assume the underlying *bhāvanā* here for *guan* 観, but it isconjecture on my part.

[10] This section, strangely inserted between the two fascicles, is almost certainly a later interpolation.

[11] Here the Chinese syntax would be "the *guanfa* 観法 that is called *Fahua sanmei* 法華三昧." Namely, I believe that here *guanfa* 観法 is one compound and probably means "method of meditation/practice" in a general sense. (Sometimes, the Sanskrit word *bhāvanā*, "practice, meditation," is translated as *guan* 観). In this kind of context, *parīkṣā*, "examination," can be another word to correspond to *guan* 観, but probably **saddharmapuṇḍarīkasamādhiparīkṣā*, "the examination of the *samādhi* of the *Lotus Sūtra*," would not make sense.

[12] The *CMJ* uses the character 暖.

[13] On this item, see n.18. Usually as a technical term, *ding* 頂 means "summit," but here it is

understood in the sense of "head." Such unusual interpretation is indicative of the non-Indian origin of the text.

14 This is a strange name. See Tsukinowa 1971, 107. *Qiexina* 伽絺那 corresponds to *khaṭṭika*, "butcher," (*Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 1:445c) and Mohe Juxiluo 摩訶倶絺羅 to MahāKauṣthila (a personal name; ibid., 5:4722c). Mohe Jiaxiluo Nantuo 摩訶迦絺羅難陀 seems to be a mixture of these names.

15 *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, 450a.

16 Note that similar settings were used in the *GSHJ* and the *GWSJ*. Moreover, the process to remove sins described in this section is very similar to the ones found in the *GSHJ*, *GXJ*, and so forth.

17 As one of the meditative stages, 煖 (*uṣmagata*) is usually understood in a highly figurative sense (precursor of the fire of pure wisdom that burns defilements). In this text, however, the word is taken in the sense of physical heat.

18 As the name of one of the meditative stages, 頂 (*mūrdhan*) is usually interpreted in the sense of "summit" (once one passes this summit, one does not go back to bad destinies). In this case, however, judging from the subsequent explanation, the text seems to be taking the word in the sense of "head."

19 See *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, s.v. "Aggidatta[2]."

20 This word does not appear in the text.

21 "Wishless *samādhi*" (*wuyuan sanmei*) 無願三昧 and "actless *samādhi*" (*wuzuo sanmei*) 無作三昧 both corresponds to *apraṇihitasamādhi* (*Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 2:1512c). Juxtaposition of these two terms in a single text strongly suggests the text was not translated form an Indian original.

22 Although the text of the Taishō canon has *ru* 汝, this is clearly a misprint.

23 Although the text does not have *fa* 法 here, it should be added according to the Sung, Yuang, and Ming editions (hereafter "the three editions") given in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

24 The translation is uncertain.

3. Divergent Theories on the Origin of the *GSHJ*

Although I have already mentioned a few representative studies on the geographical origin of the *GSHJ* in the introduction, here let us examine these previous studies more carefully. Naturally I shall focus on the studies on the *GSHJ*, but as I have repeatedly emphasized, it is difficult to separate the scholarship on the *GSHJ* from that on the *GWSJ*. For this reason, I have to mention some of the studies that are primarily directed to the *GWSJ* as well.

a. Gandhāra Theory

Ono Genmyō ([1923]1977), a well-known scholar of Buddhism and Buddhist art, carefully compared the contents of this sūtra with the remains of Indian Buddhist art and found that the physical characteristics of the Buddha described in this sūtra correspond closely to those of Gandhāran Buddhist statues (ibid., 103). He also found some Gandhāran sculptures depicting the narratives mentioned in this sūtra (ibid., 103-109) and paid particular attention to the detailed description of the famous "Buddha Image Cave" (Foying ku 佛影窟) at Nagarahāra (Naqianheluo 那乾訶羅) in the Gandhāra area (ibid., 109-112).[1] He further pointed out that the sacred places in Gandhāra which the *GSHJ* associates with Jātaka stories exactly correspond to the ones recorded by Faxian 法顯

[1] The outline of the story according to the *GSHJ* is as follows: There were ogresses and poisonous nāgas in a cave at Nagarahāra, who caused famine and epidemics to the land. Śākyamuni, accompanied by his great disciples, went there to pacify them. After being subdued by the power of his attendant Vajrapāṇi, the ogresses and nāgas asked the Buddha to stay there so that they would not do any further evils. In response to that, he miraculously entered the rock and left his image (T15:679b7-81c). This point will be discussed in more detail later (Section II.3). For a little more detailed outline of the story, see Soper 1949, 279; a full Japanese translation of this story is given in Kuwayama Shōshin 1990, 77-84.

(339?-420?; ibid., 59-70; 114). Accordingly, he concluded that the *GSHJ* was composed in Gandhāra by a contemporary of Faxian (ibid., p.114). These points are accepted by Takada Osamu (1967, 432), Sueki Fumihiko (1992, 141-43), Takahashi Shin'ya (1993, 288), and Myōjin Hiroshi (1994, 71-77).

A similar conclusion was reached by Soper (1949a; 1949b; 1950; 1959), probably independently of Ono. Soper analyzed the motif of the Buddha sitting in a cave, which is popular in Gandhāran and Central Asian art (1949a, 258-59; 1959, 185-86)[2] but not much emphasized in the art of India proper (1950, 72). He found a strong similarity between this motif and the style of the Mithraic cavern sanctuary prevalent in the Roman Empire (1949a, 260-63),[3] their common root being in the Near East and Persia (ibid., 262). Soper dealt with the "Buddha Shadow Cave"[4] and the *GSHJ* in the context of this investigation (ibid., 273ff.). Because of the particular emphasis on the "Buddha Image Cave" in this text, he ascribes the authorship of the sūtra to a native of the region around this cave (ibid., 279).[5]

He further presents some noteworthy arguments on this sūtra, namely:[6] (1) Xuanzang reports that the "Buddha Shadow Cave" was (originally) a residence of Gopāla Nāga. The story of a nāga being quelled by the Buddha is found only in a few texts,[7] and

---

2. See also Miyaji Akira [1988-89]1992, 435-42.

3. Soper maintains that although the violent act of Mithra (ritual slaying of the bull) and the serene meditation of the Buddha seem very different, the underlying significance of the cave symbolism is the same.

4. As I shall discuss later (Section II.3), I would like to call this cave the "Buddha Image Cave." However, since Soper calls it the "Buddha Shadow Cave," here I follow his appellation.

5. Soper (1959, 186) further suspects Buddhabhadra's involvement in the contents of this sūtra.

6. The numbering is mine.

7. They include the *DZL* (Soper 1949, p.280, n.68).

they seem to have had the intention of extending the Buddha's activity to the far northwest of India (ibid., 274-79);[8] (2) The "shadow" of the evil nāgas in this story is closer to the Iranian demonic shadow of serpents rather than to the Indian divine shadow (1949b, 314ff.); (3) Sexual elements in this sūtra, including that of the genitalia of the Buddha, is related to Hindu phallicism (ibid., 325-26; 1959, 186). On the other hand, the description of the (abhorrent) sexual union between the ogresses and the poisonous nāga should be associated with the Manichaean tradition of branding sexual pleasure as an absolute evil (1949, 327); (4) The radiant Buddha sitting in a dark cave reflects the Mitraic/Gnostic idea of the intricate and confused juxtaposition of Light and Dark which was widespread in the ancient Orient. In contrast to the Zoroastrian clear-cut distinction between Light and Darkness, Gnosticism saw Darkness everywhere, even among the fighter who battles Darkness. The only hope for salvation lay in the notion that if Darkness is omnipresent, so is Light. Therefore in order to ensure the possibility of redemption, the divine spirit had to descend from its original pure realm to the midst of darkness. That is why Mithra lived in a cave. The shining Buddha in the dark cave was performing exactly the same function (1950, 65-70; 1959, 185). Although the light symbolism can be also traced back to the Brahmanical tradition of Agni, this motif is particularly noticeable in the art of Northwest India and Central Asia that was under Iranian influence (1950, 71-72; cf. 69).

Pas (1977, 203) also emphasizes the connection between the visualization sūtras and the Kashmir area, pointing out that all the (alleged) translators had direct or indirect ties to the Kashmir area. Birnbaum is heavily influenced by Soper and Pas. He claims that "the borderlands of the extreme northwest of India or in Central Asia" are the most likely origin of these texts ([1979] 1989, 38).

8. This point is based on Przyluski 1914, 494; 507-10; 558-68. A more complete list of relevant texts is found in Lamotte 1981, 1:548-54.

b. Chinese Theory

Tsukinowa Kenryū points out many questionable points in the visualization sūtras in general (including the *GSHJ*) and reaches a different conclusion. He argues that they were composed by Chinese to compete with Taoist visualization texts (Tsukinowa 1971, 43ff.; esp.171-73). Although we have already seen his main points (Introduction; Section I.2), since they are very important, let us repeat them here:

> (1) There are no Sanskrit originals, even fragments, quotations [in other Indian texts], other Chinese versions, Tibetan translation, or anything else that confirms the existence of the original texts.
>
> (2) It is unlikely that these sūtras can be restored to Sanskrit. In particular, it is almost impossible to know the Sanskrit original of the word *guan* 觀 in the title of the sūtra.
>
> (3) Attribution of these sūtras to the alleged translators is often doubtful; there are also many questionable words in these sūtras.
>
> (4) The contents are not very Indian.
>
> (5) These sūtras frequently presuppose other Chinese Buddhist texts.

Here, (1) is true as we have already seen (Section I.1), but it alone is not a sufficient reason to doubt the Indian origin of these sūtras. We have also discussed (Introduction, Section I.1-2) the problems concerning the translators (the first half of point 3) and found that there are indeed many questionable points. Other points will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters.

c. Central Asian theory

Kasugai Shin'ya (1953, 40-42; Kasugai and Tōdō Kyōshun 1957, 521-30) argues that the visualization sūtras were compiled in Central Asia. His arguments are based on the following points:[9] (1) The visualization sūtras were all translated in the early fifth century, and there is no earlier or later translation of this kind. Furthermore, there are no Sanskrit or Tibetan versions (except for the *GMSJ*, which has a Tibetan version translated from Chinese [Tōhoku No.199]).[10] (2) Many of the translators of these sūtras had ties with Central Asia. (3) The character *guan* 觀 (visualization) in the titles of these sūtras is not always justified by the contents. The character *guan* in these texts seems to mean a compendium for ritual purposes.[11] (4) Neither Faxian (fifth century) nor Xuanzang 玄奘 (seventh century) mentions anything about visualization sūtras in their travel records. (5) We can confirm the existence of Maitreya worship in the fifth century Gandhāra from Chinese sources, but no record shows the existence of visualization sūtras in Gandhāra. (6) It is most likely that these sūtras were compiled in Central Asia towards the end of the fourth century influenced by liberal trends in Gandhāra.

On the other hand, Fujita's arguments, which he defines as a hybrid of the Central Asian theory and the Chinese theory (Fujita 1970, 132; [1970]1990, 163; 1985, 60-61), are primarily concerned about the *GWSJ* and do not deal with the *GSHJ* very much.

---

9. The numbering is mine.

10. Kasugai (1953, 41) refers to Watanabe Kaigyoku [1908]1933, 482, which reports that Watanabe identified a fragment of the *GYYJ* written in a Central Asian dead language. From the context, this "dead language" seems to mean Khotanese, but I cannot confirm this information in Ernst Leumann's writings (1907; 1908; 1912; [1920]1966; although Watanabe worked with Leumann on these documents in Germany) or Ronald E. Emmerick 1992. This identification by of Watanabe appears to be a mistake. I thank Professor Inokuchi Taijun for his assistance on this point.

11. Sueki disagrees with this point (1992, 32). As he points out, it would be difficult to claim that *guan* means "a compendium." Nevertheless, as we have seen in the previous chapter, it is true that these *guan* sūtras are not necessarily designed as practical manuals of visualization.

Nevertheless, we cannot ignore one of the most systematic investigations to date on the origin of the visualization sūtras.

In spite of his own definition, his basic position is very close to the Central Asian theory. While observing that the arguments of Kasugai are not necessarily well-grounded, Fujita himself gives the following points in support of the Central Asian origin of the *GWSJ*:[12] (1) Translators of the visualization sūtras had close ties with Central Asia. (2) Visualizations described in the *GWSJ* seem to presuppose Gandhāran Buddhist statues, whose influence was prevalent in Central Asia. Visualization of the gigantic Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin 觀音) and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Dashizhi 大勢至) described in the *GWSJ* would be associated with the huge statues in the Kuchā area built in the mid-fourth century. (3) There are two Khotanese hymns to the Amitābha Buddha whose contents presuppose the doctrine of the *GWSJ*. Although the manuscripts of these hymns are from Dunhuang, Fujita suspects that this text was widely circulated in the area where Khotanese was spoken. (4) The fact that grape juice is mentioned in the *GWSJ* is probably associated with the fact that grapes were a famous product of the Turfan area.[13] (5) Emphasis on *vaiḍūrya*, "lapis lazuli," in the *GWSJ* can to be related to the fact that lapis lazuli was a product of Central Asia.[14]

---

12. Fujita 1985, 34-45. The numbering is his own.

13. This point is refuted by Jonathan Silk's unpublished manuscript, pp.62-65. See also Sueki 1992, 32-33.

14. Yamada Meiji (1976, 81-82) believes that *vaiḍūrya* means lapis lazuli. Since lapis lazuli is an opaque stone, he claims that the statement of the *GWSJ*, "One sees the ground of beryl, which is clear inside and outside" (T12:342a9-10; see appendices 1 and 2) is possible only to those who do not know the reality of *vaiḍūrya*. See also Fujita 1985, 44-45.

According to Alfred Master 1943-46, 304-7, however, *vaiḍūrya* means beryl, which is a transparent and crystalline gem (followed by Paul Harrison 1990, p.39, n.17). If that is the case, Yamada's claim on this point loses its basis. Moreover, we can find an almost exact parallel to the quotation above in the Sanskrit text of the *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra* as follows (Dutt ed., 3.10-11): *me kāyo 'narghavaiḍūryamaṇir ivāntarbahiratyantapariśuddho vimalaprabhāsampannaḥ syāt*, "[I wish] my body would be clear inside and outside and is full of pure radiance like an invaluable *vaiḍūrya maṇi*." It is clear that *vaiḍūrya*, is used as a simile of transparency. The passages in question from the *GWSJ* and other visualization sūtras do not speak

At the same time, however, Fujita recognizes many Chinese elements and structural problems of the *GWSJ*. Therefore, his conclusion (ibid., 60-61) is that the basic content of the sūtra was based on visualization methods followed in some part of Central Asia, perhaps in the region around Turfan.[15] He speculates that the Chinese elements were introduced by the Chinese monk Senghan 僧含 who assisted in Kālayaśas's translation.

It should be reiterated here that his conclusion is about the origin of the *GWSJ* and not of the *GSHJ*. With respect to the *GSHJ*, Fujita does not give a clear judgement. He merely points out the existence of Chinese elements and observes that further studies are required on this sūtra (Fujita 1970, p.134, n.16; [1970]1990, p.169, n.61).

d. Compilation Theory

It has been also noticed that the *GSHJ* has a serious structural disorder, leading some scholars to posit a gradual compilation of this sūtra.

Yamada Meiji (1967, 42-44) indicates several structural problems in the *GSHJ*. Among them, especially noteworthy points are the following two:[16] (1) Although this sūtra clearly mentions the "thirty-two major and eighty minor bodily marks" 三十二相八十隨形好 (T15:647b20-21), the following explanation disregards this number and enumerates fifty-six marks altogether (ibid., 648a4-c13). (2) The first part of this sūtra (Chapters 2 to 6) discusses the visualization of one Buddha, and the last part (Chapters 9 to 12) the visualization of many Buddhas, but two chapters (Chapters 7 and 8) are inserted between

---

for the apocryphal nature of these texts.

15. Nakamura Hajime 1964, 207 also briefly presents a Central Asian theory.

16. The numbering is mine.

them in an incomprehensible way. Therefore, Yamada (1976, 88) concludes that the *GSHJ* was a compilation of methods and theories of visualization taken from various sources. Yamada, however, does not clearly state where he thinks this compilation took place (as for the *GWSJ*, he clearly asserts that it was compiled in China; ibid., 83).

Problems similar to Yamada's second point were also noticed by Shikii Shūjō (1978, 517-19). He notes that the first half of the *GSHJ* (Chapters 1 to 6) is mainly told to Śuddhodana, while the last half (Chapters 7 to 12) mainly to Ānanda, but that the connection between these two parts is not very natural. The points he finds problematic are as follows: (1) The various titles of this sūtra are given towards the end of Chapter 6 (T15:682c4-9). Then King Śuddhodana returns to the palace, explains what he heard to his court ladies, and the ladies attain merits (ibid., 682c23-83a1). At that point, all of a sudden Ānanda asks about the bodily mark that the Buddha did not explain (i.e., the hidden male organ; ibid., a3-5). What follows, however, is the entrustment of the sūtra to Ānanda (ibid., a20-25), and his question is not answered until the next chapter (ibid., b6ff.). (2) The contents of the first six chapters (Chapters 1 to 6) are naturally connected, so are those of chapters 9 to 11. These two parts, however, are different in nature: the former talks about Śākyamuni Buddha, while the latter deals with Buddhas in general.[17] (3) In the middle of the sūtra, Chapter 8 praises the merits of visualizing the Buddha (i.e., the subject of this sūtra), relates the entrustment of the sūtra to Ānanda, and mentions the merits attained by gods by listening to the Buddha's words (689c5-90a1). Such topics are usually discussed at the end of a sūtra.

Based on these observations, Shikii maintains, concerning the structure of the final parts of Chapter 6, as follows: The line, "at that time, monks . . . withdrew and stayed on one side" 時諸比丘 . . . 却住一面 (T15:683a1-2), should be directly connected to the line, "at that time, the Blessed One told monks to return to their seats" 爾時世尊, 勅諸比丘各令還坐

17. Evidently, this is very close to Yamada's second point.

(ibid., 683a5). Ānanda's question concerning the unexplained bodily mark of the Buddha (ibid, a3-5), which appears between these lines, should be linked to the Chapter 7 (ibid., 683b6ff.), and that the story of the entrustment of the sūtra to Ānanda (ibid., a20-25) should be regarded as a prelude to Chapter 8 (ibid., 687b6ff.).

Therefore Shikii concludes that the first six chapters, excluding Ānanda's question, and Chapter 8 were the original constituents of the sūtra; then Chapters 9 to 11, whose topics had been already mentioned in the first six chapters sporadically, were added together with the concluding Chapter 12. Shikii guesses that it was at the final stage that Chapter 7, which according to Shikii was originally an independent text, was inserted, together with the introductory question by Ānanda (about the bodily mark that the Buddha did not explain). On the geographical origin of this sūtra, Shikii's opinion is that the original text was composed in India or Central Asia, and was later enlarged in the course of the transmission and the translation into Chinese (ibid., 520).

Kuwayama Shōshin (1990, 85-90)[18] also enumerates various structural problems in this sūtra and states that it is difficult to believe the existence of a coherent original text. Here, he pays particular attention to the detailed story of the Buddha Image Cave and considers it very likely that this story was inserted by Buddhabhadra himself, who, according to him, was deeply involved in the compilation of this sūtra. Kuwayama's argument is based on his belief that it was Buddhabhadra who informed Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416) of the Buddha Image Cave. Huiyuan made an imitation of the Buddha Image Cave on Lushan 廬山, and in his eulogy of the cave (the *Foying ming* 佛影銘 in the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集, T52:197c-98b [No.2103]), he acknowledges that he learned the details of the original cave from "a meditation master from 'Kashmir' and a Vinaya scholar from a southern country" 罽賓禪師南國律學道士 (T52:198a10-11). Kuwayama identifies this "meditation master from 'Kashmir'" as Buddhabhadra.

18. I thank Professor Enomoto Fumio for referring me to this work. I also thank Professor Valerie Hansen for a copy of this book.

It indeed seems that Buddhabhadra was one of the informants for Huiyuan on the details of the Buddha Image Cave.[19] However, it would not automatically mean that Buddhabhadra was the person who inserted the story on this cave to the *GSHJ*. This problem requires more careful examination, which we shall do later in this dissertation.

Ōminami Ryūshō (1995, 92-94) favorably mentions Kuwayama's arguments and emphasizes the ties between the *GSHJ* and northwest India. Miyaji Akira's position is close to those of Yamada and Kuwayama; he considers that the *GSHJ* was compiled in China based on the methods followed in Gandhāra (1992, 404; 406; [1988-89]1992, 454). On the other hand, Myōjin (1994, 79-71) assumes the northwest-Indian origin of the *GSHJ*, but he also associates Buddhabhadra, who Myōjin considers to have been a native of Nagarahāna, with the story of the Buddha Image Cave (ibid., 72).

---

19. Tang Yongtong (1938, 346) already identified the "meditation master from 'Kashmir'" with Buddhabhadra. Kimura Eiichi criticizes Tang. Kimura claims that, although Buddhabhadra went to 'Kashmir' with his colleague Saṅghadeva, Buddhabhadra himself was from Kapilavastu, so he is not a "meditation master from 'Kashmir,'" and that this "meditation master from 'Kashmir'" should be regarded as Saṅghadeva, who is from "Kashmir" and went to Lushan in 386 (Kimura 1960, p.462, n.36). This argument, however, is not very accurate. First, as we have seen, Buddhabhadra was not a native of Kapilavastu (see Section II.1). Second, the name of the colleague with whom Buddhabhadra went to "Kashmir" was Saṅghadatta, not Saṅghadeva (*GSZ*, T50:334c7-8). Third, the biography of Saṅghadeva (*GSZ*, T50:328c-39a) gives no indication that he was associated with the Buddha Image Cave. There is a much stronger reason to associate Buddhabhadra, who is from northwest India, and perhaps from Nagarahāra itself, with this cave. Because he practiced meditation in "Kashmir," there should be no problem in calling him "a meditation master from 'Kashmir,'" and actually the *GSZ* elsewhere calls him so (T50:400b29). Therefore, Buddhabhadra must be the "meditation master from Kashmir" who informed Huiyuan of the details of the Buddha Image Cave. Kuwayama's argument on this issue is mostly the same (1990, 86-89). Soper (1949, p.282, n.72; 1959, 191) also identifies the "meditation master from 'Kashmir'" with Buddhabhadra.

As for the "Vinaya scholar from a southern country," Tang (1938, 346) states that it is unclear who this means, but that it cannot be Faxian because he had not yet returned when this eulogy was composed in 413. Kimura (1960, 462) claims, based on another eulogy of the same imitation "Buddha Image Cave" by Xie Lingyun 謝靈運, that this must be Faxian (see T52:199b10). On the other hand, Soper (1949a, p.282, n.72) identifies this as Baoyun 寶雲. His biography (*GSZ* T50:339c-40a), however, does not give any reason to be called a "Vinaya scholar from a southern country." Here, as Kimura says, Faxian would be the most likely person to be called "Vinaya scholar."

4. Calling to Mind, Seeing, and Visualizing the Buddha

Guanfo 觀佛, which appears in the title of the *Guanfo sanmei hai jing*, is of course one of the key concepts of this sūtra. *Guanfo*, however, is a difficult concept. On the one hand, as we discussed in the Introduction, the basic framework of the *guanfo* practice seems to have derived from Indian Buddhism. On the other hand, the Sanskrit original for this word is unclear, and it was one of the reasons Tsukinowa doubted the Indian origin of this text (see). In this chapter, I would like to examine the concept *guanfo* in the context of Indian Buddhism.

The moment we begin this investigation, however, we notice that the concept *guanfo* is very closely related to two other concepts: *nianfo* 念佛, and *jianfo* 見佛 (see Akanuma Chizen [1939]1981, 410). Particularly, *nianfo* is an important concept very closely linked to *guanfo* in the *GSHJ* itself. Since we cannot confirm the Sanskrit word for *guanfo*, for the purpose of this chapter, we have to pay primary attention to the word *nianfo*, for which we know the Sanskrit original (*buddhānusmṛti*, "calling the Buddha to mind,"[1] or [in the case of Mahāyāna sūtras] *buddhamanas[i]kāra*).[2] Thanks to the studies of prior scholars, we can delineate the development of the concept *buddhānusmṛti* in Indian Buddhism fairly clearly. It is very likely that the visualization practice called *guanfo* was directly connected to a relatively late, well-developed form of *buddhānusmṛti* (including the famous *pratyutpanna-samādhi*).[3] Thus, examination of the development of the concept

---

1. Paul Harrison constantly translates *anusmṛti* as "calling to mind" (see, for example, 1992, 228). I follow his translation. The Pāli form of *buddhānusmṛti* is *buddhānussati*.

2. *Manaskāra* and *manasikāra* are simply orthographical variants. Concerning *buddhamanas(i)kāra*, see Fujita 1970, 545 and Sakurabe 1976, 894-95.

3. It is certain that both the *GSHJ* (T15:693c6-7; 695b10) and the *GWSJ* (T12:346b3) presuppose *pratyutpanna-samādhi*. See Appendix 2 and Inagaki 1994, 19.

buddhānusmṛti is imperative for our discussion.

Jianfo, in Sanskrit *buddhadarśana*, is another important word. It refers to either seeing the Buddha in a physical sense or a visionary encounter with the Buddha. The latter usage is prominent in Mahāyāna scriptures and is directly relevant to our topic. Therefore, we need to briefly survey the development of this concept in Indian Buddhism as well.

As for the word *guanfo* itself, it does appear in Chinese translations of Indian Buddhist texts. In those texts, however, it is not always clearly distinguished from *jianfo*. Ōminami Ryūshō (1975, 235) points out that both of these terms correspond to *paś-/dṛś-* or *anu-paś-/dṛś-*. *Guan* of *guanfo* (or of *guan rulai* 觀如來) further corresponds to *ul-lok-*, "look upwards," *parīkṣā*, "examination," and so forth (ibid., 235-36). Therefore it is possible to suspect that the distinction between *jianfo* and *guanfo* existed only in Chinese translations, and that in Sanskrit texts they were the same concept.

Nevertheless, as far as we can see in Chinese Buddhist texts, *guanfo* and *jianfo* are used with different connotations. Generally speaking, in the sense of the visionary encounter with the Buddha, *jianfo* is the usual word. *Guanfo* specifically means the practice of visualization as a process leading to *jianfo* (Ōminami 1977, 36-38).[4] Since the basic framework of the *guanfo* visualization seems to have been directly linked to the methods of Indian meditative traditions, it is not entirely unreasonable to suspect that such a technique may have had it's own name (distinct from *jianfo*) in Sanskrit.

Guanfo is not always clearly distinguished from *nianfo* either. In particular, the *nianfo sanmei* (*samādhi*) and the *guanfo sanmei* seem to be almost equivalent.[5]

---

4. Soper defines *guanfo* as "the willed process of 'visualizing'" and *jianfo* as "the supernatural gift of 'seeing'" (Soper 1959, 191).

On the other hand, Pas (1974, 100-3) claims that *xiang* 想 means "visualization or imagination," *guan* 觀, "inspection," and *jian* 見, "vision." I thank Ven. Yifa for the reference to this article.

5. Sakurabe Hajime (1976, 892; 1983, 485) does not seem to distinguish *nianfo* from *guanfo*. Fujita 1985, 122 and Inagaki 1994, 19 point out that Daochuo 道綽 Shandao 善導 understand these terms almost synonymously.

Nevertheless, *nianfo* in general is a wider term comprising any practice of "calling the Buddha to mind," including, but not limited to, visualization.[6] On the other hand, *guanfo* specifically means the practice of visualization; in particular, visualization of the Buddha by means of his image/statue.[7]

a. *nianfo (buddhānusmṛti)*

Let us examine the development of *buddhānusmṛti* first.[8]

As we have already seen when surveying the *YL*, in the *Āgama/Nikāya* scripture, there are lists containing varying numbers of *anusmṛtis* (or in some cases just *smṛti*; Pāli, *anussati* or *sati*; Ch. 隨念 or 念).[9] Not only the numbers, but also the items vary slightly in different texts. The following is the list of the ten items found in the *AN*, 1:30 (No.1.16):

1. *buddhānussati*, "calling the Buddha to mind"

The *GSHJ* sometimes uses *guanfo sanmei* and *nianfo sanmei* interchangeably. For example, 此觀佛三昧 . . . 如是念佛三昧, "This *guanfo sanmei* . . . such *nianfo sanmei*" (T15:689c5-10); 觀佛三昧 ... 亦名念佛三昧, "*guanfo sanmei* . . . also called *nianfo sanmei*" (682c4-5).

6. As is well known, at least in Chinese Buddhist texts, *nianfo* was often interpreted to mean "chanting the name of the Buddha," and some scholars suspect that such Chinese usage had its roots in India. I shall come back to this point later (p.143).

7. Takata Osamu 1967, 425-34; Sakurabe Hajime 1976, 891-92; Ōminami 1977, 37.

8. I mainly referred to Harrison 1978a and 1992. One should also consult Akanuma Chizen ([1939]1981, 388-422); Idzumi Hōkei 1940, 142-51; Fujita 1970, 550-65; and Ronald Davidson 1985, 19-22.

9. Three, five, six, eight, nine, and ten; for the references, see Masunaga1944, 94-97; Lin1949, 122-24; Ruegg 1967, 158-59; Lamotte 1970, 3:1329-30.

2. *dhammānussati*, "calling the Dhamma to mind"

4. *sīlānussati*, "calling the morality to mind"

5. *cāgānussati*, "calling liberality to mind"

6. *devatānussati*, "calling deities to mind"

7. *ānāpānasati*, "calling inhaling and exhaling to mind"

8. *maraṇasati*, "calling death to mind"

9. *kāyagatāsati*, "calling the body to mind"

10. *upasamānussati*, "calling tranquility to mind"

The stock phrase describing the contents of *buddhānussati* (Skt. *buddhānusmṛti*; Ch. *fosuinian* 佛隨念 or *nianfo* 念佛) in the Pāli canon is as follows (*AN*, 3:285 [No.6.1.10]; Lamotte 1970:1330-31):

> Idha Mahānāma ariyasāvako Tathāgataṃ anussarati: Iti pi so Bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā ti.
>
> Here, O Mahānāma, a noble *śrāvaka* calls the Tathāgata to mind, [thinking:] Indeed, the Blessed One is an *arahan*, correctly awakened one, endowed with wisdom and action, well-gone, knower of the world, the supreme charioteer of the men to be tamed, teacher of gods and people, the Buddha, the Blessed One.

Namely, at this stage, *buddhānusmṛti* seems to have been "the recitation of a short formula" (Harrison 1992, 216) listing the ten epithets of the Buddha representing his superior qualities. By chanting such a formula: "practitioners are encouraged to recall or call to mind . . . the virtues of the Buddha" (ibid.). This is a meditation "of the most abstract kind" (ibid., 217) and involves no visualization practice.

In relatively late Traditional texts,[10] on the other hand, there are some elements that suggest that *buddhānusmṛti* already entailed visual elements (and the use of statues). Most of these passages, however, are not decisive in proving these points. In the section on *buddhānusmṛti* 念佛 in the *EĀ*, we find the following instruction (T2:554a20-b9):[11]

> The Blessed One said: "There is a monk who keeps his body upright and mind upright, crosses his legs, makes his mindfulness present,[12] earnestly calls the Buddha to mind without other thoughts. <u>He observes the Tathāgata's image without taking his eyes off it.</u> Once the eyes are fixed, he meditates on the merits of the Tathāgata. The Tathāgata's body is made of diamond and endowed with ten powers. He has four kinds of fearlessness and is brave in an assembly. The <u>complexion</u> of the Tathāgata is proper and incomparable. One is never tired of his sight. The virtue of precepts is accomplished. It is like a diamond and cannot be broken; it is pure, flawless, and like beryl. . . .
>
> This is called the practice of calling the Buddha to mind. [If one practices thus,] one will have a good reputation, one will achieve great fruits and all good will come. One will obtain the taste of ambrosia, reach the unconditioned realm, attain supernatural powers, remove various deluded thoughts, achieve the fruits of monks, and oneself reach nirvāṇa. Therefore, O monks, you should always meditate and do not let your thought leave the Buddha, then you will achieve all these merits. Thus should monks learn.[13]

The *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功徳論 (*A Treatise on the Analysis of Merits* [No.1507]), a commentary on the *EĀ* extant only in the Chinese version, naturally has a

---

10. As is often pointed out, the Chinese text of the *EĀ* contains Mahāyāna-like elements and is very different from both the Pāli *AN* and Central Asian Sanskrit fragments. Judging from these points, the present form of the Chinese *EĀ* does not seem very old. The other texts discussed below are all treatises and cannot very old either.

11. This passage is discussed in Harrison 1978a, 37-38; 1992, 219-20; Malcolm David Eckel [1992]1994, 135.

12. Ch. 繫念在前 is a stock phrase corresponding to *abhimukhīṃ smṛtim upasthāpya*, "making the mindfulness present." For the sake of consistency, I translate this underlying Sanskrit expression. Cf. n.64.

13. 世尊告曰. 若有比丘正身正意. 結跏趺坐繫念在前. 無有他想專精念佛. 觀如來形未曾離目. 已不離目便念如來功徳. 功徳體者. 金剛所成十力具長. 四無所畏在衆勇健. 如來顏貌端正無雙. 視之無厭. 戒徳成就. 猶如金剛而不可毀. 清淨無瑕亦如瑠璃. . . .

是謂修行念佛便有名譽. 成大果報諸善普至. 得甘露味至無爲處. 便成神通除諸亂想. 獲沙門果. 自致涅槃. 是故諸比丘. 常當思惟不離佛念. 便當獲此諸善功徳. 如是諸比丘當作是學.

similar passage (T25:37c5-25). Neither of these passages, however, has corresponding Indian text,[14] and so we have to be cautious about the evaluation of these passages.

The *Vimuttimagga* (*Jietuodao lun*) 解脱道論 (*A Treatise on the Path to the Liberation* [T No.1648])[15] has been interpreted as mentioning a statue of the Buddha in the section of *buddhānussati* (T32:426c3-8) as follows:

> 若修行念佛. 成得十八功德. . . . 於受悪法, 得生慚愧, 常與師共住. 心樂佛地行向善趣. 最後醍醐. 如說修多羅涅底里句. 若人欲念佛, 其可恭敬如佛像處.

N. R. M. Ehara, Soma Thera, and Kheminda Thera translate this Chinese passage in the following way (1961,141):

> He who practises the recollection of the Buddha acquires the following eighteen benefits . . . shamefastness [*sic*] in the presence of evil, the state of living near the Teacher, enjoyment of activity belonging to the ground of the Buddhas, (the happiness of) faring well and approaching the ambrosial.
>
> According to the *Netti Sutta*, if a man wishes to meditate on the Buddha, he should worship Buddha images and such other objects.

Following this translation, Harrison treats this passage as an example of a Theravāda text that enjoins the use of a statue in the context of *buddhānussati*(1992, 219). This English translation, however, is a little questionable at several points. This Chinese passage actually seems to correspond to the following appearing at the end of the section on

---

14. The corresponding Pāli text, the *AN*, 1:42.9-18 (No.1.20) lists only the names of the ten *anussatis* without any detailed descriptions. The *Fenbie gongde lun* is not considered to be a translation from an Indian original. See Mizuno Kōgen 1989, 35-36.

15. Although we only have the Chinese version, the *Vimuttimagga* is recognized as a translation of a Theravāda text written by Upatissa (阿羅漢優波底沙梁言大光造, T32:399c11). Both the title "*Vimuttimagga*" and the name "Upatissa" are attested (Ishiguro Michi 1936, p.185, n.8).

buddhānussati in the *Visuddhimagga* (Warren ed.175.28-36 [section VII.67]):[16]

> imañ ca pana buddhānussatim anuyutto bhikkhu . . . Satthārā saṃvāsasaññaṃ paṭilabhati, buddhaguṇānussatiyā ajjhāvutthañ c'assa sarīsam pi cetiyagharam iva pūjārahaṃ hoti, buddhabhūmiyaṃ cittaṃ namati, vītikkamitabbavatthusamāyoge c'assa sammukhā Satthāraṃ passato viya hirottappaṃ paccupaṭṭhāti, uttariṃ appaṭivijjhanto pana sugatiparāyano hoti.

> The monk who is engaged in [the practice of] calling the Buddha to mind . . . comes to think that he is staying together with the Teacher [the Buddha]. His body, inhabited by [the practice of] calling the virtues of the Buddha to mind, also becomes a worthy [object] of offering like a shrine (*cetiyagharam iva*). The mind bends towards the stage of the Buddha. When he encounters matters that could be transgressed, shame and fear reside in him as if he were seeing the Teacher face to face. Even if he cannot penetrate [any further], he will end in a good destiny.

Considering the overall similarity in the contexts, it is very likely that the Chinese phrase *qi kegongjing ru foxiang chu* 其可恭敬如佛像處 was a translation of the original text that was similar to the phrase of the *Visuddhimagga: assa sarīsam pi cetiyagharam iva pūjārahaṃ hoti* ("His body also becomes a worthy [object] of offering like a shrine"; *ru* 如 =*iva*; *kegongjing* 可恭敬=*pūjāraha*). Thus I would translate the quoted text of the *Vimuttimagga* as follows:

> If one practices calling to mind the Buddha, one acquires the eighteen merits.[17] . . . When one encounters evil dharmas, one feels shame [as if one were] staying with the Master [= the Buddha]. One yearns for the

---

16. Quoted in Harrison 1992, 218. I referred to the English translations in Bhikkhu Ñyāṇamoli 1976, 230 and Pe Maung Tin n.d., 2:245. This correspondence has been already pointed out in Ishiguro 1936, p.375, n.1.

The *Vimuttimagga* is considered to have been the core text of the *Visuddhimagga* (*Butten kaidai jiten*, pp.122-23), and these two texts have many parallel passages. Therefore, it is entirely appropriate to refer to the *Visuddhimagga* in interpreting the Chinese text of the *Vimuttimagga*.

17. How to count the following items is not entirely clear, but whatever way one counts, the listed items are fewer than eighteen. This textual problem should be noted.

stage of the Buddha. One proceeds to the good destinies. One eventually [attains] the *crème de la crème*[18] [= nirvāṇa]. As is told in a phrase of a *sūtranetrī*[19] as follows: "If one wishes[20] to call the Buddha to mind, one becomes worthy of respect like a place where the Buddha's statue [is enshrined]."

If we understand the passage from the *Vimuttimagga* this way, we cannot take it as a testimony to a visual aspect of *buddhānusmṛti*. In both the *Vimuttimagga* and the *Visuddhimagga*, the main part of practice is the traditional meditation on the virtues of the Buddha. In the case of the Visuddhimagga, the object of meditation is only the ten epithets; in the *Vimuttimagga*, the list is expanded to include the Buddha's acts in previous and this lives as well as his other qualities (see Harrison 1992, 219). We should note that the meditation on the Buddha's acts in the *Vimuttimagga* can be one of the precursors of the "meditation on the living Buddha" that forms a part of the visualization practice seen in Chinese meditation texts. Nevertheless, we cannot characterize the overall structure of the practice of *buddhānusmṛti*, either in the *Vimuttimagga* or in the *Visuddhimagga*, as a full-fledged visualization practice.

---

18. *Tihou* 醍醐, *maṇḍa* or *sarpirmaṇḍa*. For this word, see *Hōbō girin*, s.v."*daigo*."

19. *Xiuduoluo niedili* 修多羅涅底里. The meaning is not entirely clear. *Xiuduoluo* 修多羅 is a standard transcription of *sūtra* (Pāli, *sutta*). *Niedili* 涅底里 appears to be a transcription of *netrī* (Pāli, *netti*), which is often compounded as *buddhanetrī* or *dharmanetrī*. I have not confirmed the form *sūtranetrī*, but if such a form exists, probably the meaning would be close to that of *dharmanetrī*, "the Dharma as a guide (?)" The meaning of this compound is not entirely clear to me, but in Chinese traditions, it is usually translated as 法眼, "the eye of the Dharma" (*Kanyaku taishō Bonwa daijiten*, s.v. "*dharma-netrī*"; cf. *BHSD*, s.v. "*netrī*"). In the case of *sūtranetrī* also, the meaning might be something like "sūtra as a guide."

On the other hand, there is a work in Pāli titled *Nettippakaraṇa*, "guide treatise," which is "a guide for commentators" (Bhikkhu Ñyāṇamoli 1962, vii; see also xxxv; Naniwa Senmei 1997). Though the quoted pasage itself does not appear, *buddhānussati* is discussed in ibid., pp.81-82. Perhaps, *sūtranetri* refers to this type of commentarial work ("guide to sūtras").

We should also note that both *xiuduoluo* 修多羅 and *niedili* 涅底里 represent Sanskrit, not Pāli, forms.

See also Sasaki Shizuka 1997, 41.

20. Probably the existence of this expression "to wish" 欲 led Ehara et al. to their interpretation. Although I also translate this character as "to wish," I suspect that this may have been a clumsy translation of the Pāli *anuyutta*, "to be engaged in." At least in the quoted Pāli text, we cannot find other word that can correspond to Chinese 欲.

On the other hand, the *buddhānusmṛti* section of the *YL* (Schlingloff 1964 a, 174-79) does have visionary elements, as is usually the case with this text. The text of this chapter is not completely preserved, so it is difficult to be decisive; but the basic structure seems to be close to that of the *Vimuttimagga*; namely it first mentions the ten epithets of the Buddha, then his various acts, and other superior qualities. The superior qualities, however, are paired with esoteric visionary symbols.[21] Although the nature of this chapter is very different from the *guanfo* practice we discussed in the Introduction, the *YL* is almost the only Traditional text in Indic language I am aware of that clearly mentions visionary elements in the context of *buddhānusmṛti*.[22]

By contrast, if we turn to Mahāyāna texts, we can find many examples of visionary *buddhānusmṛti*.[23] The most conspicuous and famous text is the *Pratyutpannasūtra*, in which the method of *buddhānusmṛti* clearly contains visual elements (Harrison ed., 31.10-31 [section 3F]):[24]

21. In this text, doctrinal concepts are represented by corresponding visionary symbols. In the *buddhānusmṛti* section, we can see the following examples (based on Schlingloff 1964a, p.173, n.6):

five powers (*bala*)	five Buddhas on white elephants
fourfold confidence	four preaching Buddhas on Lions' Thrones
three distinctive mindfulness	three persons holding weapons and a bowl filled with oil
great compassion	a woman in the color of ether

22. The *YBhB* also briefly mentions the bodily marks of the Buddha in the section of *uṣmagata* 煖法, though the word *buddhānusmṛti* is not found there.

23. Major sources of *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* among the Chinese versions of Mahāyāna sūtras are listed in Stevenson 1987, 157.

24. This paragraph is translated and discussed in Harrison 1978a, 45; 1990, 36-38; 1992, 221. The following line from the *DZL* (T25:276a23-24; also quoted in Sakurabe 1976, 891) is clearly based on the *Pratyutpannasūtra* (Cf. *DZL*, T25:276a18-19):

念佛者，念佛三十二相八十隨形好金色身

Calling the Buddha to mind means calling to mind the thirty-two major and eighty minor bodily marks and the golden body of the Buddha.

rigs kyi bu / de la saṅs rgyas rjes su dran pa de gaṅ źe na / 'di lta ste / gaṅ de bźin gśegs pa yid la byed pa ste / 'di ltar (1) de ni de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas / rig pa daṅ źabs su ldan pa / bde bar gśegs pa / 'jig rten mkhyen pa / skyes bu 'dul ba'i kha lo sgyur ba / bla na med pa / lha daṅ mi rnams kyi ston pa / saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das / (2) skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum cu rtsa gñis daṅ gser gyi mdog lta bu'i sku daṅ ldan pa / gser gyi gzugs 'tsher źin gsal la legs par gnas pa daṅ 'dra ba / rin po che'i mchod sdoṅ ltar śin tu brgyan pa / (3) ñan thos kyi dge 'dun gyi naṅ na chos kyaṅ ston te / ci nas kyaṅ chud mi za ba de ltar ston to // ci źig chud mi za źe na / sa chud mi gzon to // chu daṅ / me daṅ / rluṅ daṅ / 'byuṅ po daṅ / lha daṅ / bram ze daṅ / skye dgu'i bdag po chud mi gzon to // gzugs chud mi gzon to // tshor ba daṅ / 'du śes daṅ / 'du byed daṅ / rnam par śes pa chud mi gzon to // de de bźin gśegs pa rlom sems su mi byed / mi dmigs / mṅon par mi chags / yaṅ dag par mi śes / mi rtog / rnam par mi rtog / yaṅ dag par rjes su mi mthoṅ ste / gaṅ de ltar de bźin gśegs pa mi dmigs par yid la byed pas stoṅ pa ñid kyi tiṅ ṅe 'dzin thob pa de ni saṅs rgyas rjes su dran pa źes bya ste /

O son of good family, what then is "calling the Buddha to mind"? It is the meditation on the Tathāgata in the following way:

(1) He is the Tathāgata, arhat, correctly awakened one, endowed with wisdom and action, well-gone, one who knows the world, charioteer who tames people, supreme teacher of human beings and deities, the Buddha, the Blessed One.

(2) [He is] the one who has the thirty-two marks of a great person and the body with a color like gold. [It is] like a shining, resplendent, and well-set golden image, well-decorated like a jewel pillar.

(3) [He] preaches the Dharma in the community of *śrāvaka*s. Namely, he preaches this way: Nothing perishes. What does not perish? Earth does not perish. Water, fire, wind, beings, god, Brahmā,[25] Prajāpati do not perish. Form does not perish. Sensation, ideation, volition, and consciousness do not perish.[26]

He does not reflect on the Tathāgata, does not cognize, cling to, does not realize, does not conceptualize, does not analyze, or does not observe [the Tathāgata]. By thus meditating on the Tathāgata without cognizing him, one obtains the *samādhi* of emptiness; it is called calling the Buddha to mind.

Here, we notice that in addition to (1) the traditional meditation on ten epithets of the Buddha; (2) the meditation on the physical aspects of the Buddha, and (3) the Buddha's act

[25]. The text corrected following Harrison 1990, p.37, n.10.

[26]. As Harrison notes (1990, pp.37-38, n.11), "do not perish" should probably be understood in non-substantialist rather than eternalist sense.

(preaching) leading to the realization of emptiness are given as the objects of meditation.[27]

---

[27] See Harrison 1992, 221. Judging from such a structure, I believe that the visual practice of *buddhānusmṛti* is a natural development of the *buddhānusmṛti* of the *Nikāya/Āgama* sources. Myōjin (1994, 70; cf. 1993, 246) claims that the visual *buddhānusmṛti* should be separated from the theories of the *Pratyutpannasūtra* and from the Traditional *buddhānusmṛti*, but here we should follow Harrison. See further Stephan Beyer's argument quoted later in this chapter (p.157).

In the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, a similar experience of seeing the Buddha's physical characteristics, his preaching, and some of the scenes of the Buddha's life are recounted as an experience in a dream. See the following (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Takayasu Kimura ed., 2-3: 85.23-86.13, *Pañca*):

> sa ca Kauśika kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā kāyalaghutāṃ kāyakarmaṇyatāṃ kāyasukhatāṃ cittalaghutāṃ cittakarmaṇyatāṃ cittasukhatāṃ ca jñāsyati. sukhena sa rātrau śayyāṃ kalpayiṣyati. imāṃ eva prajñāpāramitāṃ āśayena kalpayan na pāpakān svapnān drakṣyati, drakṣyaṃś ca *punaḥ svapnena Tathāgatān* evārthataḥ samyaksambuddhān drakṣyati dvātriṃśanmahāpuruṣalakṣaṇacitritagātrān suvarṇavarṇena samucchrayeṇa bhikṣusaṃghaparivṛtān bodhisattvagaṇaparivṛtān dharmaṃ deśayamānāṃs tebhyaḥ ṣaṭpāramitāpratisaṃyuktām eva kathāṃ śroṣyati. saptatriṃśadbodhipakṣyadharmapratisaṃyuktāṃ yāvad aṣṭādaśāveṇikabuddhadharmapratisaṃyuktām eva kathāṃ śroṣyati. tāsāṃ ca pāramitānām arthaṃ śroṣyati yāvad aṣṭādaśānām āveṇikānām arthaṃ śroṣyati. bodhivṛkṣaṃ drakṣyati. bodhisattvaṃ mahāsattvaṃ bodhimaṇḍam upasaṃkramamāṇaṃ drakṣyati. anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambudhyamānaṃ drakṣyati. abhisambudhyādvayaṃ dharmacakrapravartayamānaṃ drakṣyati. bahūni bodhisattvakoṭiniyutaśatasahasrāṇi drakṣyati dharmasaṃgītiratāni evaṃ sarvajñatā parigrahītavyā evaṃ sattvāḥ paripācayitavyā evaṃ buddhakṣetraṃ pariśodhayitavyam iti. bahunāṃ buddhakoṭiniyutaśataśahasrāṇāṃ pūrvasyāṃ diśi śabdaṃ śroṣyati.
>
> evaṃ dakṣiṇasyāṃ paścimāyām uttarasyām ūrdhvam adho vidikṣu bahūnāṃ buddhakoṭiniyutaśatasahasrāṇāṃ śabdaṃ śroṣyati.

> O Kauśika, that son or daughter of a good family will know the lightness, dexterity, and comfort of body and mind. One will arrange [one's] bed comfortably at night. Considering this Perfection of Wisdom in one's intention, one will not see bad dreams. Seeing the Tathāgatas, arhats, the correctly awakened ones in a dream, one will see [the Buddhas who have] limbs adorned with the thirty-two marks of great persons, with a golden body, preaching the Dharma surrounded by the community of monks and a host of bodhisattvas. One will hear from them the speech concerning the Six Perfections. One will [further] hear the speech concerning the thirty-seven elements conducive to Awakening up to the speech concerning the eighteen distinctive features of the Buddhas. One will also hear the meaning of these perfections up to the meaning of the eighteen distinctive [features]. One will see the Bodhi-Tree, a bodhisattva-mahāsattva approaching the seat of Awakening, attaining the unsurpassed correct Awakening, and turning the Dharma Wheel of non-duality after attaining the Awakening. One will see many hundreds or thousands of *koṭs* of *niyutas* of bodhisattvas rejoiced in the recitation of the Dharma. One will hear the voice, saying, "Thus omniscience should be attained," "Thus sentient beings should be brought to maturity," "Thus a Buddha field should be purified." One will hear the voice of many hundreds of thousands of *koṭs* of *niyutas* of Buddhas in the east.
>
> In the same way, one will hear the voice of many hundreds of thousands of *koṭis* of *niyutas* of Buddhas in the south, west, north, upwards, downwards,and in the sub-directions.

Another example (*Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Conze ed [1962], 3.20-4.1, 7*Ad*):

> punar aparaṃ Subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ svapnāntaragato 'pi Tathāgatam arhantaṃ samyaksaṃbuddhaṃ paśyati, vaihāyasam abhyudgamya bhikṣusaṃghāya dharmaṃ deśayantaṃ dvātriṃśatā mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇaiḥ samanvāgataṃ ...

If we look elsewhere in the same *Pratyutpannasūtra*, we find that the actions of a living Buddha are also mentioned as an object of meditation, as in the following quotation (68.3-69.5 [section 8A]; discussed in Harrison 1978a, 45):

> bzaṅ skyoṅ / de la byaṅ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po'i tiṅ ṅe 'dzin 'di ji ltar bsgom par bya źe na / bzaṅ skyoṅ / 'di lta ste dper na ṅa da ltar khyod kyi mdun na 'dug ciṅ chos ston pa de bźin du / bzaṅ skyoṅ / byaṅ chub sems dpas de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas de dag saṅs rgyas kyi gdan la bźugs śiṅ chos ston par yaṅ yid la bya'o // des rnam pa thams cad kyi mchog daṅ ldan pa / gzugs bzaṅ ba / mdzes pa / blta na sdug pa / sku yoṅs su grub pa daṅ ldan par de bźin gśegs pa rnams yid la bya'o // de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas kyi skyes bu chen po'i mtshan re re yaṅ bsod nams brgyas skyed par blta'o // mtshan ma rnams kyaṅ gzuṅ bar bya'o // spyi gtsug bltar mi mthoṅ ba yaṅ yoṅs su źu bar bya'o // źus nas kyaṅ skyes bu chen po'i mtshan rnams kyi mtshan ma rnams kyaṅ gzuṅ bar bya'o // bzuṅ nes kyaṅ 'di ltar bslab par bya ste /
>
> 'a la la de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas de dag mdzes pa ni ṅo mtshar te / bdag kyaṅ ma 'oṅs pa'i dus na lus yoṅs su grub pa 'di lta buu daṅ ldan par 'gyur ro // mtshan 'di lta bu dag yoṅs suu rdzogs par 'gyur ro // bdag kyaṅ tshul khrims 'di lta bu daṅ ldan par 'gyur ro // de gźin du tiṅ ṅe 'dzin daṅ / de bźin du śes rab daṅ / de bźin du rnam par grol ba daṅ / de gźin du rnam par grol ba'i ye śes mthoṅ ba daṅ ldan par 'gyur ro // bdag kyaṅ de bźi du bla na med pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i byaṅ chub tu mṅon par rdzogs par 'tshaṅ rgya bar 'gyur ro // mṅon par rdzogs par saṅs rgyas nas kyaṅ 'khor bźi daṅ lha daṅ bcas pa'i 'jig rten la chos 'chad par 'gyur ro /
>
> sñam du bslab par bya'o //

> O Bhadrapāla, how should the samādhi of a bodhisattva-mahāsattva be practiced? O Bhadrapāla, just as I am in front of you preaching the Dharma right now, O Bhadrapāla, so should a bodhisattva meditate on the Tathāgatas, *arhats*, correctly awakened ones as seated on the Buddha's seat and preaching the Dharma. He should meditate on the Tathāgatas as endowed with the supreme of all features, having a beautiful form, agreeable, good looking, and endowed with perfect body. Each mark of a great person of a Tathāgata, arhat, correctly awakened one should be seen as generated from one hundred merits. The marks (*nimitta*) also should be grasped. The invisible crest should also be questioned. Having asked, the marks of the marks of a great person should also be grasped. Having

---

> Further, O Subhūti, even in a dream, a bodhisattva-mahāsattva sees the Tathāgata, arhat, the correctly awakened one endowed with the thirty-two characteristics of a great person, going up in the sky, preaching the Dharma to the community of monks. . .

Concerning the encounter with Buddhas in a dream, see also n.84.

grasped, thus it should be learned.

Oh, these handsome Tathāgatas, *arhats*, correctly awakened ones are remarkable. In the future, I would also like to have such a perfect body. Such marks should be completed. I would also have such morality. Likewise, I would have samādhi, wisdom, liberation, and the insight and the wisdom of liberation. I should also attain the supreme correct Awakening. After [achieving] Awakening, I will teach the Dharma to the fourfold assemblies and the world together with gods.

Thus should it be learned.

Here again, meditation on an act of the Buddha (preaching of the Dharma) is mentioned along with the meditation of the bodily marks.[28] Accordingly, we can observe three basic objects of the *buddhānusmṛti* in the *Pratyutpannasūtra*: (1) the ten epithets of the Buddha, (2) bodily features, and (3) an act of the Buddha.

Another important source on *anusmṛti* is the following passage from the *Samādhirājasūtra* (P. L. Vaidya ed., 20.21-22.16):[29]

ākārato yaḥ smarate Tathāgatān
sa bhoti śāntendriyu śāntamānasaḥ /

---

28. In this connection, we should also note that the scenes of various *Jātaka* stories were mentioned as the objects of *buddhānusmṛti* in the *Vimuttimagga* (see p.133 of this chapter). See further the following example from the *MPS* (388.8-18 [section 41.5-6]):

catvāra ime bhikṣavaḥ pṛthivīpradeśāḥ śrāddhasya kulaputrasya kuladuhitur vā yāvajjīvam anusmaraṇīyā bhavanti /

katame catvāraḥ / (1) iha bhagavāñ jātaḥ / (2) iha Bhagavān anuttarām samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbuddhaḥ / (3) iha bhagavatā triparivartaṃ dvādaśākāraṃ dhārmyaṃ dharmacakraṃ pravartitam / (4) iha bhagavān anupadhiśeṣe nirvāṇadhātau parinirvṛtaḥ /

O Monks, these four places should be called to mind by a faithful son or daughter of a good family.

Which four? (1) Here the Blessed One was born; (2) here the Blessed One attained the supreme Awakening; (3) here the Blessed One turned the righteous wheel of Dharma consisting of the three rounds and twelve aspects; (4) here the Blessed One entered the realm of nirvāṇa without remainder.

It is clear, therefore, that the well-known acts of the Buddha were considered as the objects of *anu-smṛ-* also in Traditional Buddhism.

29. The corresponding Chinese version is found in *Yuedeng sanmei jing* 月燈三昧經 (*The Sūtra on the Moon-Light Samādhi*, T15:553a27-b25 [No.639]). Japanese translation in Tamura Chijun 1975, 109-12. Discussed in Sakurabe 1976, 891.

Since this quotation is long, I have broken it into smaller portions.

abhrāntacittaḥ satataṃ samāhitaḥ
śrutena jñānena ca sāgaropamaḥ // 9 //
asmin samādhau hi pratiṣṭhihitvā
yaś caṃkrame caṃkrami bodhisattvaḥ /
sa paśyati Buddhasahasrakoṭiyas
taduttare yāttika gaṅgavālukāḥ // 10 //
unmādu gaccheya narasya cittaṃ
yo Buddhadharmāṇa pramāṇu gṛhṇīyāt /
naivāpramāṇasya pramāṇam asti
acintiyā sarvaguṇehi nāyakāḥ // 11 //
na so 'sti sattvo daśasu diśāsu
yo lokanāthena samaḥ kutottari /
sarve hi sarvajñaguṇarupetam
ākāṅkṣatha lapsyatha Buddhajñānam // 12 //
suvarṇavarṇena samucchrayeṇa
samantaprāsādiku lokanāthaḥ /
yasyātra ālambani cittu vartate
samāhitaḥ socyati bodhisattvaḥ // 13 //
asaṃskṛtaṃ saṃskṛtu jñātva vijño
nimittasaṃjñāya vibhāvitāya /
so ānimitte bhavati pratiṣṭhitaḥ
prajānatī śūnyaka sarvadharmān // 14 //

One who calls Tathāgatas to mind in terms of their appearances (*ākāra*) becomes tranquil in sense faculties and mind, undeluded in mind, always concentrated, and is like an ocean with learning and wisdom. (9)
A bodhisattva who practices walking meditation in a walking place staying in this samādhi sees one thousand *koṭis* of Buddhas, and then as many as the grains of the sands of the Ganges River. (10)
If a person grasps onto the measurement of the qualities of the Buddhas, that person's mind will go mad. There is no measurement for the immeasurable. Leaders are inconceivable in terms of all the virtues. (11)
In the ten directions, there is no sentient being who is equal to the Protector of the World; why would there be a superior one? Indeed, all of you who desire the wisdom of the Buddha endowed with all the virtues will obtain it. (12)
Endowed with his golden body, the Protector of the World is kind to everybody. One whose mind is directed in this cognitive object, that one is called a concentrated bodhisattva. (13)
A wise man, knowing the conditioned as unconditioned, and removing the thought of images (*nimitta*); he is established in the imagelessness and knows that all dharmas are empty. (14)

yo dharmakāye bhavati pratiṣṭhito
abhāva jānāti sa sarvabhāvān /
abhāvasaṃjñāya vibhāvitāya
na rūpakāyena jinendra paśyati // 15 //
ārocayāmi prativedayāmi vo
yathā yathā bahu ca vitarkayen naraḥ /

tathā tathā bhavati tannimittacittas
tehi vitarkehi tanniśritehi // 16 //
evaṃ munīndraṃ smarato narasya
ākārato jñānato aprameyataḥ /
anusmṛtiṃ bhāvayataḥ sadā ca
tannimnacittaṃ bhavatī tat proṇam // 17 //
sa caṃkramastho na niṣadyam āśrita
ākāṅkṣate puruṣavarasya jñānam /
ākāṅkṣamāṇaḥ praṇidheti bodhaye
bhaviṣyahaṃ loki niruttaro Jinaḥ // 18 //

One who is established in the Dharma Body knows that all the existences are non-existent. Removing the [image] by the thought of non-existence, one does not see the Lord of the Victor in the physical body. (15)
I will tell and announce to you: the more one indulges in discursive thoughts [on something], the more one's mind is marked with that [thing] by [the power of] these discursive thoughts based on that [thing]. (16)
Thus, for a person who calls to mind the Lord of Sages in his form, wisdom, and boundlessness; always practicing the calling to mind [of the Buddha], the mind will be marked with and bent to that. (17)
Standing in a walking place, not resting on a seat, he desires the wisdom of the best person. Desiring, he makes resolve for the Awakening, [thinking]: "I shall be the unsurpassed Victor in the world. (18)

sa Buddha saṃjānati Buddha paśyate
Buddhān co dharmata pratyavekṣate /
iha samādhismi pratiṣṭhihitvā
namasyate Buddha mahānubhāvān // 19 //
kāyena vācā ca prasanna mānasā
buddhāna varṇaṃ bhaṇatī abhīkṣṇam /
tathā hi so bhāvitacittasaṃtatī
rātriṃdivaṃ paśyati Lokanāthān // 20 //
yadāpi so bhōti gilāna āturaḥ
pravartate vedana māraṇāntikā /
na Buddhaṃ ārabhya smṛtiḥ pramuṣyate
na vedanābhir anusaṃhariyati // 21 //
tathā hi tena vicinitva jñātā
anāgatā āgata dharmaśūnyatā /
so tādṛśo dharmanaye pratiṣṭhito
na khidyate citta carantu cārikām // 22 //

He knows the Buddha, sees the Buddha, and examines the Buddhas in terms of the Dharma. Staying in this samādhi, he salutes the Buddhas with great power.[30] (19)
One who is purified in body, speech, and mind recites the virtues of the Buddhas repeatedly. Indeed, one whose stream of mind is trained sees the Protectors of the World day and night. (20)

30. The text, *Buddha mahānubhāvān*. I read them as a compound.

Even when one suffers in sickness and feels the [painful] sensation before death, one does not abandon the mindfulness (*smrti*) directed to the Buddha and is not brought away by the [painful] sensation. (21)
[It is] because one has examined and understood that the past and the future are empty of dharmas. One is established in such reasoning of Dharma and, while practicing, the mind does not become weary. (22)

As the Chinese translation *nian foxianghao* 念佛相好, "One calls to mind the major and minor bodily marks of the Buddha," (*Yuedeng sanmei jing* 月燈三昧經 [*The Sūtra on the Moon-Light Samādhi*], T15:553a27 [No.639])[31] indicates, *ākārato yaḥ smarate Tathāgatān* (verse 9) probably means that the practitioner visualizes the bodily features of the Buddhas. Although the text does not give detailed description of visualization methods as those found in the *GSHJ*, this is another important example of visual *buddhānusmṛti*. We should further note that here again, the visual images are eventually removed and one is expected to penetrate the truth of emptiness.

The *Prajñāpāramitā* corpus is another important source in the investigation of the Mahāyānist development of *buddhānusmṛti*. See the following portion of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Takayasu Kimura ed., 2-3:96.15-22, *Pañca*):

> punar aparaṃ Bhagavan ye daśasu dikṣu Tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksambuddhā asaṃkhyeyeṣv aprameyeṣu lokadhātuṣu tiṣṭhanti dhriyante yāpayanti dharmaṃ ca deśayanti. tāṃś ca dharmakāyena ca rūpakāyena ca draṣṭukāmena iyam eva Prajñāpāramitā śrotavyodgrahītavyā dhārayitavyā vācayitavyā paryavāptavyā parebhyaś ca vistareṇa samprakāśayitavyā yoniśaś ca manasikartavyā. sacet kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā tān daśasu dikṣu tathāgatān arhataḥ samyaksambuddhān icched draṣṭum, tena kulaputreṇa vā kuladuhitrā vā Prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caratā buddhānusmṛtir bhāvayitavyā.

> Further, O Blessed One, the Tathāgatas, arhats, the correctly awakened ones, who stay, reside, and move in the countless and immeasurable world-realms in the ten directions; the one who wishes to see them in the Dharma body or in the physical body should listen to, uphold, memorize, chant, learn, teach in detail to others, and correctly meditate on this Perfection of Wisdom. If a son or daughter of a good family wishes to

31. Quoted in Sakurabe 1976, 891.

see the Tathāgatas, *arhats*, the correctly awakened ones in the ten directions, that son or daughter of a good family should practice calling to mind the Buddha while practicing in the Perfection of Wisdom .

In this passage we should note that the object of the visionary experience (*tathāgatān dṛś-*) is divided into the Dharma body and the physical body and that the object is not just one Buddha but the Buddhas in the ten directions.

Another noteworthy passage on *buddhānusmṛti* is found in the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Conze ed. 1974, 5.7-6.2, *Ad*):

kathañ ca Subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ buddhānusmṛtiṃ bhāvayati? iha Subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ Tathāgatam arhantaṃ samyaksaṃbuddhaṃ na rūpato manasikaroti / na vedanāto [lacuna] tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hi rūpasya svabhāvo nāti, yasya svabhāvo nāsti so 'abhāvaḥ, vedanāyāḥ saṃjñāyāḥ saṃskārāṇāṃ vijñānasya svabhāvo nāsti yasya svabhāvo nāsti so 'bhāvaḥ / tat kasya hetoḥ? asmṛty amanasikāro hi buddhānusmṛtiḥ /

punar aparaṃ Subhūte Tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddho na dvātṛṃśatā mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇair manasikartavya na suvarṇavarṇakāyato manasikartavya . . .

punar aparaṃ Subhūte Tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddho na śīlaskandhato manasikartavyo na samādhiskandhato na prajñāskandhato na vimuktiskandhato na vimuktijñānadarśanaskandhato manasikartavyaḥ . . .

punar aparaṃ Subhūte Tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddho na daśabhis Tathāgatabalair manasikartavyaḥ / na caturbhyo vaiśāradyebhyo na catasṛbhya pratisaṃvid[bh]yo na mahāmaitryā na mahākaruṇayā na aṣṭādaśabhir āveṇikair buddhadharmair manasikartavyaḥ / . . .

punar aparaṃ Subhūte Tatāgato 'rhan asamyaksaṃbuddho na pratītyasamutpādād manasikartavyo / . . .

evaṃ khalu Subhūte bodhisattvena mahāsattvena Prajñāpāramitāyāṃ caratā buddhānusmṛtir manasikartavyā /

O Subhūti, how does a bodhisattva practice calling to mind the Buddha? Here, O Subhūti, a bodhisattva-mahāsattva does not meditate on the Tathāgata, arhat, the correctly awakened one in terms of form or as sensation. [lacuna] For what reason? [It is] because form has no intrinsic nature. Something that has no intrinsic nature is non-existent. Sensation, ideation, volitions, and consciousness have no intrinsic nature. Something that has no intrinsic nature is non-existent. For what reason? [It is] because no calling to mind, no meditation -- that is the calling to mind of the Buddha.

Further, O Subhūti, the Tathāgata, arhat, the correctly awakened one should not be meditated on in terms of the thirty-three bodily marks of a great person, or in terms of the golden body. . . .

Further, O Subhūti, the Tathāgata, arhat, the correctly awakened one

should not be meditated on in terms of the aggregate of morality. Nor should he be meditated on in terms of the aggregates of concentration, wisdom, liberation, and the wisdom and knowledge of liberation. . . .

Further, O Subhūti, the Tathāgata, arhat, the correctly awakened one should not be meditated on in terms of the ten powers. Nor should he be meditated on in terms of the fourfold confidence, fourfold knowledge, great friendliness, great compassion, eighteen distinctive characteristics of the Buddha. . . .

Further, O Subhūti, the Tathāgata, arhat, the correctly awakened one should not be meditated on in terms of dependent origination. . . .

Thus indeed, O Subhūti, a bodhisattva-mahāsattva practicing in the Perfection of Wisdom should meditate on "calling to mind the Buddha."

This passage is interesting in two ways. First, we can observe that at the time the *Ad* was compiled, the objects of *buddhānusmṛti* contained such a wide range of items, including the Buddha's physical elements, mental qualities, and the teaching taught by him. Second, from the point of view of the *Ad*, none of these items is granted the ultimate validity. None of these items has its intrinsic nature and thus is non-existent. If so, there is nothing to call to mind, and this realization is the true practice of *buddhānusmṛti*. This is a very philosophical approach, putting more emphasis on the realization of the formless truth.

The section on *buddhānusmṛti* of the *ZSJ* of Kumārajīva is clearly based on these Indian texts and divides the practice of *buddhānusmṛti* into four stages. (1) The first is the visualization of the Buddha's bodily marks. A practitioner observes a statue and keeps the visual impression in his mind. Then he goes to a quiet place and meditates on the individual marks of the Buddha. (2) The second stage is the visualization of various acts of the Buddha during his lifetime. (3) The third is the visualization of his meritorious dharma body. This "dharma body" in concrete consists of the Buddha's ten epithets. (4) Finally, he increases the number of Buddhas he visualizes, and eventually he sees the Buddhas in the ten directions.[32] Thus, the traditional meditation on the Buddha's qualities is retained as

32. In the *SLF* attributed to Kumārajīva, basically the same stages are called respectively:"visualization of the Buddha," *guanfo sanmei fa* 觀佛三昧法 (T15:299a3), "visualization of the living body," *shengshen guan* 生身觀 (299a29), "visualization of the dharma body," *fashen guan* 法身觀 (299b9), and "visualization of the Buddhas in the ten directions," *shifang zhufo guanfa* 十方諸佛觀法 (299c3). See Sakurabe Hajime 1976, 891.

an advanced stage of *buddhānusmṛti*, and the historically later elements (visualization of bodily marks and acts of the Buddha) were added to that as preliminary stages.

Thus, the original content of *buddhānusmṛti* was the meditation on the Buddha's ten epithets (in other words, qualities). This element was retained as the core element of *buddhānusmṛti* up to the fifth-century meditation texts we are concerned with, but by that time visual aspects were added to the original element.

Further, Fujita (1970, 563; 1985, 154-60) points out that the verb *smṛ-* is also used in close conjunction with the act of chanting the name of a Buddha/bodhisattva (see also the *Bhagavadgītā*, VIII.13 quoted in p.145 of this chapter). In this regard, the passage from the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* quoted by J. W. de Jong ([1972]1979 , 365) is very noteworthy:

> tad eṣāṃ śabdam niścārayati namo Buddhāya namo Dharmāya namaḥ saṃghāya iti / tac chrutvā te ca sarve prāṇakāḥ namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namaḥ saṃghāyeti nāmam anusmārayanti /
>
> Then he utters to them: "Homage to the Buddha, homage to the Dharma, and homage to the saṃgha." Having heard this, all the living beings called the name to mind, [chanting]: "Homage to the Buddha, homage to the Dharma, and homage to the saṃgha."

As de Jong notes, here the meaning of *anusmārayanti* would come very close to "chanting." Since the original object of *buddhānusmṛti* was the ten epithets of the Buddha, such association is not necessarily surprising. Nevertheless, when we consider that in the predominant Chinese usage *nianfo* was understood as "chanting the name of the Buddha," the association between *buddhānusmṛti* and the name seems significant. For concrete

---

Slightly different but similar schemes are found in various texts. The *Shizhu piposa lun* 十住毘婆沙論 (**Daśabhūikavibhāṣā*, T26:86a9-14 [No.1521]) has "calling to mind the Buddha as a physical body," *nian seshenfo* 念色身佛, "calling to mind the Buddha as the Dharma body," *nian fashenfo* 念法身佛, and "calling to mind the Buddha in terms of the true aspects [of dharmas]," *yi shixiang nianfo* 以實相念佛. Further note that Chapters 9-11 of the *GSHJ* constitute a somewhat similar system (9. "The visualization of statues"; 10. "Calling the [past] seven Buddhas to mind"; 10. "Calling the Buddhas in the ten directions to mind").

In the *GWSJ* also, the text says that by seeing Amitābha Buddha, the practitioner sees the Buddhas in the ten directions (T12:343b28-29).

examples, Fujita's works should be consulted. Here, I shall give one passage from a Mahāyāna sūtra in which *smṛ-* is used in conjunction with the name of a Buddha (*Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabharājasūtra*, Dutt ed., 21.11-22.1):

> katham etannāmadheyasmaraṇamātreṇa tasya tathāgatasya tāvanto guṇānuśaṃsā bhavanti /
>
> Why does simply calling to mind the name of that Tathāgata have so many merits and benefits?

The verbal root *smṛ-* itself would not have the meaning, "to chant," but when somebody chants the name of some Buddha/bodhisattva, that person naturally calls that Buddha/bodhisattva to mind. So in a way it is natural that "to chant" and *smṛ-* are used in close conjunction (see also Sakurabe 1982, 48-49; Ujike Kakushō [1982] 1987, 11).[33]

It should be also noted that the verb (*anu-*)*smṛ-* is used in non-Buddhist Indian texts (see Fujita 1970, 562-65; Stephan Beyer 1977, 333-40) in a very similar way as in Buddhist (especially Mahāyāna) literature.[34] The following verses are particularly noteworthy (*Bhagavadgītā*, Franklin Edgerton ed., VIII.5-7):

> antakāle ca mām eva smaran muktvā kalevaram /
> yaḥ prayāti sa madbhāvaṃ yāti nāsty atra saṃśayaḥ // 5
> yaṃ yaṃ vāpi smaran bhāvaṃ tyajaty ante kalevaram /
> taṃ tam evaiti Kaunteya sadā tadbhāvabhāvitaḥ // 6
> tasmāt sarveṣu kāleṣu mām anusmara yudhya ca /
> mayy arpitamanobuddhir mām evaiṣyasy asaṃśayaḥ // 7
>
> At the last moment, one who abandons the body and departs while calling

---

33. Kagawa Takao (1993, 254-57) puts more emphasis on the difference between "calling the Buddha to mind" and "chanting the name of the Buddha" and argues that the former developed into the latter.

I thank Harada Wasō for the reference to Ujike's article.

34. The verb *anu-smṛ-* itself is used widely in non-religious contexts, simply meaning "keeping somebody/-thing in mind." We can find many examples of such usage, for example, in the *Mahābhārata*.

> only me [Krsna=Visnu] to mind, that person comes to my state; there is no doubt about it. (5)
> O Son of Kuntī [Arjuna], whatever state calling to mind one abandons the body, one goes to that state, always imbued with that state. (6)
> Therefore, call me to mind all the time and fight. One whose mind is fixed on me will come to me without any doubt. (7)

Further, see the following (*Bhagavadgītā*, VIII.13-14):[35]

> OM ity ekākṣaraṃ Brahma vyāharan māṃ anusmaran /
> yaḥ prayāti tyajan dehaṃ sa yāti paramāṃ gatim // 13
> ananyacetāḥ satataṃ yo māṃ smarati nityaśaḥ /
> tasyāhaṃ sulabhaḥ Pārtha nityayuktasya yoginaḥ // 14

> One who abandons the body and departs, uttering the one-syllable Brahman OM and calling me to mind, that person goes to the highest destiny. (13)
> One who always calls me to mind without other thoughts and always engaged in practice, for that yogin, I am easily accessible, O Son of Pṛthā. (14)

Particularly the latter verses, which emphasize the importance of both chanting and *anu-smṛ-* at the last moment are noteworthy. We have already seen a similar phrase in the *Samādhirājasūtra*, but such an idea is clearly seen in the following famous passage from the *GWSJ* (T12:346a12-22):

> 或有衆生作不善業五逆十悪．．．如此愚人，臨命終時，遇善知識，種種安慰，爲説妙法，教令念佛．彼人苦逼不遑念佛．善友告言．汝若不能念彼佛者，應稱歸命無量壽佛．如是至心，令聲不絶，具足十念稱南無阿彌陀佛，稱佛名故，於念念中，除八十億劫生死之罪．命終之時見金蓮花猶如日輪住其人前．如一念頃即得往生極樂世界．

> There may be sentient beings who have made bad karma, committed the five heinous crimes and ten bad deeds. . . Such foolish persons as these, when they are about to die, encounter a good [spiritual] friend, who consoles them in various ways and speaks for them the marvelous Dharma and teaches them to call [Amitābha] Buddha to mind; such persons, however, are pressed by pain and have no time to call [Amitābha] Buddha

35. Quoted in Fujita 1970, 563; 1985,158.

> to mind. The good [spiritual] friend tells them: "If you cannot call that Buddha to mind, you should chant, 'Homage to Amitāyus Buddha.'" This way, they chant: "Homage to Amitābha Buddha" most earnestly causing the voice not to be interrupted for ten moments. Because they chant the name of the Buddha, in each moment they remove the transgressions accumulated through the transmigrations of eight billion *kalpa*s. When they die, they will see a golden lotus flower like the sun's disk staying in front of them. [Enclosed in that] they attain the rebirth in the Sukhāvatī world instantly as if in the interval of one moment.[36]

Further, an exactly comparable idea (using the word *sati* [=Skt. *smṛti*]) is already found in the *Milindapañhā* (80.17-20):[37]

> Rājā āha: Bhante Nāgasena, tumhe evaṃ bhaṇatha: yo vassasataṃ akusalaṃ kareyya maraṇakāle ca ekaṃ Buddhagataṃ satiṃ paṭilabheyya so devesu uppajjeyāti; etaṃ na saddahāmi.
>
> The King said: "Venerable Nāgasena, you say as follows: 'Even if one may have made bad [karma] for one hundred years, if one calls the Buddha to mind even for a moment,[38] one would be born among gods.' I do not believe this."[39]

---

36. As Omaru Shinji (1985, 438) correctly points out, here "calling Amitābha to mind" and "chanting the name of Amitābha" are differentiated, and therefore, the structure is not exactly parallel to that of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Probably here the *GWSJ* means by *nianfo* the well-defined practice of visualization as described in the *GWSJ* itself. Nevertheless, as we have seen, in the general usage of Buddhist texts, *nianfo* (*buddhānusmṛti*) is used in the wide sense of directing one's mind to the Buddha. In that sense, since it is impossible to chant someone's name without directing the mind to that one, it would be justifiable to include this practice of chanting in the wider sense of *nianfo*.

37. Quoted in Ujike [1982]1987,10. We should further note that a similar idea (the thought of the last moment determines the next destiny) is already found in Brāhmaṇa literature (Erich Frauwallner 1973, 1:49; Fujita 1970, 406; 577). Further, see the *Samādhirājasūtra* quoted in p.140 of this chapter.

38. The translation of this phrase is loose.

39. Cf. *Shizhu piposa lun* 十住毘婆沙論, T26:79a9-17. Further, see the following passage from the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (F. Max Müller and Nanjio Bunyiu eds. 47.15-48.4).

> ye punas taṃ Tathāgataṃ na bhūyo manasikariṣyaṃti na ca bahūparimitaṃ kuśalamūlam abhīkṣṇam avaropayiṣyaṃti #tatra ca buddhakṣetre cittaṃ saṃpreṣya[ṃti]# teṣāṃ tādṛśenaiva so 'mitābhas tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddho varṇasaṃsthānārohapariṇāhena bhikṣusaṃghaparivāreṇa ca tādṛśa eva Buddhinirmito maraṇakālasamaye purataḥ sthāsyati / te tenaiva Tathāgatadarśanaprasādālaṃbanena samādhināpramuṣitayā smṛtyā cyutās tatraiva buddhakṣetre pratyājaniṣyaṃti // 28 //
>
> #supplemented according to p.47, n.11 of the edition.

Thus, *(anu-)smṛti* was a general term used widely in Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist traditions.[40]

Another noteworthy example of the verb *smṛ-* in non-Buddhist literature is found in the following passage from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara ed., VI.7.78-85; 88-91).[41] The date of this text is disputed,[42] but here I would like to follow tentatively the opinion of Tokunaga Muneo (1988, 107), who places this text between the third and the fifth centuries. The place of origin is not known (Ludo Rocher 1986, 249):

> mūrttaṃ Bhagavato rūpaṃ sarvāpāśrayaniḥspṛham[43] //
> eṣā vai dhāraṇā proktā yac cittaṃ tatra dhāryate // 78 //
> yac ca mūrttaṃ Hare rūpaṃ yādṛkciṃtyaṃ Narādhipa //
> tac chrūyatām anādhārā dhāraṇā nopapadyate // 79 //
> prasannavadanaṃ cārupadmapatropamekṣaṇam //
> sukapolaṃ suvistīrṇalalāṭaphalakojjvalam // 80 //
> samakarṇātavinyastacārukuṃḍalabhūṣaṇam //
> kaṃbugrīvaṃ suvistīrṇaśrīvatsāṃkitavakṣasam // 81 //
> valitribhaṃginā magnanābhinā hy udareṇa ca //
> pralaṃbāṣṭabhujaṃ Viṣṇum atha vāpi caturbhujam // 82 //
> samasthitorujaṃghaṃ ca susthitāṃghrivarāṃbujam //
> ciṃtayed Brahmabhūtaṃ taṃ pītanirmalavāsasam // 83 //

> Those who do not further meditate on the Tathāgata or do not constantly plant many good roots, but direct the mind to his Buddha land; for those people, at the time of death, Amitābha Tathāgata, arhat, the correctly awakened one will stand in front [of the believer] in an emanation Buddha similar to [the Buddha himself] in terms of color, shape, height, width, and the retinue of the community of monks. Those [believers] , by the *samādhi* whose object is purified by seeing the Tathāgata, with undistracted mindfulness, die and will be born in the Buddha land.

40. The significance of this passage in the Pure Land Buddhism in East Asia is discussed by Demiéville (1924, 231-46).

41. Translated in Horace H. Wilson [1870]1981, 237-40 and in Sugimoto Takujū (1985, 5-6).

42. Dating of the *Purāṇas* is an extremely difficult question, and there are greatly varying opinions. See Ludo Rocher 1986, 100-3. Concerning the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* also, dating by scholars varies between 700 B.C.E.to ca. 1045 C.E. (ibid., 249).

43. The text *nispṛiham*, but I emend it as above according to the quotation in the commentary. The verse 91b also supports this emendation.

kirīṭahārakeyūrakaṭakādivibhūṣitam // 84 //
śārṅgaśaṃkhagadākhaḍgacakrākṣavalayānvitam //
varadābhayahastaṃ ca mudrikāratnabhūṣitam // 85 //
. . .
tataḥ śaṃkhagadācakraśārṅgādirahitaṃ budhaḥ //
ciṃtayed Bhagavadrūpaṃ praśāṃtaṃ sākṣasūtrakam // 88 //
sā yadādhāraṇā tadvad avasthānavatī tataḥ //
kirīṭakeyūramukhair bhūṣaṇai rahitaṃ smaret // 89 //
tadekāvayavaṃ devaṃ cetasā hi punar budhaḥ //
kuryāt tato 'vayavini praṇidhānaparo bhavet // 90 //
tadrūpapratyayā caikā saṃtatiś cānyaniḥspṛhā //
taddhyānaṃ prathamair aṃgaiḥ ṣaḍbhir niṣpādyate nṛpa // 91 //
tasyaiva kalpanāhīnaṃ svarūpagrahaṇaṃ hi yat //
manasā dhyānaniṣpādyaṃ samādhis so 'bhidhīyate // 92 //

Fixing the mind on the embodied form of the Lord[44] without regard to all [the other] recourses, that is called retention. (78)
O King,[45] please listen to the way the embodied form of Hari[46] should be reflected on; [because] retention does not arise without support. (79)
[The form of Viṣṇu has] a pure face, eyes like petals of agreeable lotus, good cheeks, wide and shining forehead; (80)
Balanced ears, to the lobes of which agreeable ornaments of ear-rings are attached, a conch-shaped neck,[47] a wide chest marked with *śrīvatsa*;[48] (81)
[He has] a belly that is divided into three portions by wrinkles and that has a deep navel; [further one should fix the mind to] Viṣṇu who has eight or four hanging arms; (82)
Even thighs and lower legs, stable feet like superior lotuses. One should

44. *Bhagavat* here refers to Viṣṇu. In order to differentiate from the epithet of the Buddha, I translate it as "Lord" here.

45. This is a conversation between Keśidhvaja and Khāṇḍikya. Here "King" refers to the latter.

46. Hari is a name of Viṣṇu.

47. According to *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v., "*kambu-grīvā*," this word means, "a conch-shaped neck, (i.e., a neck marked with three lines like a shell and considered as a sign of great fortune). According to Wilson [1970]1981, p.238, n.ll, Śrīdhara and Ratnagarbha gloss this expression as *rekhātrayāṅkitakaṇṭham*, "the neck marked with three lines." This is a shared feature for Viṣṇu and the Buddha. See *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions*, s.v. "*trivali*," and "*kambugrīva*."

48. According to *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions*, s.v. "*śrīvatsa*," this is: "n. of a *maṅgala* . . . *ś[rīvatsa]*, which originates in the Indus Valley culture, is a triangular mark or curl of hair on the breast of a deity. Esp. in the Gupta period this sign is marked on the breast of an icon. 'It represents the source of the natural world, Basic-Nature'. . . . On the breast of Viṣṇu it is sometimes said to represent Lakṣmī. Char[acteristics] of: Viṣṇu (in some forms), Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī, the Buddha, *tīrthaṅkaras*. It is also esp. a symbol of Śītalanātha." As one of the minor bodily marks of the Buddha, see Okada Yukihiro 1991b, 619.

meditate on him who is clad in yellow stainless clothes and who is Brahman itself; (83)
Ornamented with a crown, a necklace, armlets, bracelets, and so forth; (84)
Having a bow, a conch-shell, a mace, a sword, a wheel, and a rosary; [His] boon-granting and fearless hand [signs][49] adorned with a seal-ring and a jewel. (85)
. . .
Then a wise person should contemplate the form of the Lord devoid of the conch-shell, mace, wheel, and so forth; the serene [form] of the Lord with the rosary. (88)
When the upholding [of mind] has become stable as before, one should call to mind (*smṛ-*) [the form] devoid of the crown, armlets, and other ornaments. (89)
Then a wise person should construct the deity with one limb with [one's] mind; afterwards one should be immersed in the contemplation of the whole [body of Viṣṇu]. (90)
One continuity [of mind] cognizing his form, without any desire to other [objects], that is *dhyāna* achieved through the first six items [of practice],[50] O King. (91)
Grasping his own form without any conceptual thinking (*kalpanā*) achieved by mind through *dhyāna*, that is called samādhi. (92).

These verses are significant as an example of the use of the verb *smṛ-* in a clearly visual context.[51] Moreover, the way one visualizes the various bodily parts of the deity is very much similar to the methods found in the *GSHJ*. Considering that all the Mahāyāna sūtras we have examined above describe the process of visualization only in very general terms, the detailed stipulation of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is remarkable. Further, we should note that the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* also shows the understanding that visualization of the concrete form

49. These two hand-signs are common *mudrā*s of Buddhist statues.

50. This refers to the first six of the eight items of yoga:(1) *yama*, "restraints," (2) *niyama*, "disciplines," (3) *āsana*, "bodily attitudes and postures," (4) *prāṇāyama*, "rhythm of respiration," (5) *pratyāhāra*, "emancipation of sensory activity from the domination of exterior objects," (6) *dhāraṇa*, "concentration," (7) *dhyāna*, "yogic meditation," and (8) samādhi. See Milcea Eliade [1958]1969, 48-49. I follow his translation of the terms.

51. Concerning the visionary aspects of *anusmṛti*, it is noteworthy that, according to Beyer (1977, 335), Rāmānuja's (1017-1137) commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* I.I.1 defines *smṛti* as *smṛtir darśanarūpā*, "This *smṛti* takes the form of vision" (translation by Beyer).

is simply a means to penetrate the highest truth that transcends any conceptual thought.[52] In this regard, the *Viṣṇuprāṇa* shares the basic structure with the Buddhist meditative texts discussed above.

A similar process of visualization is also found in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (III.28.12-35).[53] Concerning the dating of this text, there are greatly varying opinions. Here again, tentatively I would like to follow Tokunaga (1988, 107), who dates this text approximately to the tenth century.[54] Concerning the geographical origin, this text is generally believed to have come from the Tamil country (Ludo Rocher 1986, 147-48):[55]

> yadā manaḥ suvirajam yogena susamāhitam /
> kāṣṭhām Bhagavato dhyāyet svanāsāgrāvalokanaḥ // 12 //
> prasannavadanāmbhojaṃ padmagarbhāruṇekṣaṇam /
> nīlotpaladalaśyāmam śaṅkhacakragadādharam // 13 //
> lasat paṅkajakiñjalkapītakauśeyavāsasaṃ /

---

52. akṣiṇeṣu samasteṣu viśeṣajñānakarmasu //
viśvam etat paraṃ cānyad bhedabhinnadṛśāṃ nṛṇām // 52 //
pratyastamitabhedaṃ yatsattāmātram agocaram //
vacasām ātmasaṃvedyaṃ tajjñānaṃ brahmasaṃjñitam // 53 //
tac ca Viṣṇoḥ paraṃ rūpam arūpākhyam anuttamam //
viśvasvarūpavairūpyalakṣaṇaṃ paramātmanaḥ // 54 //
na tad yogayujā śakyaṃ Nṛpa ciṃtayituṃ yataḥ //
tatas sthūlaṃ Hare rūpaṃ ciṃtayed viśvagocaram // 55 // (Vidyāsāgara ed., VI.7.52-55; translted in Wilson [1970]1981, 233-34; Sugimoto 1985, 6-7)

Unless all the activities of discriminating consciousness are exhausted, for the people who see differentiated things, everything [in this world] is one thing, and the highest [principle] is another. (52)
The pure reality that is free from the distinction of measurement, not an object of words, and should be cognized in person, that is the wisdom called Brahman. (53)
That is the highest, unsurpassed form of Viṣṇu, which is the highest Ātman. It is called formless, characterized by the absence of all the distinct forms. (54)
Since that cannot be contemplated by an [elementary] practitioner of yoga, O King, one should contemplate the coarse form of Hari, [namely] all the objects. (55)

53. French translation in Eugène Burnouf 1840, 300-3; Prabhupāda 1974, 1186-1215. Discussed and partially translated by Sugimoto (1985, 11-13)

54. In spite of the differences in opinions, scholars tend to agree that the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is later than the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

55. Because this quotation is long, I break it into smaller portions.

śrīvatsavakṣasaṃ bhrājatkaustubhāmuktakandharam // 14 //
mattadvirephakalayā parītaṃ vanamālayā /
parārddhyahāravalayakirīṭāṅgadanūpuraṃ // 15 //
kāñcīguṇollasac chroṇiṃ hṛdayāmbhojaviṣṭaraṃ /
darśanīyatamaṃ śāntaṃ manonayanavardhanaṃ // 16 //
apīvyadarśanaṃ śaśvat sarvalokanamaskṛtaṃ /
santaṃ vayasi kaiśore bhṛtyānugrahakātaraṃ // 17 //
kīrtanyatīrthayaśasaṃ puṇyaślokayaśaskaraṃ /
dhyāyed evaṃ samagrāṅgam yāvan na cyavate manaḥ // 18 //
sthitaṃ vrajantam āsīnaṃ śayānaṃ vā guhāśayaṃ /
prekṣaṇīyehitaṃ dhyāyet śuddhabhāvena cetasā // 19 //
tasmin labdhapadam cittaṃ sarvāvayavasaṃsthitaṃ /
vilakṣyaikatra saṃyuñjyād aṅge Bggavato muniḥ // 20 //

When the mind has become pure and well-concentrated by yoga, looking at the tip of one's own nose, one should meditate on the form of the Lord. (12)
The gracious face like a lotus, the ruddy eyes like the calyx of a lotus, the dark [skin] like petals of a blue lotus, [the deity] holding a conch-shell, a wheel, and a mace; (13)
Wearing the garment of yellow silk like filaments of a shining lotus, the chest with *śrīvatsa* [mark], the neck not separated from the shining Kaustubha [gem] (14)
[And] encircled by a forest-garland with intoxicated buzzing bees; [the deity wearing] the most precious necklace, bracelet, crown, armlets, and anklets; (15)
The buttocks shining with a cincture; [the deity] is seated on the lotus of the heart, most beautiful, calm, and gladdening to the mind and the eyes; (16)
With handsome appearance, worshiped by all the people, always staying in youth, and eager to benefit [his] servants; (17)
[The one who is] praiseworthy and has the fame of a sacred ford, and the one who gives fame to [those who chant] the sacred hymns. Thus one should meditate on all the limbs [of the deity] as long as the mind does not pass [elsewhere]. (18)
One should meditate with his pure mind on the Supreme Soul,[56] who is showing spectacles, standing, walking, sitting, or lying. (19)
Observing the mind put on all the limbs [of the deity] and fixed there, a sage should tie the mind to one limb of the Lord. (20)

saṃcintayed Bhagavataś caraṇāravindaṃ
vajrāṅkuśadhvajasaroruhalāñchanāḍhyaṃ/
uttuṅgaraktavilasannakhacakravālajyotsnābhir
āhatamahaddhṛdayāndhakāraṃ // 21 //
yacchaucaniḥsṛtaSaritpravarodakena tīrthena mūrdhny adhikṛtena Śivaḥ śivo 'bhūt /
dhyātur manaḥśamalaśailanisṛṣṭavajraṃ dhyāyec ciraṃ Bhagavataś caraṇāravindaṃ // 22 //

---

56. Lit, "the one lying in the cave [of the heart]."

jānudvayaṃ jalajalocanayā jananyā Lakṣmyākhilasya suravanditayā vidhātuḥ /
ūrvor nidhāya karapallavarociṣā yat saṃlālitaṃ hṛdi vibhor abhavasya kuryāt // 23 //
ūrū supaṇībhujayor adhiśobhamānāv ojonidhī atasikākusumāvabhāsau /
vyālambipītavaravāsasi vartamānakāñcīkalāpaparirambhi nitambibimbaṃ // 24 //
nābhihradaṃ bhuvanakoṣaguhodarasthaṃ yatrātmayonidhiṣaṇākhilaloka padmaṃ /
vyūḍhaṃ harinmaṇivṛṣastanayor amuṣya dhyāyed dvayaṃ viśadahāramayūkhagauraṃ // 25 //
vakṣo 'dhivāsam ṛṣabhasya Mahāvibhūteḥ puṃsāṃ manonayananirvṛtim ādadhānaṃ /
kaṇṭhaṃ ca kaustubhamaṇer adhibhūṣaṇārthaṃ kuryān manasy akhilalokanamaskṛtasya // 26 //
bāhūṃś ca Mandaragireḥ parivartanena nirṇiktabāhuvalayān adhilokapālān /
saṃcintayed daśaśatāram asahyatejaḥ śaṅkhaṃ ca tatkarasaroruharājahaṃsaṃ // 27 //
Kaumodakīm Bhagavato dayitāṃ smareta digdhām arātibhaṭaśonitakardamena /
mālāṃ madhuvratavarūthagiropaghuṣṭāṃ caityasya tattvam amalaṃ maṇim asya kaṇṭhe // 28 //
bhṛtyānukampitadhiyeha gṛhītamūrteḥ saṃcintayed Bhagavato vadanāravindaṃ /
yad visphuran makarakuṇḍalavalgitena vidyotitāmalakapolam udāranāsaṃ // 29 //
yacchrīniketam alibhiḥ pariṣevyamānaṃ bhūtyā svayā kuṭilakuntalavṛndajuṣṭaṃ /
mīnadvayāśrayam adhikṣipad abjanetraṃ dhyānen manomayam atandrita ullasad bhru // 30 //
tasyāvalokam adhikaṃ kṛpayātighoratāpatrayopaśamanāya nisṛṣṭam akṣṇoḥ /
snigdhasmitānuguṇitaṃ vipulaprasādaṃ dhyāyec ciraṃ vitatabhāvanayā guhāyāṃ // 31 //

One should reflect on the Lord's lotus-like foot abounding in the marks of *vajra*s, hooks, banners, and lotuses; the great darkness of [one's own] heart destroyed by the moonlight of the circle of the high, red, and glittering [toe-] nails [of the Lord]; (21)
One should meditate on the lotus-like foot of the Lord bearing the vajra released from the mountain of the mental impurity of the meditator. Śiva became auspicious (*śiva*) by the ford on his head of the water of the Superb River [Ganges] flowed out after washing the [feet of Viṣṇu]. (22)
Putting the two knees of the mighty [Lord] transcending the existence on [her] thighs, the lotus-eyed Lakṣmī, who is the mother of the creator [=Brahmā] of everything, and who is saluted by gods, caresses the [knees] with the light of [her] fingers; that [scene] should be meditated on in the heart. (23)
The two thighs, the storehouse of energy with the luster of the flower of flax, shining on the arms of Garuḍa. The round buttocks covered with

encircling bundle of cinctures and in the yellow best hanging garment. (24)
The lake of navel, which is situated in the cave-like belly that contains the world;[57] in that [navel] there is a cosmic lotus that is the dwelling of the Self-Born [Brahmā]. (25)
The chest, which is the abode of the bull of the Great Mighty [Śiva], and which gives bliss to the people's mind and eyes; one should meditate on the neck, which is ornamented by the Kaustubha gem[58] saluted by all the people. (26)
The arms with armlets, which were polished by the turning of Mount Mandara,[59] and which were the superior protectors of the world; one should meditate on the [wheel with] one-thousand spokes (*daśaśatāra*)[60] with unbearable heat; and the conch-shell, which looks like a king *haṃsa* in his lotus-like hand. (27)
One should call to mind the Kaumodakī [mace] dear to the Lord smeared with the bloodstains of enemy soldiers; the garland resounding with the noise of a host of bees; the pure gem at his neck [representing] the essence of an individual soul. (28)
One should reflect on the lotus-like face of the Lord who has taken form here [in this world] out of the compassionate mind to [his] servants; the pure cheek illuminated by the swinging and shining Makara[61]-shaped ear-rings; the great nose; (29)
The Abode of Śrī,[62] [who is] frequented by black bees, and [who is] endowed with rich curly hairs because of his own grandeur; the lotus-like eyes surpassing the residences of two fish; one should meditate on the shining and vigilant brows created by the mind; (30)
The superior gaze of his eyes cast out of compassion in order to soothe the extremely fearful threefold torments; one should meditate for a long time through extended meditation in the heart on the great favor accompanied by loving smile; (31)

hāsaṃ Harer avanatākhilalokatīvraśokāśrusāgaraviśoṣaṇaṃ atyudāraṃ /
saṃmohanāya racitaṃ nijamāyayāsya bhrūmaṇḍalaṃ munikṛte

---

57. Viṣṇu's body contains the whole world. See Zimmer [1946]1955, 38-39.

58. Lit. "the object of ornamentation by the Kaustubha gem."

59. I follow the interpretation of Burnouf 1840, 301-2: ". . . dont les anneaux sont devenus luisants par l'effort que fit le Dieu pour retourner la montagne Mandara."

60. The wheels on the soles of the feet of the Buddha are described as *sahasrāra*, "with thousand spokes."

61. "N[ame] of a kind of mythological sea-monster, often confounded with the crocodile although represented with a fish's tail and (often) an elephant's trunk. (*Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions*, s.v. "*makara*.")

62. Śrī is an epithet of Lakṣmī (Viṣṇu's consort). Thus, Śrīniketa refers to Viṣṇu.

makaradhvajasya // 32 //
dhyānāyanaṃ prahasitaṃ
bahulādharauṣṭhabhāsāruṇāyitatanudvijakundapaṅkti /
dhyāyet svadahrakuhare 'vasitasya Viṣṇor bhaktyārdrayārpitamanā na pṛthag didṛkṣet // 33 //
evaṃ Harau Bhagavati pratilabdhabhāvo bhaktyā dravaddhṛdaya utpulakaḥ pramodāt /
autkaṇṭhyavāṣpakalayā muhur ardyamānas tac cāpi cittavaḍiśaṃ śanakair viyuṅkte // 34 //
muktāśrayaṃ yarhi nirviṣayaṃ viraktaṃ nirvāṇam ṛcchati manaḥ sahasā yathārciḥ /
ātmānam atra puruṣo 'vyavadhānam ekam anvīkṣate pratinivṛttaguṇapravāhaḥ // 35 //

The noble laughter of Hari drying up the ocean of tears of the vehement grief of the all the prostrating people; the round brows formed by his own illusion (*māyā*) to stupefy Makaradhvaja[63] for the same of sages. (32)
One whose mind is filled with warm devotion (*bhakti*) should meditate on Viṣṇu's laughing small teeth as the object of meditation like a line of Jasmine flowers reddened by the rich light from the lower lip as the object of meditation; [Viṣṇu] is dwelling in the cavity of one's own heart. A practitioner whose heart is filled with the devotion [to Viṣṇu] should not wish to look elsewhere. (33)
Thus, [even though] one is constantly afflicted by the discharge (?) of tears from desire, when one has acquired affection to the Lord Hari, one's heart palpitates through devotion and [the hairs are] bristled from joy. Even the hook-like mind is slowly separated [from its objects]. (34)
When the mind is liberated from bases, without object, and detached, it quickly goes into nirvāṇa like an [extinguished] flame. Here [in this state], a person whose flows of *guṇa*s are terminated reflects on the sole Ātman without obstruction. (35)

Here again, we notice that the verb *smṛ-* is used in the context of visualization. The real significance of this portion of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, however, lies in its close similarities with the *GSHJ*. Compare the above quotation with the following passage (*GSHJ*, T15:690c14-91a3):

Arranging the garments neatly, one sits in the full-lotus position. One keeps one's mindfulness present in front of oneself and fix it at one point. Sentient beings fix the mind at the tip of the nose, on the forehead, at the toes, or one should earnestly fix one's mindfulness at any desired

[63]. "('Having a *makara* upon his banner'), epithet of Kāma." (*Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions*, s.v. "Makaradhvaja").

> spot.[64] Let it not stray away, and let the mind not be disturbed. If the mind is agitated, one should raise the tongue and support the [upper] jaw. One closes the mouth and eyes, crosses the hands and sits properly. Spending one day or up to seven days, one should make one's body tranquil. After the body has become tranquil, one should imagine a statue.
>
> If one wishes the upward visualization, one begins with the toes of the statue and moves upward. First one visualizes the toes with the mind fixed there. One spends seven days cognizing the toes of the Buddha. [Finally] one sees the toes of the golden statue clearly whether one's eyes are shut or open. Further, one visualizes the insteps until they become clearly visible. Then one visualizes the calves [of the Buddha like those of] a deer king. When one's mind has been already concentrated [there], one gradually [moves upwards until one] reaches the protuberance [of the head]. From the protuberance, one [proceeds to] visualizes the face. If it is not clear, one repents again and makes greater efforts. Because [one's] morality has been purified, one sees the face of the Buddha, which is completely clear like a mirror of genuine gold. Having visualized thus, one visualizes the tuft [of hair] between the brows, which turns clockwise like a crystal gem. When this bodily mark appears, one sees the brows and the eyes of the Buddha as if painted by a heavenly painter. Having seen this, one next visualizes the light from the head and makes it clear. [Visualizing] these bodily marks is called upward visualization.
>
> Downward visualization begins with the curly hairs on the head. One fixes one's mind on each curl and visualizes it clearly. One makes one's mind clearly see the curly hairs of the Buddha, which turn clockwise like black silk. Then, one visualizes the Buddha. Having visualized the face of the Buddha, one moves down until one reaches the feet visualizing all [the marks of] the body. One repeats this way about fourteen times.

Similarities between this *GSHJ* passage and the aforementioned visualization methods of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* are striking in many ways. (1) Both of them require that the practitioner first obtains the concentration of the mind through preliminary practice.

---

64. *Xinian yichu suiqian zhongsheng*. *Xixin biduan*. 繫念一處隨前衆生. 繫心鼻端. This phrase is not entirely clear.

Xinian suiqian 繫念 ... 隨前 seems to be related to the stock phrase *xinian zaiqian* 繫念在前. E.g., *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (T8:217b9 [No.223]), which corresponds to Sanskrit *abhimukhīṃ smṛtim upasthāpya*, "Making the mindfulness present" (*Pañca*, Dutt ed., 5.15).

On the other hand, *xinian yichu* 繫念一處 seems to be related to the practice of *sthāpanā*, one of the six methods of *ānāpānasmṛti*: *gaṇanā* 數, *anugama* 隨, *sthāpanā* 止, *upalakṣaṇā* 觀, *vivarta* 轉, and *pariśuddhi* 淨(*AKBh* 339.19-20; T29:118a23). Cf. *AKBh*, 340.6-7: *sthāpanā nāma nāsikāgre yāvat pādāṅguṣṭhe sthitāṃ paśyati*, "Fixing means one sees [one's *smṛti*] staying at the tip of the nose up to at a toe."

Therefore, I suspect that *xinian yichu suiqian* 繫念一處隨前 is a mixture of these two expressions. Accordingly, I put a punctuation after this phrase and connect the last part *zhongsheng* 衆生 to the next phrases. I admit that this reading is still not very natural, but in this context *suiqian zhongsheng* 隨前衆生 put together does not make any sense to me.

Although "fixing the mind at the tip of the nose" is a common technique in Indian meditation, we should still note that both texts mention it in exactly the same context.[65] (2) Both texts require that the practitioner visualizes various bodily parts of the Buddha/Viṣṇu in both upward and downward orders. (3) Many of the items listed as the bodily features of Viṣṇu themselves are similar to the bodily marks of the Buddha. (4) We should note that, in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, the four types of deportment of Viṣṇu (standing, walking, sitting, or lying) are listed as the object of visualization. As we have seen, the four types of deportment of the Buddha were the topic of one chapter (Chapter 6) of the *GSHJ*. (5) We should note that in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, visualization of Viṣṇu eventually leads the practitioner to the ultimate state in which one transcends all the objects. This was the common structure of the Buddha-visualization practice we observed in various texts.

Taken together with the points we discussed in the Introduction, it seems very likely that the basic method of Buddha-visualization came from India, even though we do not possess any Sanskrit texts directly corresponding to the Chinese visualization sūtras. It is striking that Hindu literature shows greater similarity to the *GSHJ* than almost any of the Indian Buddhist texts.[66] Thus I strongly suspect that there once were Buddhist visualization texts in India that described the process of Buddha-visualization as seen in the *GSHJ*. In other words, I suspect it was simply a historical accident that such Sanskrit Buddhist texts did not survive to this day.

After looking at all these examples, the following claim of Beyer sounds very convincing to me (1977, 337; emphasis added):

> Scholars have already noted the process by which *buddhānusmṛti* becomes

---

65. Cf. Zimmer [1955]1983, 318-19.

66. Among the Indian Mahāyāna texts, the *Maitreyanāthasiṅhānādasūtra* that we shall discuss later in this dissertation is the closest sūtra to the *GSHJ*, but the description of these *Purāṇa*s are even closer to the *GSHJ*.

an increasingly regular member of the list, displacing such items as *dhātuprabheda* "analysis of elements" . . . I would emphasize, however, that this change is not so much a matter of Mahāyāna influencing Hīnayāna as it is a wave of visionary theism sweeping over the whole of northern India, influencing Hindu contemplatives as well as the *yoga* masters of Kashmir.[67]

The points we have discussed thus far, however, do not automatically mean that the text of the *GSHJ* itself directly came from India; the textual background of this sūtra is far more complicated, and we have to go through much more painstaking examination to reach a final conclusion.

Before ending the discussion of the concept *buddhānusmṛti*, let us discuss one more important concept, *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi*. Sakurabe Hajime (1976, 890-91; 1983, 483-87) reports that the Sanskrit compound *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* that we can deduce from the Chinese expression *nianfo sanmei* 念佛三昧 cannot be attested in Indian Buddhist texts, though he admits that *buddhānusmṛti* has the nature of samādhi.[68] Indeed the form *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* seems rare in Sanskrit texts, but we can find at least one example as a part of a larger compound. See the following (*Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Pratāpacandra Ghoṣa ed., 2.8-6.1):[69]

evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye Bhagavān Rājagṛhe viharati sma / Gṛdhrakūṭaparvate . . . mahatā bodhisattvasaṅghena sārdhaṃ . . . asaṃkhyeyalokadhātugata[70]buddhānusmṛtisamādhi-

[67]. In the face of the aforementioned Enomoto's argument (1993), however, this "Kashmir" must be treated cautiously. Also, I have some reservation on the chronological relation between *dhātuprabheda* and *buddhānusmṛti*. Nevertheless, it seems very likely that the wide popularity of visionary theism was influencing both Hinduism and Buddhism at the same time.

[68]. This point is widely accepted among Japanese scholars. Myōjin 1994, 59; Fujita 1985, 122-23.

[69]. Cf. *Pañca*, Nalinaksha Dutt ed., 4.1-5.4.

[70]. Text *gatā*.

satatasamitābhimukhībhūtaiḥ . . .[71]

> Thus have I heard. At one occasion the Blessed One stayed on the Vulture Peak mountain in Rājagṛha . . . with a great community of bodhisattvas . . . who are always realizing the *samādhi* of calling to mind the Buddhas in the incalculable world-realms . . .

Therefore, it is certain that the form *buddhānusmṛtisamādhi* indeed existed in India. This is not a uniquely Chinese expression.

Then, how about the *guanfo sanmei*? Can we also trace this expression back into Indian sources? This is the question most directly relevant to our investigation. Before discussing this question, however, we have to examine another important concept, *jianfo* (*buddhadarśana*).

b. *jianfo* (*buddhadarśana*)

Buddhadarśana (*jianfo* 見仏), or its cognate expressions (*Buddhaṃ paś-/dṛś-*), appear widely in Buddhist texts. This is an extremely important concept, which merits careful treatment. A full examination of the history and the usage of this concept, however, requires a monograph-length study and exceeds the scope of this dissertation. Here, we have to satisfy ourselves with a brief survey of the concept.

In the Traditional canon, expressions meaning "to see the Buddha" were primarily used in the sense of physically seeing the Buddha (Ōminami 1977, 26-27). Since in the *Āgama/Nikāya* sources, physical presence of the human Buddha is presupposed, it is a matter of course that "seeing the Buddha" does not bear particularly mystical connotation. Nevertheless, people's yearning for "seeing the Buddha" was a strong one, and in such

---

71. *Nian wuliang guotu zhufo sanmei chang xianzaiqian* 念無量國土諸佛三昧常現在前. (*Mohe Bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, T8:217a)

yearning we can probably find the ultimate source of the later idea of the visionary encounter with the Buddha.

From this perspective, let us look at the following story of Vakkali (*SN*, 3:119-24 [No.22.87]).[72] In this story, a monk Vakkali was seriously ill, and his attendants informed the Buddha of his situation. Upon hearing this, the Buddha visited him in person, and Vakkali recognized the Buddha approaching him (*SN*, 3:120.1-2):

> Addasā kho āyasmā Vakkali Bhagavantaṃ dūrato āgacchantaṃ //
>
> The Venerable Vakkali saw the Blessed One coming from afar.

The Buddha first inquired about the sickness and then asked if Vakkali had any regret. Vakkali responded to him, saying that he had a great regret, and explains the content of his regret as follows (ibid., lines 23-26):

> Cirapaṭikāham bhante Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkamitukāmo, natthi ca me kāyasmiṃ tāvatikā balamattā // yāyāhaṃ Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkameyyan ti // //
>
> For a long time, O Master, I have had a desire to approach the Blessed One to see him. There is, however, no sufficient power in my body to approach the Blessed One to see him.

To this statement, the Buddha gave the following famous teaching (ibid., lines 27-31):[73]

> Alaṃ Vakkali kiṃ te iminā pūtikāyena diṭṭhena // // Yo kho Vakkali

---

72. A little similar storys appear in the *Mahāsaṃghikavinaya* (T22:455c22-456a)

73. Mentioned in Akanuma [1939]1981, 409; Fujita 1970, 555; Tsukinowa 1971, 100; Harrison 1992, 50.

Dhammam passati so mam passati // yo maṃ passati so Dhammam passati //
// Dhammaṃ hi Vakkali passanto maṃ passati maṃ passanto dhammam passati //

Enough, Vakkali, what is the use of seeing this foul body? O Vakkali, one who sees the Dhamma sees me, and one who sees me sees the Dhamma, because seeing the Dhamma O Vakkali, one sees me, and because seeing me one sees the Dhamma.[74]

We can observe the natural yearning of a disciple to see the Buddha physically. Obviously in this text, "to see the Buddha" does not mean visionary encounter with the Buddha, but such yearning would have been one of the motifs that later formulated the system of the visualization of the Buddha.[75] Further, it would be possible to see one of the ultimate sources of the later doctrine of the "visualization/contemplation of the Dharma Body" in the Buddha's response (see, e.g., p.139 of this chapter).

Nevertheless, even to those who have realized the Dharma Body of the Buddha, the yearning for physically seeing the Buddha was something hard to suppress. In the *Aśokāvadāna*, we can see that such a yearning is vividly expressed (Sujitkumar

---

74. The passage is taken over to the *Milindapañhā*, 71.9-10: *Evan eva kho Mahārāja yo dhammaṃ passati so Bhagavantaṃ passati, dhammo hi Mahārāja Bhagavatā desito ti* (see Ujike Kakushō [1982]1987, 7).

75. Seeing the Buddha in person was believed to have a deep moral effect. In the following passage from the *Avadānaśataka*, seeing the Buddha had a deep effect on a son of a merchant, Uttara (J. S. Speyer ed., 1:261.14-15, *Aś*):

> tasya Bhagavandarśanāt# saddharmaśravaṇāc ca Bhagavacchāsane prasādo jātaḥ /
>
> #The editor emends the *darśana* into *saṃdarśana* out of conjecture (p.261, n.4), remarking that *darśana* is not the proper word here. I do not believe that this emendation is necessary.
>
> From seeing the Blessed One and listening to the true Dharma, he [Uttara] has developed faith in the teaching of the Blessed One.

Concerning the pair of seeing the Buddha and listening to the Dharma, see also p.179.

Mukhopadhyana ed., 23.10-15):[76]

> Sthaviro 'bravīt / svayam avagacchasi yad ahaṃ varṣaśataparinirvṛte Bhagavati pravrajitaḥ / tad Dharmakāyo mayā tasya dṛṣtas trailokyanāthasya / kāñcanādrinibhas tasya na dṛsto rūpakāyo me // tad anupamam anugrahaṃ prati tvam iha vidarśaya Buddhavigrahaṃ / priyam adhikam ato hi nāsti me daśabalarūpakutūhalo hy ahaṃ //

> The Elder [Upagupta] said: "You know by yourself that I was initiated into a monastic life one hundred years after the demise of the Blessed One. Therefore;

> The Dharma Body of the Protector of the Triple World have I seen; but his physical body like a golden mountain is unseen to me. So in return for this "incomparable favor,"[77] you show the form of the Buddha here. Indeed there is no greater favor for me, because I am eager [to see] the form of the one who has ten powers.

In Mahāyāna sūtras, on the other hand, experiences of visionary encounter with Buddhas are mentioned very frequently. Let us look at just one famous example from the Sadāprarudita chapter of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Wogihara ed., 2:940.17-942.8, *Aṣṭa*):[78]

> atha khalu Sadāprarudito bodhisattvo mahāsattvas tasminn eva pṛthivīpradeśe sthitas tasya Dharmodgatasya bodhisattasya mahāsattvasya Prajñāpāramitāṃ deśayataḥ śṛṇoti sma śṛṇvaṃś ca sarvadharmeṣv aniśritasaṃjñām utpādayati sma / tasyānekāni samādhimukhāny

76. English translation in Strong [1983]1989, 192; discussed in Ujike [1982]1987, 12-14. A similar story is found in the *Samantapāsādikā*. See Roth 1987, 302. Cf. the corresponding passage in the Chinese version of the *samāntapāsādikā* is as follows (T24:680a): 阿育王語海龍王言，我聞如來相好殊妙．我欲見之．汝可現之．於是海龍王受教，即現神力，自變己身爲如來形像．種種功德莊嚴微妙．有三十二大人之相八十種好．

77. The word *anugraha*, "favor," appears in the speech of the Māra (ibid., 23.3), where Māra thanks Upagupta for introducing him to the venerability of the Buddha.

78. I do not note the orthographical variants. English translation is found in Edward Conze 1973, 281-82; Japanese translation in Kajiyama and Tanji Akiyoshi 1975, 323-26.

āmukhībhūtāny abhūvan / tadyathā sarvadharmasvabhāvavyavalokano nāma samādhiḥ . . . Tathāgatadarśano nāma samādhiḥ sarvatathāgatadarśī nāma samādhiḥ /
sa eṣu samādhiṣu sthitaḥ san daśadiśi loke Buddhān Bhagavataḥ paśyati sma aprameyān asaṃkhyeyān imām eva Parjñāpāramitām prakāśayato bodhisattvebhyo mahāsattvebhyaḥ /

Then Sadāprarudita bodhisattva-mahāsattva, staying in the same place, heard the Dharmodgata bodhisattva-mahāsattva teaching the Perfection of Wisdom. Hearing [him], he gave rise to the thought that all the dharmas are not based [on solid foundations]. Many gates of samādhi appeared to him, such as, the samādhi called "observation of the nature of all the dharmas"; . . . the *samādhi* called "seeing Tathāgatas"; and the *samādhi* called "seeing all the Tathāgatas."
While staying in these samādhis, he saw boundless and numberless Buddhas in the words in the ten directions teaching this Perfection of Wisdom to bodhisattva-mahāsattvas.

Obviously this is a mystical experience during meditation. Nevertheless, we should note that this acquisition of a vision is not a result of efforts specifically aimed at the experience of seeing the Buddha.[79] What Sadāprarudita was seeking for was listening to the teaching of the Perfection of Wisdom, and when he heard Dharmodgata teaching the Perfection of Wisdom, suddenly he attained many kinds of samādhis and saw the Buddhas in the ten directions. It seems that such an experience happens when a practitioner's religious fervor reaches its peak for any reason. Seeing the Buddha (*buddha-/tathāgata-darśana*) in Mahāyāna literature is certainly a visionary experience, but it is not necessarily a result of systematized visualization.[80] We should also note that such experiences of "seeing the Buddhas in the ten directions" in Mahāyāna sūras must be the source of the "visualization of the Buddhas in the ten directions" in the *SLF* and so forth (cf. p.140 of this chapter).

Such an experience of "seeing the Buddhas in the ten directions" also takes place as

79. According to the expression of Beyer 1977, 330, "they are gratuitous, unsought, given."

80. It was Professor Janet Gyatso, Amherst College, who first called my attention to the difference between "vision" and "visualization." I thank her for her advice.

a result of the Buddha's miraculous power. Let us see just one example (*Pañca*, Dutt ed., 12.5-16):

> atha khalu Bhagavāṃs tasminn eva siṃhāsane niṣaṇṇaḥ punar eva smitam akarot / yena smitāvabhāsenāyaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātuḥ sphuṭo 'bhūt / yāvad daśasu dikṣu Gaṅgānadībālukopamā lokadhātavaḥ sphuṭā abhūvan / ye ca trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātau sattvās te sarve pūrvasyāṃ diśi Gaṅgānadībālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu Buddhān Bhagavataḥ paśyanti sma saśrāvakasaṃghān, tasyāñ ca pūrvasyāṃ diśi Gaṅgānadībālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu ye sattvās te sarve imāṃ Sahālokadhātuṃ paśyanti sma Śākyamuniṃ ca Tathāgataṃ sārdhaṃ bhikṣusaṃghena / evaṃ dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi paścimāyāṃ [uttarāyāṃ][81] uttarapūrvasyāṃ pūrvadakṣiṇasyāṃ dakṣiṇapaścimāyāṃ paścimottarasyāṃ adha ūrdhvaṃ digbhāgaṃ Gaṅgānadībālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu Buddhān Bhagavataḥ paśyanti sma saśrāvakasaṃghān / teṣu ca Gaṅgānadībālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu ye sattvās te sarve imāṃ sahālokadhātuṃ paśyanti sma Śākyamuniñ ca Tathāgataṃ sārdhaṃ bhikṣusaṃghena /

> Then the Blessed One, sitting on the same lion's seat, smiled again. By the ray from the smile, this trichiriocosm has become bright. The world-realms as many as the grains of the sands of the Ganges River in the ten directions became bright. All the sentient beings in the trichiriocosm saw the Buddhas, Blessed Ones, with the community of *śrāvaka*s in the world-realm as many as the grains of the sands of the Ganges River in the east. In the worlds as many as the grains of the sand of the Ganges River in the east, all the sentient beings saw this Sahā world and Śākyamuni Buddha with the community of *bhikṣus*. In the same way, they saw the Buddhas, Blessed Ones with communities of *śrāvaka*s in the world-realms as many as the grains of the sands of the Ganges River in the south, west, north, northeast, southeast, southwest, northwest, downwards, upwards, and the subdirections. All the sentient beings in these words as many as the grains of sand of the Ganges river saw Śākyamuni Tathāgata together with the community of *bhikṣu*s.

This type of scene is extremely common in Mahāyāna sūtras. In this case also, attainment of the vision is a gift from the Buddha; it is not a result of a systematized practice of visualization. In the *GWSJ*, Vaidehī sees the lands of the Buddhas in the ten directions by the miraculous power of the Buddha (T12:341b21ff.). That plot would be a development of this type of motif.

---

81. Missing in the text, but I supplement it from the context.

Further, in contrast to the aforementioned *Aśokāvadāna* passage, the *Prajñāpāramitā* and some other Mahāyāna literature emphasize the importance of seeing the Dharma Body. See the following (*Aṣṭa*, Wogihara ed., 2:965.5-6):[82]

> na hi Tathāgato rūpakāyato draṣṭavyaḥ dharmakāyās Tathāgatāḥ /
>
> Indeed, the Tathāgatas should not be seen as physical body. The Tathāgatas has the Dharma Body.

Further, seeing the Perfection of Wisdom is considered to be tantamount to seeing the Buddha (*Pañca*, 2-3:91.1-3):

> api tu khalu punar Bhagavan yac ca Tathāgatadarśanaṃ yac ca Prajñāpāramitādarśanaṃ tulyam etat, tathā hi Bhagavan yā prajñāpāramitā yas ca tathāgato 'dvayam etad advaidhīkāram.
>
> Further, O Blessed One, seeing the Tathāgata and seeing the Perfection of Wisdom are the same thing, because, O Blessed One, the Prajñāpāramitā and the Tathāgata are non-dual without distinction.

A similar idea is seen in the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* as follows (56.18-57.4):[83]

> ye māṃ rūpeṇa cādrākṣur ye māṃ ghoṣeṇa cānvayuḥ /
> mithyāprahāṇaprasṛtā na māṃ drakṣyanti te janāḥ //
> dharmato buddhā draṣṭavyā dharmakāyā hi nāyakāḥ /
> dharmatā ca na vijñeyā na sā śakyā vijānituṃ //
>
> Those who saw me in form, those who followed me in voice, those people are starting from wrong exertion and will not see me.

---

82. Quoted in Harrison 1992, 49.

83. Quoted in the *Prasannapadā*, 448.12-15. See p.448, n.2 of the *Prasannapadā*. Translation in Conze 1957, 89. Quoted in Harrison 1992, 68-69.

Buddhas should be seen as Dharma, because the Leaders [=Buddha] have Dharma as their bodies. Even the Dharmatā cannot be cognized or can it be known.

Fujita (1985, 124-31) classifies the experiences of seeing Amitābha Buddha in the *GWSJ* into the following four types: (1) seeing Amitābha Buddha by being reborn in the Pure Land; (2) by the power of Śākyamuni Buddha; (3) by samādhi; and (4) on one's deathbed. In Mahāyāna sūtras in general, in addition to these items, we widely find the examples of (5) seeing Buddhas in a dream;[84] and (6) seeing Buddhas by repentance (for dream visions, see Fujita 1970, 554-56; also Yamabe, n.d.). More passages on "seeing Buddhas" in Mahāyāna sūtras are gathered and discussed in Fujita 1970, 538-85; Beyer 1977; and Schopen 1977.

Before ending the examination of "seeing the Buddha," let us look at an example of "seeing" a deity in non-Buddhist literature. Following is from the *Bhagavadgītā* (XI.3-5; 8-11):[85]

---

84. We have already seen such examples in n.27. A few more examples:

tadyathāpi nāma kulaputra puruṣaḥ suptaḥ svapnāntaragataḥ ekaṃ vā Tathāgataṃ paśyet dvau vā ... tato vā uttare sa prativibuddhaḥ sann ekam api Tathāgataṃ na paśyet / tat kiṃ manyase kulaputra kutas te Tathāgatāḥ āgatāḥ kva vā te Tathāgatā gatā iti // (*Aṣṭa*, 965.27-966.6)

For example, O son of a good family, one is asleep and in a dream sees one Tathāgata, two, or . . . then afterwards, when one is awakened, one does not see even a single Tathāgata. What do you think, O son of a good family? Whence did those Tathāgatas come, and where did those Tathāgatas go?

Subhūtir āha: evam eva Devaputrāḥ sarvadharmā nirmitopamās tatra na kenacid deśitaṃ na kenacic chrutaṃ na kenacid ājñātaṃ. tadyathā 'pi nāma Devaputrāḥ puruṣaḥ suptaḥ svapnāntaragatas Tathāgatam arhantaṃ samyaksambuddhaṃ paśyed dharmaṃ deśayantaṃ. tat kim manyadhve Devaputrā api nu tatra kiṃcid deśitam vā śrutaṃ vājñātam vā.
Devaputrā āhuḥ: no bhadanta Subhūte. (*Pañca*, 2-3:12.10-15)

Subhūti said: "In the same way, O sons of gods, all the dharmas are comparable to emanations. There nothing can be indicated, heard, or known by anybody. It is like, O sons of gods, a person is asleep and in a dream sees a Tathāgata, *arhat*, the correctly awakened one preaching the Dharma. What do you think about that? There is anything indicated, heard, or known?"
The sons of gods said: "No, O Venerable Subhūti."

85. This passage is discussed in Beyer 1977, 334-35; Sekido Norio 1995, 391.

Arjuna uvāca:

. . .

evam etad yathāttha tvam
ātmānaṃ Parameśvara /
drasṭum icchāmi te rūpam
aiśvaraṃ Puruṣottama // 3 //
manyase yadi tac chakyaṃ
mayā drasṭum iti prabho /
yogeśvara tato me tvaṃ
darśayātmānam avyayam // 4 //
Śrī-Bhagavān uvāca:
paśya me Pārtha rūpāṇi
śataśo 'tha sahasraśaḥ /
nānāvidhāni divyāni
nānāvarṇākṛtīni ca // 5 //

. . .

na tu māṃ śakyase draṣṭum
anenaiva svacakṣuṣā /
divyaṃ dadāmi te cakṣuḥ
paśya me yogam aiśvaram // 8 //
Saṃyaja uvāca:
evam uktvā tato Rajan
mahāyogeśvaro Hariḥ /
darśayām āsa Pārthāya
paramaṃ rūpam aiśvaram // 9 //
anekavaktranayanam
anekādbhutadarśanam /
anekadivyābharaṇaṃ
divyānekodyatāyudham // 10 //
divyamālyāmbaradharaṃ
divyagandhānulepanam /
sarvāścaryamayaṃ devam
anantaṃ viśvatomukham // 11 //

Arjuna said:

. . .

Thus it is as you say about yourself, O Supreme Lord. I would like to see your majestic form, O Supreme Puruṣa. (3)
If you think I can see it, O mighty one, lord of yoga, then you show me [your] unchangeable Self. (4)
The Blessed One said:
See my forms, O Son of Pṛthā, in hundreds and thousands of ways, as well as manifold divine colors and forms. (5)

. . .

You cannot, however, see me with this eye of your own. I give you a

divine eye;[86] see my majestic yoga. (8)
Saṃjaya said:
Having thus said, O King, the great lord of yoga, Hari showed the highest majestic form to the son of Pṛthā. (9)
With many mouths and eyes; with many marverous appearances; with many divine ornaments; and with many raised divine weapons. (10)
Wearing divine garlands and garments; with divine perfumes and ointments; the deity made up of all wonders [who is] infinite and has faces on all sides. (11)

This is a famous scene in which Kṛṣṇa shows his original divine form to Arjuna. Since in this case Kṛṣṇa is physically present in front of Arjuna, this is not a typical visionary experience. Nevertheless, this is certainly a mystical experience in the sense that something that is usually invisible is revealed to a human being.

Finally, since we have confirmed above the form *buddhānusmṛti-samādhi*, let us examine if we can attest the form *buddhadarśana-samādhi*. In the above quotations, we have already seen the expression *tathāgatadarśana-samādhi* (p.162). *Buddhadarśana-samādhi* itself can be confirmed in the following passages (*Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, D. T. Suzuki and H. Izumi eds.; P. L. Vaidya ed.; I mark only the latter as "Vaidya ed."; *GV*):

anantabuddhadarśanaviṣayā[87]vabhāsena bodhisattvasamādhinā (*Gaṇḍavyūha*, 38.26-39.1; Vaidya ed., 29.27)[88]

By the *samādhi* of bodhisattvas illuminating the object of seeing boundless [number of] Buddhas.

---

86. Cf. *Pratyutpannasūtra* 28.11-13 (section3C): *byaṅ chub sems dpa' de lha'i mig thob pas de bźin gśegs pa mthoṅ ba yaṅ ma yin*, "O bodhisattva, that one does not see the Tathāgata after obtaining the divine eye either."

87. Both editions have *-vinayā-*, here, but judging from the Tibetan and Chinese translations (see next note), *-vinayā-* should be emended as *-viṣaya-*.

88. Tib. *byaṅ chub sems dpa'i tiṅ ṅe 'dzin saṅs rgyas mtha' yas pa mthoṅ ba'i yul rab tu snaṅ ba* (Lhasa ed., vol.45 [ca], 70b6); Ch. (Buddhabhadra) 示現無量無邊諸佛境界三昧(T9:684c16-17); (Śikṣānanda) 見無邊佛境界三昧 (T10:328b14). Japanese translation in Kajiyama 1992, 77.

sarvabuddhadarśanasīmāvatikramena [*sic*][89] bodhisattvasamādhinā (ibid., 39.5-6; Vaidya ed., 29.31)[90]

By the *samādhi* of going beyond the limit of seeing all the Buddhas.

Although it is a little unclear what these compounds exactly mean, it is certain that *buddhadarśana* is used as the names of samādhis.

c. *guanfo*

Unlike the previous two concepts, the Sanskrit (or any Indic) equivalent of *guanfo* is not clear, and this is one of the reasons Tsukinowa doubts the Indian origin of the visualization sūtras. Tsukinowa suggests as possible original words *dhyāna* (1971, 45); *ava-lok-* (p.46); *vipaśyanā*; *vicāra*; *yoga*; *paś-* (ibid., p.50); *jñā-*; *vy-ava-lok-*, *ul-lok-* or cognate words; *dṛś-* (ibid., p.51); *locana* (ibid., p.52) and concludes that none of them are appropriate (ibid., p.53). His conclusion is widely accepted by Japanese scholars.[91]

On the other hand, as we have seen (p.126), Ōminami (1975, 732-33) further points out that *paś-/dṛś-* ,*anu-paś-/dṛś-*, *ul-lok-* , "look upwards," *parīkṣā*, "examination," and so forth as the possible candidates.

Among these items, *parīkṣā* and *vicāra* mean examination or thinking in one's mind and are clearly out of context for the present purpose; thus we can safely ignore them.

---

89. *-sīmāvatikramena* is difficult to interpret. Tib. suggests root *grah-*, but Ch. (both versions) seems to indicate something entirely different. For now I translate it as if the text were *-sīmātikramena*.

90. Tib. *byaṅ chub sems dpa'i tiṅ ṅe 'dzin saṅs rgyas thams cad mthoṅ ba'i sa mtshams 'dzin pa* (ibid., 71a3). Ch. (Buddhabhadra) 見一切佛三昧 (T9:684c20); (Śikṣānanda) 見一切佛自在力三昧 (T10:328b17-18). Japanese translation in Kajiyama 1992, 77.

91. See Fujita 1970, 122; [1970]1990, 155; Yamada 1976, 81; Ōminami 1977, 38; Sueki 1986, 168.

Dhyāna and *vipaśyanā* are the most commonly suggested words for the Sanskrit equivalent of *guan*, but neither of them is very likely. Since the time Takakusu (1894) Sanskritized the title of the *GWSJ* as the **Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra*, this reconstruction is often used as a convenient reference to the *GWSJ*. This reconstruction, however, is very unlikely. In the first place, *dhyāna* is not usually translated as *guan* 觀.[92] In the traditions of Sanskrit Buddhism, this is a technical term usually applied to the fourfold meditations belonging to the realm with form (*rūpadhātu*). Thus *guan* of *guanfo* and *dhyāna* have quite distinct ranges of meanings; it is very unlikely that *dhyāna* was the original word of *guan*.

Vipaśyanā is not entirely impossible. As is well known, when paired with *śamatha*, *vipaśyanā* is constantly translated as *guan*. Moreover, although I am not aware of the form **buddhavipaśyanā*, there is a somewhat comparable form in the *GV* as follows (37.6; Vaidya ed., 28.21):[93]

> sarvālambana[94]<u>buddhasamudravipaśyinā</u> bodhisattvasamādhinā[95]
>
> By the samādhi of bodhisattvas of seeing[96] the ocean of Buddhas in all the cognitive objects.

This is translated as follows in Buddhabhadra's version (T9:684b):

---

92. See *Bonwa daijiten*, s.v. "*dhyāna*."

93. Japanese translation in Kajiyama 1994, 74.

94. Both versions have *-āvaraṇa-*, but I emend it as above according to the Tibetan version (see next note).

95. Tib. *byaṅ chub sems dpa'i tiṅ ṅe 'dzin d<u>migs pa</u> thams cad la saṅs rgyas rgya mtsho <u>rnam par lta ba</u>* (Lhasa ed., vol.45[ca], 68a3-4).

96. *Āvaraṇa* is not supported by Buddhabhadra nor does it makes good sense in this context. Text seems to be corrupted.

Yiyi jingjiezhong xijian yiqie fohai sanmei 一一境界中悉見一切佛海三昧.

> The *samādhi* of seeing the ocean of all the Buddhas in every [cognitive] object.

Considering the similarity with the title of the *GSHJ*, and considering the fact that the compound *fohai sanmei* appears a few times in the *GSHJ* (see Section I.1 of this dissertation), this *buddhasamudravipaśyin-samādhi* may be a strong candidate for the Sanskrit equivalent of the *guanfo sanmei.*[97] Nevertheless, the quoted phrase is the only passage I have found in support of this hypothesis. Moreover, this expression seems to refer to "seeing the Buddha" as a result rather than "looking at (a statue of) the Buddha" as a process. We should also take into account that at least Buddhabhadra translates this *vipaśyin* not as *guan* but as *jian* 見. Although *vipaśyin* is certainly a possibility, supporting materials are not sufficient.

If the first item in Ōminami's list, *paś-/dṛś-,* was the original word for *guan*, it means that the distinction between *jian* and *guan* existed only in Chinese. As we have already discussed, I would like to understand *guanfo* essentially as a visualization practice by first observing a statue. The verb *paś-/dṛś-* is indeed used in the sense of looking at an image or the body of the Buddha. See the following (*Divyāvadāna*, E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil ed., 548.17-18):[98]

> tair Buddhapratimāṃ dṛṣṭvā ekaraveṇa nādo mukto namo Buddhāyeti /

97. Cf. sarvadharmavipaśyano nāma samādhiḥ (*Aṣṭa*, 941.11-12)

98. Quoted in Roth 1987, 297. I thank Professor Stanley Weinstein for the reference to this article.

Having seen the image[99] of the Buddha, they shouted out in one voice: "Homage to the Buddha!"

Considering the fact that the verb *dṛṣṭvā* is translated as *guan* in the corresponding portion in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (*-pratimāṃ dṛṣṭvā* = *guanxiang* 觀像, T23:874c18 [No.1442]), *paś-/dṛś-* certainly deserves serious consideration.

Nevertheless, in this chapter I would like to pursue the possibility that the concept *guanfo* had its own equivalent in Sanskrit distinct from *paś-/dṛś-*.

Anu-paś-/dṛś- was already considered by Akanuma ([1939]1981, 409) as the Sanskrit equivalent of Chinese *guan*. As he notes (ibid.), this word is used in the descriptions of the four types of *satipaṭṭhāna*, "applications of mindfulness," 念處 (*kāye kāyānupassī viharati*, "One stays meditating on the body," etc. [*DN*, 2:290.11-12]). *Anudarśanā/anupaśyanā* is also used several times in the *YL* (see Schlingloff 1964a, 51; 192; 193). Nevertheless, in the relevant passages, *anu-paś-/dṛś-* seems to mean "meditation" in its proper English sense. This does not seem to be an appropriate word to express the meaning of "visualization."

On the other hand, in Esoteric Buddhism, visualization is a very common method of practice.[100] Thus, we should check if it is possible to determine the Sanskrit word corresponding to Chinense *guan* in this genre of literature. For our purpose, we need to find an example of the word *guan* used in the context of the visualization of the Buddha in a text of which we possess both Sanskrit original and Chinese version. The *Guhyasamājatantra* (*Yiqie rulai jingang sanye zuishang mimi dajiao wang jing* 一切如來金剛三業最上秘密大教王經, [T No.885]) is a good text for such a purpose. In the Chinese

---

99. In this context, it is a painted image.

100. Harrison 1992, 225-27 discusses Esoteric visualization briefly as an extension of the *buddhānusmṛti* found in the *Pratyutpannasūtra*.
Concerning Buddhist visualization, see also Yoritomi Motohiro and Shimoizumi Zengyō 1994, 48-49.

version of this text, we find the following verse (T18:476a7-8):

云何佛念觀　　謂遍一切處
皆諸佛影像　　出現佛智雲

What is the *fonianguan* (lit. "visualization of calling the Buddha to mind")? There are images of the Buddhas everywhere. The cloud of the Buddhas' wisdom appears.

This Chinese translation by *Dānapāla 施護 is actually very loose, and the original Sanskrit has the following, rather surprising contents (Matsunaga Yūkei ed., 21.21-23):[101]

tatra katham buddhānusmṛtibhāvanā /
bhage liṅgaṃ pratiṣṭhāpya buddhabimbaṃ vibhāvayet /
romakūpāgravivare buddhameghān sphared budhaḥ /

There, what is the practice (/visualization?) of calling the Buddha to mind? One should create (*vibhāvayet*) the image of the Buddha [*or* Buddhabimba Mahāvajradhara] by fixing the *liṅga* [representing the conventional truth] in the womb [representing the highest truth].[102] A wise man should expand clouds of the Buddha from a pore, the tip of a body hair, and between two body hairs.[103]

It is clear that the topic is visualization practice. Here we see that Chinese *guan* corresponds to Sanskrit *bhāvanā*. In the general usage of Buddhist texts, *bhāvanā* means practice/meditation in general. Here again, the meaning of the *bhāvanā* may well be the

---

101. I thank Professor Ronald Davidson for his assistance with reading this verse. The final interpretation is, however, my responsibility.

102. The supplements in brackets are based on the commentary *Guhyasamājatantrapradīpodyotanaṭīkāṣaṭkoṭīvyākhyā*, Chintaharan Chakravarti ed., 67.19-27.

103. Concerning the interpretation of *romakūpāgravivare*, I follow the commentary. The commentary, however, presupposes the text *romakūpāgravivarair buddhameghād spārayet*, which is different from the one given in Matsunaga's edition. Whichever reading we follow, the phrase is a little cryptic.

same.[104] Considering, however, that the cognate word (*vi-*)*bhāvayati* is clearly used in the sense of "to conjure up, to visualize," this Chinese translation *guan* is not necessarily inappropriate.[105]

Further, we can confirm that the causative forms of *bhū-* or *pra-bhū-* are frequently translated as *guanxiang* 觀想 in *Dānapāla's Chinese translation of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (*Yiqie rulai zhenshi shedacheng xianzheng sanmei dajiaowang jing* 一切如來眞實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經 [T No.882]). See the following example:

> sarvākāravaropetaṃ buddhabimbam tu sarvataḥ /
> yathāvad anupūrveṇa bhāvayet susamāhita // (Lokesh Chandra ed., 43.5-6)
>
> One should properly create the image of the Buddha endowed with all the best appearances in order, O the well-concentrated one.

This is translated in the following way (T18:364b23-24):

> 觀佛影像遍一切　所有諸相皆具足
> 如其所說依次第　隨應觀想妙等引

Moreover, just after this verse, we find the following expressions: *bhodhicittasya bhāvanā*, *satvavarjasya bhāvanā*, *varjasatvasya bhāvanā*, *buddhabodhes bhāvanā* (43.12; 14; 16; 18). Since *bhāvayati* is a causative form of the verbal root *bhū-*, "to be, exist," it is

---

104. The commentary *Guhyasamājatantrapradīpodyotanaṭīkāṣaṭkoṭīvyākhyā*, Chintaharan Chakravarti ed., 67.20-21 glosses the compound *buddhānusmṛtibhāvanā* as follows: *Buddho Vairocanaḥ / tasyānusmṛtir anusmaraṇam / saiva punaḥ punar utpadyamānatvād bhāvanā* / "'Buddha' refers to Vairocana. His *anusmṛti* means calling [him] to mind. Since it [=*anusmṛti*] arises again and again, [the *tantra*] says *bhāvanā*." Namely, the commentary seems to be taking the word *bhāvanā* in the sense of "repeated practice."

105. In Buddhist texts, *vibhāvayati* often means to erase a meditative image, but in this text, *bhāvayati* and *vibhāvayati* seem to be both used in the positive sense. The commentary (67.23) glosses the word as *paramārthasatyād vyutthāpayed*, "to make [it] arise from the highest truth."

easily understandable that the causative form is used in the sense of creating something.[106] In fact *bhāvanā/bhāvayati* may be the word closest to our notion of "visualization."[107] Moreover, since the *GSHJ* has a certain amount of esoteric elements, *bhāvanā/bhāvayati* found in an esoteric text may be one of the strongest candidates for the Sanskrit equivalent of *guan*.[108]

Nevertheless, there are certain difficulties with this hypothesis. First, in the fifth-century Chinese meditation texts, Buddha visualization is constantly called *guanfo*, and the form *fonianguan* is not seen in those texts. If *buddhānusmṛtibhāvanā* was the original for *guanfo*, it is difficult to explain why *anusmṛti* is not translated. If we remove *anusmṛti* from this compound, the outcome becomes **buddhabhāvanā*. This is an unlikely form, and I have no material to support such an expression.[109] Second, this *buddhānusmṛtibhāvanā* seems to be lacking the element of "looking at a statue." If we stick to the original interpretation of *guanfo*, this point makes *buddhānusmṛtibhāvanā* an unlikely candidate.

In contrast to these words, the words based on the verbal root *lok-* deserve serious consideration. In fact, Weller (1936-37, 342) suggested **Buddhāvalokanasamādhisāgarasūtra* (my emphasis, similarly below) as the original title of the *GSHJ* based on the correspondence between *Guan puyan haixing* 觀普嚴海行 and

106. According to Uno Tomoyuki (1997, 511), Kumārila explains that *bhāvanā* is a mental effort and is "the activity to cause something to come about."

107. Cf. Tsukinowa 1971, 99.

108. According to Professor Richard Davis, *bhāvanā* is the standard word meaning "visualization" in Hindu literature.

109. **buddhabhāvanāsamādhi* would be even more unlikely.

samantavyūhasāgaracaryāvalokana in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*MVy*).[110] Actually, as we have seen (p.162), Tsukinowa also recognizes that *vyavalokana*, *avalokana*, and so forth are among the words that correspond to Chinese *guan* (Tsukinowa 1971, 46; 49). Nevertheless Tsukinowa rejects this word because, in his opinion, *avalokana* signifies that Buddhas/bodhisattvas watch sentient beings (graciously) and not that practitioners visualize Buddhas/bodhisattvas (ibid., p.46). Since the compound *samantavyūhasāgaracaryā(vy)avalokana* that Weller cites appears in the *MVy* as one of the epithets of Garuḍendra, not in a meditative context, and since *guan puyan haixing* 觀普嚴海行 is a reconstruction by the editor Wogihara, Weller's argument based on this example is actually not very strong.

Nevertheless this word is worth considering, because the word *(vy)avalokana* indeed appears in meditative contexts as well. In the passage from the *Aṣṭa* we have quoted above (p.162), we saw the following expression (Wogihara ed., 940.22):

sarvadharmasvabhāvavyavalokano nāma samādhiḥ

This corresponds to the following expression in the *Xiaopin bore boluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經 (T8:581b24-25 [No.227], *Xiaopin*):

Zhu faxingguan sanmei 諸法性觀三昧

In the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, the verb *vy-ava-lok-* is often used in the sense of "to observe," and here also, the meaning seems to be something like "a concentration called

110. Weller is based on Wogihara's edition, but slightly misquote it. In fact, Wogihara's edition (p.104, no.CLXXII.9) has *Samantavyūhasāgaracaryāvyavalokanaḥ* corresponding to *puyan haixing guan zhufa* 普嚴海行觀諸法. 觀普賢海行 is a reconstruction by the editor. Sakaki Ryōzaburō's edition (No.,3412, *Mvy)* gives only 普嚴海行觀諸法 and *samantavyūhasāgaracaryāvyavalokana* . Tib. is *kun tu bkod pa rgya mtsho'i spyod pa la rnam par blta ba*.

'observation of the nature of all the *dharmas*.'"[111]

Also, in the *Prajñāpāramitā*, at least in some contexts, this verb seems to refer to a preliminary observation before direct realization (*Aṣṭa*, 763.19-21):

> sa cet punaḥ Subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsatvaḥ svapnāntaragato 'pi svapnopamāḥ sarvadharmā iti vyavalokayati na ca sākṣātkaroti /

> If, O Subhūti, a bodhisattva, a great one, observes (/looks at) all the *dharmas* as dreamlike even when he is in a dream but does not directly realize [that],...

As we have already seen, at least in the usage of Chinese Buddhist texts, *guanfo* primarily means the visualization as a process, and *jianfo* is the vision acquired as a result of that process. If this is the case, *(vy)avalokana* meaning "a preliminary observation in meditation" does not seem to be an impossible original for the word *guan*. The Sanskrit

---

111. More examples of the appearance of the word *vyavalokana* in the names of samādhis are seen as follows (*GV*):

> sarvatathāgatavimokṣabhavanavyavalokanasiṃhavijṛmbhitena bodhisatvasamādhinā (39.24-25)

> byaṅ chub sems dpa'i tiṅ ṅe 'dzin de bźin gśegs pa thams cad kyi rnam par thar pa'i pho braṅ la rnam par lta bas seṅ ge rnam par bsgyiṅs pa (Lasa ed., vol.45 [ca], 72a5).

> *Guancha shizi fenxun pusa sanmei* 觀察師子奮迅菩薩三昧 (T9:685a6-7)

> anālayadharmagaganavyavalokanena bodhisattvasamādhinā (39.7)

> byaṅ chub sems dpa'i tiṅ ṅe 'dzin gnas med pa'i chos kyi nams mkha' la rnam par lta ba (71a4).

> *Yiqiefa wuzhu xukong jingyan sanmei* 一切法無著虛空淨眼三昧 (T9:684c20)

An example of the use of *vyavalokana* in the title of a text (in addition to the ones mentioned by Tsukinowa 1971 46-49) is found as follows (Nalinaksha Dutt 1939, introduction, p.63):

> *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānasattvāvalokana-buddhakṣetrasandarśanavyūha*

This title is translated into Chinese as follows:

> *Yiqie rulai suohu guancha zhongshen shixian focha zhuangyanwang tuoluoni* 一切如來所護觀察衆生示現佛刹莊嚴王陀羅尼 (T21:894c22-23 [NO.1375])

original for *jianfo* is, as we have seen, *buddhadarśana*. If so, *buddhadarśana*, "seeing the Buddha," as a result of **buddha(vy)avalokana*, "looking at the Buddha," seems to be a natural process. In this regard, it may not be too far-fetched to refer to the following passage from the *GV* (61.1):

> ekaikasyāṃ diśy anuvilokayan nānāvarṇāms Tathāgatān paśyāmi...
>
> Looking into every direction, I see the Tathāgatas of various colors...

This *anu-vi-lok-* does not mean a ritualized visualization but a simple act of looking, but at least we see here a basic process similar to visualization, i.e., "seeing the Buddha" by "looking."[112]

On the other hand, the Tibetan version has the following here (Lhasa ed., vol.45 [ca], 98a5-b2):

> phyogs re rer rnam par bltas kyaṅ de bźin gśegs pa kha dog sna tshogs mṅa' ba daṅ . . . mthoṅ ṅo /
>
> Looking into every direction, [I] see the Tathāgatas [who] have various colors, . . .

We should note here that the difference between the Sanskrit roots *lok-* and *paś-/dṛś-* is reflected in the Tibetan version as *lta ba*, "to look at" and *mthoṅ ba*, "to see." Admittedly my investigation of the Tibetan versions in this regard is incomplete, and, as we shall see later (n.115), this distinction is not always maintained in Tibetan translations.

---

112. Cf. āryaŚāripitreṇa kila kasyacit pravrajyāprekṣasya puruṣasya mokṣabhāgīyaṃ kuśalamūlaṃ vyavalokayatā na dṛṣṭam iti pratyākhyāto na pravrājita ity arthaḥ. Bhagavatā tu dṛṣṭaṃ pravrājitaś ca. (*AKVy*, 644.25-27)

It is said that noble Śāriputra looked for the good roots conducive to the "portion of liberation" [=nirvāṇa] in a person aspiring for the initiation [into a monastic life] but [could] not see it, so [the aspirant] was refused and was not initiated; thus is the meaning [of the line of the *AKBh*]. The Blessed One saw [the good roots] and initiated [him].

Nevertheless, at least the Tibetan version of the *GV* seems to retain this distinction in general (see ns.88, 90, 95, 111). This point is important when we examine a text of which we have only Tibetan and Chinese versions.

In the Introduction, we observed that the basic structure of the *guanfo* practice is very similar to that of "taking the image" (*nimittam [ud-]grah-*) practice as seen in the contexts of *asubha* or *kasiṇa* practice in the *Visuddhimagga*, or in the *aśubhā* practice in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*. We should recall here that in such contexts, the *Visuddhimagga* constantly used the verb *o-lok-* (= Skt. *ava-lok-*) referring to the action of looking at the visual objects (corpse or *kasiṇa* circle), and that the verb *o-lok-* was actually translated as *guan* in the corresponding portion of the *Vimuttimagga.*[113] As examples of the use of *ava-lok-* directly referring to the act of looking at the Buddha's body, there are following passages (*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Ernst Waldschmidt ed., 392.25-394.6 [sections 42.9-10], *MPS*):[114]

> atha Bhagavān svakāyād uttarāsaṅgam ekānte vivṛtya bhikṣūn āmantrayate / avalokayata bhikṣavas Tathāgatasya kāyam / vyavalokayata bhikṣavas Tathāgatasya kāyam / tat kasmād dhetoḥ / durlabhadarśanā yasmāt tathāgatā

---

113. As an example of the *nimitta-udgrahaṇa* practice in the context of Buddha visualization, see the *Pratyutpannasūtra* quoted in p.137 of this chapter. Further, the following passage is suggestive (*Divyāvadāna*, 547.12-15; quoted in Roth 1987, 296):

> asecanakadarśanā Buddhā Bhagavantaḥ / te yam evāvayavaṃ Bhagavataḥ paśyanti tam eva paśyanto na tṛptiṃ gachanti / te na śaknuvanti Bhagavato nimittam udgrahītuṃ,

> The Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, are nice looking. Those who see the body of the Blessed One, which one can never see enough, cannot grasp the image of the Blessed One.

This is a description of the experience of artists who were overwhelmed by the beauty of the Buddha's body and could not properly impress the features of his body on their mind.

114. Quoted in Roth 1987, 293; 298. No correspondence in Pāli *DN*; nor in Faxian's 法顯 version, the *Da boniepang jing* 大般涅槃經T1:2054c; *DĀ*, the *Youxing jing* 遊行經 T1:26b (No.1.2). Bai Fazu's 白法祖 version, the *Fo bonihuan jing* 佛般泥洹經 (T1:172c2-3 [No.5]) and the anonymous *Bonihuan jing* 般泥洹經 (T1:188b13-14 [No.6]) have somewhat similar passages.

arhantaḥ samyaksaṃbuddhās tadyathodumbare puṣpam /[115]

Then the Blessed One opened one side of his upper garment on his body, and said to the monks: "O monks, look at the Tathāgata's body. Behold the Tathāgata's body, O monks. For what reason? [It is] because Tathāgatas, arhats, the correctly awakened ones are hard to see like a flower in a fig."

The underlined part is translated as *keguan foshen* 可觀佛身 in Yijing's 義淨 version of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (*Zaxhi* 雑事, T24:399a.26-29 [No.1451]). Though Yijing is later than the *GSHJ*, we can at least confirm the verb *guan* here.

Another example of the use of the verb *ava-lok-* in the context of looking at the Buddha is found in the *Vaṇṇupathajātaka* (*Jātaka*, 1:106.24-26):

Satthusantikaṃ gantvā rūpaggappattaṃ Buddhasarīraṃ olokento madhuradhammadesanaṃ suṇanto vihārissāmīti.

I will go to the Teacher and spend my life looking at the exceeding[ly] beautiful body of the Buddha, and listening to his pleasing teaching.[116]

Jātaka (especially the prose portions) does not belong to the very old layers of the Traditional canon either, but we should note that in this text "looking at the body of the Buddha" was considered to be a very significant act worth mentioning together with the "listening to the Dharma." The fact that such a passage appears in a relatively late text coincides with the general tendency we have observed. Moreover, the fact that "looking at

115. The corresponding Tibetan text of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* given in Waldschmidt's edition of the *MPS* is as follows (section 42.9):

de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis raṅ gi sku las stod gyogs bsal te / dge sloṅ rnams la bka stsal pa /dge sloṅ dag de bźin gśegs pa'i sku la ltos śig / dge sloṅ dag de bźin gśegs pa'i sku la rnam par ltos śig / de ci'i phyir źe na / de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas blta ba ni rñed par dka ste / dper na me tog u dum ba ra bźin no /

In this case, the difference between *lok-* and *paś-/dṛś-* is not reflected in the Tibetan text. See also Section III.2 of this dissertation.

116. I use the translation in Roth 1987, 298, with slight emendation and with emphasis added.

the Buddha's body" is given the equal weight with "listening to the Dharma" may be comparable to the following passage from the *GSHJ* (T15:647b16-21):

> 諸佛如來出現於世，有二種法以自莊嚴．何等爲二．一者先說十二部經．令諸衆生讀誦通利．如是種種名爲法施．二者以妙色身．示閻浮提及十方界．令諸衆生見佛色身具足莊嚴，三十二相八十種隨形好無缺減相，心生歡喜．

> When various Buddha-Tathāgatas appear in this world, they adorn themselves with two types of Dharmas. What are the two? First is the twelvefold sūtras I preached before. [The Buddhas] make sentient beings recite and master them. Such acts are called gifts of Dharma. Second is that they show marvelous physical bodies in Jambūdvīpa and the worlds in the ten directions and make sentient beings see the Buddhas' physical body fully adorned with the thirty-two major and eighty minor bodily marks without any missing marks, so that sentient beings develop joy in their minds.[117]

As an example of "looking at the Buddha" in a Mahāyāna scripture, I would like to give the following example (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Wogihara and Tsuchida eds, 213.26-28):[118]

> tāś ca sarvāś catasraḥ pariṣadaḥ utthāy' āsanebhyo 'ñjalīḥ pragṛhya Bhagavato mukham ullokayaṃtas tasthuḥ.

> These people belonging to the fourfold assemblies rose up from [their] seats, holding [their hands] in the *añjalī* position, stood looking at the face of the Blessed One.

In Kumārajīva's version, the passage is translated as follows (T9:33b25-26):

---

117. Cf. n.75.

118. According to p.213, n.1 of this edition, this passage appears in Kashgar manuscript, Tibetan, and Chinese versions, but not in the other Skt manuscripts. This passage is quoted in Tsukinowa 1971, 51.

Yiqie xizhong qili hezhang yixin guanfo 一切四衆起立合掌，一心觀佛.

I cannot attest the compound form **buddhāvalokana* in Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Moreover, I do not believe that the *GSHJ* was a translation of any Indian original. Therefore, attempting to reconstruct the Sanskrit title of the *GSHJ* itself is not very meaningful. Nevertheless, I do believe that the concept *guanfo* had its roots in Indian Buddhism, and that attempting to determine the Sanskrit equivalent of this concept is a significant investigation. If so, the materials quoted above suggest that, if a single Sanskrit expression (distinct from *buddhadarśana*) corresponded to Chinese *guanfo*, **buddhāvalokana* is the most likely candidate.

Incidentally, Tsukinowa (1971, 96ff.) claims that the stock phrase, "If one visualizes this way, it is called the correct visualization. Otherwise, it is called the wrong visualization," is an unusual expression the Sanskrit of which cannot be restored (ibid., p.97). This, however, is not a convincing argument. In addition to the passage from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* Tsukinowa himself points out,[119] Xuanzang's version of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Pusadi*) 菩薩地 has the following phrase (T30:488c3):

Ruo zuo shiguan minwei zhengguan 若作是觀名爲正觀.

If one observes this way, it is called the correct observation.

This corresponds to the following Sanskrit (Wogihara ed., 46.13):

yaś caivaṃ paśyati sa samyak paśyatīti.

One who sees thus sees correctly.

---

119. This passage will be discussed in Section III.2 of this dissertation.

This phrase is not used in the context of visualization. Moreover, here the verb is *paś-*, not *lok-* that we are looking for. Nevertheless, it is at least certain that we can restore a grammatical Sanskrit equivalent from this Chinese stock phrase.[120] Moreover, as we shall see in the chapter on the *Maitreyanāthasiṃhanādasūtra* in the *Ratnakūṭa* collection, we can find a very similar phrase in the context of visualization. This phrase should not be regarded as a problem. I do not doubt that the basic elements that constitute the technique of *guanfo* (**buddhāvalokana*) existed in India.

Concluding Remarks

In the Pāli *Nikāya*, *buddhānussati* (= *buddhānusmṛti*) was meditation on the Buddha's ten epithets. Thus, the oldest known form of *buddhānussati* involved no visualization practice. The concept *buddhānusmṛti*, however, kept growing, both in Traditional and Mahāyāna literature, and came to contain many additional items as the objects of meditation. Such additional items include: the bodily features of the Buddha; various acts of the Buddha, especially preaching the Dharma; various qualities of the Buddha; the Dharma Body; and the Buddhas in the ten directions. Such developed forms of *buddhānusmṛti*, including the well-known *pratyutpannasamādhi*, provided the necessary material for the stipulations on the visualization of the Buddha seen in the fifth-century Chinese meditation texts, including the *GSHJ* itself.

We should further note that the word *smṛ-* is used in the non-Buddhist Indian literature in a very similar way as in the Buddhist literature. The most conspicuous

---

120. Although this is not on visualization, a little similar passage in a meditative context is found in the *AKBh* (Pradhan 2d ed., 339.22-340.1):

> tasyāṃ tu trayo doṣāḥ / . . . ato 'nyathā samyaggaṇanā /
>
> In the [practice of counting breath], however, there are three [possible] faults. . . . Otherwise [i.e., if one's practice is free from these faults], it is the correct counting.

examples in this regard are the descriptions of the visualization of Viṣṇu found in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. Particularly, the method in the latter text is directly comparable to that in the *GSHJ*. It is intriguing that the *GSHJ* shows greater similarity to non-Buddhist texts than to Buddhist texts. In the subsequent discussion, we shall encounter further examples in which the *GSHJ* shows significant similarity to Hindu literature. This is an important point to keep in mind.

Concerning the *buddhadarśana* also, we can observe development of the concept. In the Pāli *Nikāya*, "seeing the Buddha" simply meant an encounter with the Buddha in the literal sense. It was not a mystical experience at all, but already there, we could observe the deep yearning of disciples for seeing the Buddha physically. The famous idea: "One who sees the Dharma sees the Buddha" was also found there. In the later texts that do not presuppose the physical presence of the Buddha, the possible way of seeing the Buddha was limited to either (1) visionary encounter with the form or the Buddha, or (2) encounter with the formless Dharma Body by realizing the truth. These two methods were recognized by a wide range of texts, but there seem to have been more devotional trends (as seen in the *Aśokāvadāna*) that emphasized the former method, and more philosophical trends (as seen in the *Prajñāpāraitā* corpus) that stressed the latter. The visualization methods systematized in Kumārajīva's manuals are closely linked to the ones in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. On the other hand, it should be noted that the *GSHJ* hardly discusses the philosophical aspects of visualization. In this sense, it would be fair to say that the *GSHJ* was closer to the devotional trends.

I have to emphasize that the arguments about the Sanskrit equivalent of *guanfo* are very hypothetical. While I believe that the basic structure of the *guanfo* practice came from India, it is not certain if any Sanskrit expression uniquely corresponding to the Chinese *guanfo* ever existed at all. As I admitted in the foregoing discussion, it is possible that the distinction between *guanfo* and *jianfo* existed only in Chinese. Nevertheless, if any Sanskrit original for *guanfo* distinct from *jianfo* (*buddhadarśana*) ever existed, I would

like to suggest that the most likely candidate is **buddha(vy)avalokana*. Although this is by no means the decisive conclusion, I wish the materials I have presented in support of this hypothesis are helpful in clarifying one aspect of the *guanfo* practice. If *guanfo* had its own meaning distinct from *jianfo*, I believe it was "looking at the Buddha" (as a process) as opposed to "seeing the Buddha" (as a result).

Section II

CHINESE ELEMENTS

1. Questionable Elements According to Tsukinowa

In the preceding chapters we mainly focused on the continuity between the *GSHJ* and Indian Buddhist practice. These similarities, however, do not automatically mean that the *GSHJ* was translated from an Indian original. On the contrary, the *GSHJ* has many problematic points that one would not expect in a translation of an Indian text. These were the most important reasons why Tsukinowa doubted the Indian origin of this text. In this chapter, following Tsukinowa's argument, let us examine these textual problems. These problems can be classified into: a. questionable expressions; b. questionable contents; c. borrowings from other Chinese Buddhist texts.

a. Questionable Expressions

One of Tsukinowa's major points is that many questionable words, expressions, and in particular strange phonetic transcriptions, are found in the *GSHJ*. The points he finds problematic are as follows:[1]

---

1. In this table, I show the Chinese expressions with English translations. In translating them, in principle I try to follow Tsukinowa's interpretation, though sometimes his understanding is questionable. They are followed by the references to Tsukinowa 1971 and to the Taishō canon vol.15. Brief summaries of Tsukinowa's comments will also be added. When necessary, I give additional explanations in the endnotes. The serial numbers and the underlines are all mine. I have omitted a few relatively insignificant items mentioned by Tsukinowa.

The transcriptions of Chinese in the tables are the modern pronunciation in Pinyin system. Strictly speaking, we should use reconstructed old pronunciation for this purpose, and indeed I shall do so when necessary in the subsequent discussion. Nevertheless, practically speaking, giving all the pronunciation in this way is a little difficult for the lack of suitable fonts. For this reason, the transcriptions in the tables are for the identification purpose only.

Table 1

Expressions	Tsukinowa's Comments
1. Yanfu tanna *zijin* 閻浮檀那紫金 *Jambūdāna(?) purple gold (p.59; 695b28)	strange transcription for Jambūnada[1]
2. *shuxi anban* 數息安般 counting-breath-*ānāpāna* (p.61; 682b26; 685b7)	repetitive[2]
3. *wushang puti daoyi* 無上菩提道意 the intention for the path of the unsurpassed awakening (p.61; 653b21)	repetitive[3]
4. *sanmei zhengshou* 三昧正受 *samādhi-samāpatti* (*sanmei zhengshou*) (p.61; 647c9; 675c6)	repetitive?[4]
5. 有金翅鳥名正音迦樓羅王 There is a Gold-Winged Bird, whose name is in correct pronunciation the Garuḍa king. (p.61 [cf. p.72]; 646b2-3)	repetitive[5]
6. *shichamoni* 式叉摩尼 **śikṣamāṇī* (?) (p.61; 671b24; 673c16)	strange transcription (*śikṣamāṇā*)
7. Shitihuanyin 釋提桓因／Dishi 帝釋 Śakra-Devendra (p.61; 647a15-28)	inconsistent[6]
8. Shijiamoni 釋迦牟尼／Shijiawen 釋迦文 Śākyamuni (p.61; 654b28; c11; 657c17; 658a11; c25)	inconsistent
9. *sanzhong puti* 三種菩提 three kinds of *bodhi* (p.61; 646b1; 681c6)	no definition
10. *fo putix in* 發菩提心 (669c29) ／*fo sanputi xin* 發三菩提心 (690b25) ／*fo wushang putidao xin* 發無上菩提道心 (686a23) ／*fo wushang sanputi xin* 發無上三菩提心 (682c28)／*fo wushang puti daoyi* 發無上菩提道意 (653b21)／*fo anou duoluo sanmiao sanputi xin* 發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心 (675b12-13) One gives rise to the thought of awakening., etc. (pp.61-62)	inconsistent
11. *yingzhen dao* 應眞道／*aluohan dao* 阿羅漢道 the path of arhat (p.62; 676c27; 677a1)	inconsistent[7]

12. 心柔順已住於靖處燒衆名香. 禮釋迦文而作是言. 南無大德我大和上, 應正遍知大悲世尊. 願以慈雲覆護弟子. 作是語已, 五體投地泣淚像前. When one's mind has become tender, one burns various [types of] superb incense at a quiet place. One worships Śākyamuni and says as follows: "Homage to the Venerable One, my Great Preceptor, the omniscient and very compassionate Blessed One.[8] Please envelop and protect this disciple in a cloud of kindness." Having said this, one throws the whole body to the ground and cries in front of the statue. (p.62; 690c10-14)	Chinese style
13. 善哉阿難慈悲法子, 汝名歡喜依名定實. 善持佛語, 愼勿忘失 "Excellent! O Ānanda, merciful Dharma son! Your name is 'rejoicing,' and [therefore you should] establish the reality in accordance with the name. Uphold the speeches of the Buddha well. Be careful not to forget [them]." (p.62; 687c17-19)	Chinese style
14. 上座憍陳若 . . . 欝毘迦葉 . . . 伽耶那提兄弟二人 . . .大德摩訶迦葉 . . .大智舍利弗 . . . 大目揵連 . . .尊者優波離 . . . 大迦旃延 . . . 須菩提 . . . 阿那律 . . .羅睺羅, 難陀 . . . Elder Kauṇḍinya . . . Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa . . . the two brothers Gayā[-Kāśyapa] and Nadī[-Kāśyapa] . . . Venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa . . . Great Wisdom Śāriputra . . . Mahā-Maudgalyāyna . . . Reverend Upāli . . . Mahā-Kātyāyana . . . Subhūti . . . Aniruddha . . . Rāhula, Nanda . . . (p.63; 684b1-c4)	Chinese style (inconsistent honorifics)
15. 阿言無, 鼻言遮. 阿言無, 鼻言救. 阿言無間, 鼻言無動. 阿言極熱, 鼻言極惱. 阿言不閑, 鼻言不住. 不閑不住名阿鼻地獄. 阿言大火, 鼻言猛熱. 猛火入心名阿鼻地獄. Why is it called the Avīci Hell? *A* means "no," and *vīci*, "obstruction." *A* means "no," and *vīci*, "rescue." *A* means "uninterrupted," and *vīci*, "immovable." *A* means "extreme heat," and *vīci*, "extreme anguish." *A* means "no leisure," and *vīci*, "no staying." Since there is no leisure and no staying, it is called the Avīci Hell. *A* means "great fire," and *vīci*, "vehement heat." Since vehement fire enters the heart, it is called the Avīci Hell. (p.64; 668b28-c3)	strange etymology
16. Yuetoutan 閲頭檀／Jingfan wang 淨飯王 Śuddhodana/Pure-Rice King (p.65; 645c9; 651a8; 679b15)	inconsistent
17. Yuebi 悅彼, Xixin 喜心, Duomei 多媚 Gratifying Him, Pleasing Mind, Coquettish (p.66; 652a20)	unusual order (Rati, "Pleasure"; Prīti, "Gratification"; Tṛṣā, "Desire")[9]

18. *yangqietuo* 殃伽陀 *agada*? (p.67; 646b19)	strange transcription
19. *julütuo* 拘律陀 *kolita*? (p.67-68; 646c2)	strange transcription[10]
20. *duole* 多勒 *duole* (Ch.) (p.67; 646c2)	strange transcription
21. Anasi *shanyan* 阿那斯山巖 *Anāśin mountain rock (p.72; 679b9)	strange transcription
22. Fuba futi 弗巴浮提 Puṣpabhūti (p.72; 679c1)	strange transcription
23. *tian xutuo wei* 天須陀味 The taste of heavenly *xutuo* (Ch.) (p.72; 680b24)	strange transcription
24. Namo Guangzhao Rulai 南無光照如來 Namas Light-illumination Tathāgata (p.75; 661b28-29)	*namas* in the name
25. Qiaotanmi 憍曇彌／Daaidao 大愛道 Gautamī / Mahāprajāpatī (p.76; 645c10; 649a21)	inconsistent
26. Zuda 須達／Ana bindi 阿那邠坻 Sudatta / Anāthapiṇḍika (p.76; 675c16-17; 28)	inconsistent
27. *banzhou shenshen sanmei* 般舟甚深三昧／*fo xianqian sanmei* 佛現前三昧 the profound *pratyutpanna-samādhi* / the *samādhi* in which Buddhas appear (p.76; 690a21; 692c18-19)	inconsistent
28. *shizun* 世尊／*tianzun* 天尊 The World-Honored One / The Heavenly Honored One (p.76; 645c11-12, 29; 662b8-9; 690a25)	inconsistent (Bhagavat)
29. Rulüda 如閭達 Rulüda (Ch.) (p.77; 683c24)	strange transcription (personal name)
30. Sasheduo 薩闍多 Sasheduo (Ch.) (p.77; 686a27)	strange transcription (personal name)

31. *xuanlan feng* 旋嵐風 revolving stormy wind (p.80; 646c22-23; 664c22)	strange transcription[11] (*vairambha*)
32. 破(or 焼)二十億洞然之結 One breaks (*or* burns) two billion vast fetters. (p.108; 652a18; 662c6)	Chinese style
33. 如大山崩五體投地, etc. One throws the whole body to the ground as if a huge mountain collapsed. (p.108; 655b15; 660c24; 661b22-23; 689a3-4)	Chinese style

Among the points Tsukinowa has raised, some of them seem to be based on misunderstandings and are not convincing.

Concerning No.4 *sanmei zhengshou* 三昧正受,[2] Tsukinowa seems to believe that *sanmei* and *zhengshou* correspond to the same Sanskrit (御丁寧に梵漢並べ挙げる, p.61). Here, *sanmei* 三昧 is of course a transcription of *samādhi*, but *zhengshou* 正受 is typically a translation of another Sanskrit word *samāpatti*, and so in fact this compound is not redundant. While No.2 *shuxi anban* 數息安般 is indeed problematical, *sanmei zhengshou* does not have the same problem.

For No.5 有金翅鳥名正音迦樓羅王, Tsukinowa takes this as a commentarial phrase giving the original Sanskrit for "Gold-Winged Bird" 金翅鳥 (thus, according to his understanding, the translation would be: "There is a Gold-Winged Bird, whose name is in correct pronunciation Garuḍa King"; 先に金翅鳥をさえ正音は迦樓羅王とまで，殆ど不必要な本文を作製していたではないか, p.72). In this context, however, "a Gold-Winged Bird" 金翅鳥 seems to be a common noun, whose proper name is "Right-Sound Garuḍa King" 正音迦樓羅王.[3] If my reading is correct, this expression is not a problem.

---

2. The number corresponds to the one in the table above. Similarly below.

3. Thus, my translation of the phrase is: "There is a golden-winged bird, Right-Sound Garuḍa King by name." Several similar phrases in the same chapter all show the same structure: "In Jambūdvīpa, there is a lion king, Vimala by name" 閻浮提中有師子王，名毘摩羅 (*GSHJ*,

Tsukinowa claims that No.6 *ʃi'k-ṭṣ'ă-mă-nii* 式叉摩尼 (Sui/Tang pronunciation)[4] is strange as a transcription of *śikṣamāṇā*. He suspects that the last character *nii*[5] 尼, which usually means "a nun," was erroneously introduced here because *śikṣamāṇā* is female. Phonetically this last syllable is indeed problematic, but the transcription 式叉摩尼 is actually used in Buddhabhadra and Faxiang's 法顯 translation of the *Mahāsāṅghikavinaya* (*Mohe sengqi lü* 摩訶僧祇律, T22:471c1 [No.1425]; *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, s.v. "*shikishamani*" 式叉摩尼).[6] Therefore, this transcription cannot be a reason to doubt the Indian origin of the *GSHJ* or its attribution to Buddhabhadra.

On No.9 "three kinds of *bodhi*" 三種菩提, Tsukinowa's point seems to be that it is not clear whether this refers to the awakening of the three vehicles or the awakening of the threefold body of the Buddha.[7] Nevertheless, the former usage is far commoner than the latter, and so even without specification, it usually refers to the awakening of three vehicles. Even if the contents are not defined, the meaning must have been clear to the readers. It does not seem to be a problem either.[8]

T15:646a8-9); "There is a tree in the Snow Mountain, *agada* (?) by name" 雪山有樹名殃伽陀 (ibid., 646b19); "[It is] like a tree of Indra growing in the garden of pleasure, *Haricitra by name" 如帝釋樹生歡喜園, 名波利質多羅 (ibid., 646c5-6); "After that, she gave birth to a boy . . . called Vimalacitra *aśura* king" 然後生男...號毘摩質多羅阿修羅王 (ibid., 646c24-27).

4. The pronunciation is as given in *Gakken kanwa daijiten*. Due to the limitation of the available font, the spelling is approximate.

5. The spelling is approximate. *Gakken kanwa daijiten*, p.381c.

6. I thank Professor Stanley Weinstein for bringing these materials to my attention.

7. For the latter, see **Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtropadeśa* (*Miaofa lianhua jing youbotishe* 妙法蓮華經憂波提舍, T26:9b11-19 [No.1519]).

8. It should also be noted that three types of aspiration (發 . . . 心) for three vehicles are clearly mentioned in the *GSHJ* (T15:653a25-26; 654c29-655a1).

For No.21 Anasi 阿那斯, Jean Przyluski (1914, 565) suggests *anāśin*, "not eating," as the original word, based on the gloss "a place without food" 無食處 in the Sanskrit-Chinese glossary *Hon Bongo* 翻梵語 (T54:1043c19 [No.2130]). This work is of uncertain origin,[9] and so its reliability is not without question. Nevertheless, since the story in which this expression appears involves famine, this reconstruction is not entirely unreasonable. This transcription cannot be a decisive reason to deny the Indian origin of the text.

No.22 Fuba futi 弗巴浮提 would be a transcription of Puṣpabhūti. This is an Indian personal name and should not be considered to be a problem. Przyluski (1914, 567) suggests the same Sanskrit.

No.23 *tian xutuo wei* 天須陀味. *Xutuo* 須陀 is a transcription of *sudhā*, "nectar" (*Bonwa daijiten* rev. and enl. ed., s.v., *"sudhā," Bukkyōgo daijiten* s.v. *"shuda"*). This is not a problem at all.[10]

No.31 "revolving stormy wind" 旋嵐風 also appears in Kumārajīva's version of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (*Dashu jinnuoluo wan suowen jing* 大樹緊那羅王所問經, T15:371a19; 23 [No.625]), an unquestionable Indian text. It may suggest that the compilers of the *GSHJ* referred to Kumārajīva's version, but it does not prove that the *GSHJ* is apocryphal.[11]

32. 破(or 燒)二十億洞然之結. The same expression appears in the Chinese version of the Pūrṇāvadāna contained in the *XYJ*, and thus we can confirm the corresponding Sanskrit in the same *avadāna* in the *Divyāvadāna* collection (Cowell and Neil eds., 46.25-26):

---

9. There are theories that attribute this work to a Liang 梁 period monk, Baochang 寶唱 and to a Japanese monk, Shingyō 信行. See *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, s.v. *"Honbongo."*

10. I thank Professor Jonathan Silk for this information. See further the *AMV*(T27:259b4): "Among deities, there is a taste of *sudhā*" 諸天中有蘇陀味.

11. Further, the *XYJ* (T4:420b17-18) has the same word, though the *XYJ* itself is a little obscure text. We shall discuss this text in more detail later (Section III.3).

viṃśatiśikharasamudgataṃ satkāyadṛṣṭiśailaṃ jñānavajreṇ a bhittvā, "breaking with a *vajra* of wisdom the mountains of *satkāyadṛṣṭi* with twenty rising peaks." When compared with this Sanskrit phrase, we find that the Chinese expression in question is a very free translation. Thus, it is noteworthy that the *GSHJ* and the *XYJ* share the same characteristic phrase. Nevertheless, this expression does not indicate the apocryphal nature of the *GSHJ*.

Many of the other items, however, indeed cast serious doubt about the provenance of the text.

Most significant one is the strange etymological explanations of the word *avīci* (No.15 in Table 1). I can not go into detail here, but in any case Sanskrit *a-* is a prefix and not a word. Therefore it is simply impossible that it has such a substantial meaning as "extreme heat" 極熱. It is clear that most of these explanations do not make any sense from Indian point of view.[12]

The very inconsistent use of honorifics for the Buddha's disciples (No.14 in Table 1) is also noteworthy. One of the conspicuous features of Sanskrit Buddhist literature is its repetitiveness, and when this kind of list is given, usually the same title is applied mechanically. For example (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, 1.13-15, *SPS*):

> ...tadyathā / āyuṣmatā cĀjñātakauṇḍinyena āyuṣmatā cĀśvajitā āyuṣmatā ca Bāṣpeṇa āyuṣmatā ca Mahānāmnā āyuṣmatā ca Bhadrikeṇa āyuṣmatā ca Mahā-Kāśyapena...
>
> [The Buddha was with a great assembly of *śrāvaka*s], such as the elder Ājñātakauṇḍinya, the elder Aśvajit, the elder Bāṣpa, the elder Mahānāman, the elder Bhadrika, the elder Mahā-Kāśyapa...

On the other hand, Chinese has a strong tendency to avoid this kind of mechanical

12. Further, it should be noted that this type of strange "etymology" is often seen in texts of questionable origin. For example, see the *Da fangdeng tuoluoni jing* 大方等陀羅尼經 (**Mahāvaipulyadhāraṇīsūtra* [*Great Broad Dhāraṇī Sūtra*], T 21:643c12-44a6 [No.1339]) discussed in Yamabe n.d., n.105.

repetition. Therefore, as Tsukinowa argues, the list of the disciples as given in the table seems to be a very strong indication of the Chinese origin of the text.

Peculiar transcriptions of "Indian" words, such as 18 *yangqietuo* 殃伽陀, 19 *julütuo* 拘律陀, 29 Rulüda 如閭達, and 30 Sasheduo 薩闍多 also deserve attention. They also seem to reveal the involvement of Chinese hands in the formation of this sūtra.

Inconsistent translations/transcriptions of Indian words in a single text (such as nos.7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 25-28) are not unseen in the Chinese translations of unquestionably Indian texts. Nevertheless, in the *GSHJ*, sometimes different translations/transcriptions of the same word appear very close to each other (e.g., No.7, 11). Such an obvious inconsistency would be unlikely to happen if the text was indeed translated from an Indian text.

Special attention is required with regard to No.13 "Excellent! O Ānanda, merciful Dharma son! Your name is 'rejoicing,' and [therefore you should] establish the reality in accordance with the name. Uphold the speeches of the Buddha well. Be careful not to forget [them]" 善哉阿難慈悲法子, 汝名歡喜依名定實. 善持佛語慎勿忘失. Since both Anan 阿難 (transcription) and Huanxi 歡喜, "rejoicing," (translation) seem to correspond to the same Sanskrit word *ānanda*, and since the phrase: "[You should] establish the reality by the name" 依名定實 gives a strongly Chinese impression, Tsukinowa's suspicion that such a phrase cannot be restored into Sanskrit seems to be well-grounded (1971, 62).[13] We should note, however, that a very similar expression appears in Dharmakṣema's Chinese version of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* as follows (*Jinguangming jing* 金光明經, T16:352c3-5 [No.663]):

13. It is, however, also possible that Huanxi 歡喜, "rejoicing," corresponds to some other word based on the root *nand-*, such as *nandana*, "gladdening, pleasure." For example, some type of definition as **nandanam ity Ānanda*, "[One is called] Ānanda, because [he] pleases [others]" would be a possible Sanskrit phrase.

> 善哉善哉，大善男子．此魚可愍汝可與水．是故號汝名爲流水 復有二緣、名爲流水．一能流水，二能與水．汝今應當隨名定實.
>
> Excellent! Excellent! O great son of a good family, these fish should be pitied. You should give them water. Therefore you are called "Flowing Water." Further, there are two reasons for which one is called "Flowing Water." One is that one can make water flow, and the other is that one can give water. Now you should establish the substance according to the name.

Accordingly, we can ascertain the Sanskrit original of this phrase (Johannes Nobel ed., 185.7-10)

> sādhu sādhu kulaputra yas tvaṃ Jalavāhano nāma matsyānāṃ udakaṃ prayaccha / dvābhyāṃ kāraṇābhyāṃ Jalavāhana ity ucyate / yaś codakaṃ vāhayati yaś codakaṃ prayacchati / tataḥ svanāmānurūpam kāryam kuru /
>
> Excellent! Excellent! O son of a good family, since you are called Jalavāhana, give water to the fish. One is called Jalavāhana for two reasons: carrying water and giving water. Therefore, take the action conforming to [your] own name.

Therefore, we find that the apparently very Chinese "establish the substance according to the name" 隨名定實 is in fact a free translation of *tataḥ svanāmānurūpaṃ kāryaṃ kuru*, "Therefore, take the action conforming to [your] own name." In the case of the *GSHJ*'s phrase: "[You should] establish the reality in accordance with the name" 依名定實 also, it would be possible to restore a similar phrase as the underlying original. Nevertheless, even if the original of the passage from the *GSHJ* was very similar to this passage from the *Suvarṇabhāsa*, it still would not be very likely that the translations of Buddhabhadra and Dharmakṣema agree just by coincidence, since "establish the substance according to the name" 隨名定實 is a very free translation. It would be much more likely that the *GSHJ* was referring to the Chinese version of the *Suvarṇabhāsa* here, not to any Sanskrit text. This could be one of the important clues to solve the problems of the *GSHJ*.

b. Questionable Contents

In addition to the questionable expressions, Tsukinowa points out many strange contents that are not found in Indian Buddhist texts. Many of them are very important and need in-depth treatment. For this reason, in this chapter I describe most of the items only briefly and shall discuss them more in detail in following chapters.[14]

1. List of Hells pp.64-65; 668b-74a

The *GSHJ* gives a peculiar list of hells which, according to Tsukinowa, is seen nowhere else. In this dissertation I cannot go into this problem, but I am planning to discuss this matter in detail at another occasion in the future.

2. List of the Bodily Marks p.69; 647b-48c

Tsukinowa points out that the lists given in 2 "The enumeration of the objects of visualization" 序觀地品 are peculiar ones that do not follow the scheme of neither thirty-two major nor eighty minor bodily marks (p.69). This point will be discussed extensively in Section II.2.

3. The Battle between Śakra and Asura pp.68-69; 646c14-47b14.

According to the *GSHJ*, Indra married a beautiful daughter of Asura. Later, she became jealous when she saw Indra playing with his court ladies in a pond and reported this to his father Asura. Getting furious, Asura led his armies and attacked Indra vehemently. Frightened, Indra made the following vow on the advice of his attendant (T15:647b4-6):

---

14. In this section, the page references after the headings are to Tsukinowa 1971 and to the *GSHJ* (T15).

般若波羅蜜是大明呪, 是無上呪, 無等等呪, 審實不虛, 我持此法當成佛道. 令阿修羅自然退散.

The Perfection of Wisdom is a great bright spell, unsurpassed spell, unparalleled spell, which is true and not false. By holding this Dharma [the Perfection of Wisdom], I shall attain the Buddhahood [in the future] and make Asura spontaneously retreat [now].

Upon saying this, a sword-wheel appeared in the sky, fell on the Asura, and cut off his ears, nose, hands, and feet. Panicked, Asura fled into a hole of a lotus root (*ouxikong* 藕絲孔).[15]

Tsukinowa suspects that this story was a Chinese composition because of the peculiar details of this story and because of the incorporation of a line from the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature.[16]

It should be noted, however, that the story of the battle between Indra and Asura itself is a common motif and not at all suspicious.[17] Also, the Asuras running into "holes of a lotus root" (lit. "lotus-fiber-holes") is seen in Buddhabhadra's version of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* ("When deities fought with Asuras, . . . the four kinds of soldiers[18] all entered 'lotus-fiber-holes'" 天阿脩羅鬪戰時 . . . 四兵悉入藕絲孔; T9:439b28-29). Further,

15. When one breaks a lotus root or a stem of a lotus leaf, one gets thin fibers. They are called *ousi* 藕絲. See *Dai kanwa jiten* 9:984a. Apparently, however, in this context *ousi* 藕絲 corresponds to a Sanskrit word *mṛṇāla*, which means both "the fibrous root of a lotus," and "a lotus-fiber." Probably in this context, it means a lotus-root itself rather than fibers. As we shall see below, the same Chinese word *ousi* 藕絲 also appears in Buddhabhadra's version of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*. I think it possible that the *GSHJ* took over the terminology (with its underlying Sanskrit sense) of the *Avataṃsaka*.

16. Why the incorporation of a line of the *Prajñāpāramitā* is considered problematic is not very clear to me.

17. For example, the *AMV*, T27:259a21-b17. See also Schlingloff [1987]1988, 113-14.

18. Probably this refers to the traditional four divisions of Indian armies: soldiers on elephants, chariots, horses, and on foot.

the *Aṣṭa* actually recommends Indra to seek recourse in the magical power of the Perfection of Wisdom in the battle with Asura. In Kumārajīva's Chinese version (the *Xiaopin bore boluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經, *Xiaopin*), the portion in question reads as follows (T8:543b23-c4 [No.227]):

> 若阿修羅生念, 欲與忉利諸天共鬪, 爾時汝當誦念般若波羅蜜. 以是因緣故, 阿修羅悪心即滅. 釋提桓因白佛言, 世尊, 般若波羅蜜是大明呪, 般若波羅蜜是無上呪, 般若波羅蜜是無等等呪. 佛言, 如是如是 . . . 何以故. 憍尸迦, 過去諸佛因是明呪, 得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, 未来諸佛亦因是呪, 當得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提, 今十方現在諸佛亦因是呪, 得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提.
>
> If Asuras gives rise to the thought of fighting with deities in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven, at that time you should recite and call to mind[19] the Perfection of Wisdom. By means of this, the evil thought of Asuras instantly vanish. Śakra Devendra said to the Buddha: "O Blessed One, the Perfection of Wisdom is a great bright spell. The Perfection of Wisdom is an unsurpassed spell. The Perfection of Wisdom is the unparalleled spell." The Buddha said: "Thus it is, thus it is . . . For what reason? O Kauśika, the Buddhas in the past attained the *anuttarasaṃyaksambodhi* by this bright spell. The Buddhas in the future also will attain the *anuttarasaṃyaksambodhi* by this spell. The Buddhas in the ten directions in the present also attained the *anuttarasaṃyaksambodhi* by this spell."

Therefore, the Perfection of Wisdom mentioned in the context of the Indra-Asura battle is not a problem either (cf. also the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 T8:286b11-15, *Dapin* 大品).

The underlined passage in the above quotation draws our attention, because a similar line appears in the famous *Heart Sūtra* and other sūtras belonging to the *Prajñāpāramitā* corpus (for more details, see Jan Nattier1992, 211-13).[20]

---

19. The Sanskrit text has *samanvāhareḥ svādhyāyeḥ*, "You should reflect on and recite [the Perfetion of Wisdom]." *Samanvāhareḥ* corresponds to Chinese 念, and *svādhyāyeḥ* to 誦.

20. Further, note that *zhou* 呪 corresponds to *mantra* in the *Heart Sūtra* but to *vidyā* in the major *Prajñāpāramitā* texts. See ibid. For this reason, I avoided the word *mantra* in my translations.

4. Buddha Image Cave pp.69-72; 679b-81c

As we have already seen, the detailed description of the Buddha Image Cave was one of the main reasons that scholars associated the *GSHJ* with Gandhāra (and Buddhabhadra). Tsukinowa, however, challenges this prevalent opinion. Tsukinowa maintains that if this sūtra was indeed from Gandhāra, it should encourage the pilgrimage to the site itself and not just visualization. He (p.72) points out a few transcriptions that he considers to be strange in this portion of the *GSHJ* (21 Anasi *shanyan* 阿那斯山巖; 22 Fuba futi 弗巴浮提; 23 *tian xutuo wei* 天須陀味)[21] and considers that the sūtra merely made use of the topic of the Buddha Image Cave that was already well-known in China from the time of Huiyuan 慧遠.

Although his arguments about these transcriptions are not convincing,[22] the story itself indeed looks very questionable. We shall re-examine this story carefully in Section II.3.

5. Bodily Marks

9. (鼻端)鷹王觜[23] pp.72-73; 648a10; 656c21

[Nose like] the beak of a hawk king.

10. 髭鬢如蝌斗 p.73; 648a11

Moustache like [two] tadpoles.

21. These numbers correspond to the numbers in Table 1.

22. See p.192 of this chapter.

23. I cannot find the last character in the original text in my dictionaries. The character I used is the one given in the footnote of the Taishō canon, which means "beak." See Tsukinowa (1971, 73).

Serial numbers correspond to those in the left column of Section II.3, Table 3.

23. 咽膺相如金翅鳥眼 p.74; 648a26

Neck like the eyes of a *garuḍa*.

These were the points that made Ono believe that the *GSHJ* was from Gandhāra (although Ono does not specifically mention the third point). Tsukinowa, however, rejects this conclusion. As in the case of the Buddha Image Cave, he maintains that (1) if the sūtra had been indeed composed by somebody from Gandhāra, it would have been meaningless for them to visualize Gandhāran images, because they could have worshiped the statues directly. He also comments that (2) the bodily marks given in this sūtra such as "nose like an eagle's beak" are very peculiar and not seen in other Buddhist texts.

Here, as we discussed in Introduction and Section I.4, I believe it likely that statues were indeed used for visualization in India. Therefore, the first point is not convincing. The second point, on the other hand, requires more careful treatment. We shall discuss the issues concerning the bodily marks described in the *GSHJ* in detail in Section II.2.

6. Perfection (*pāramitā*) System p.82; 680b27; 657a29-b1

Needless to say, Six Perfections (*pāramitā*) 六波羅蜜 and Ten Perfections 十波羅蜜 are both seen in Buddhist texts. Tsukinowa's point here is that, for example, the sixty fascicle version (Buddhabhadra) of the *Avataṃsaka* uses Six Perfections and the eighty fascicle version (Śikṣānanda) Ten Perfections, especially in the *Daśabhūmika* section, but they should not be used together in a single text. Nevertheless, Tsukinowa goes on to say, the *GSHJ* uses the both systems in one text.

This claim is not convincing. In the *Daśabhūmika* section, both Chinese versions use Ten Perfections at the corresponding places (T9:550a19-20 = T10:183a20; T9:552b23 = T10:188c20; T9:561b4 = T10:196b26). On the other hand, in another section of the

Avataṃsaka-sūtra, both versions use Six Perfections (T9:430b8-10 = T10:69c9-11).[24] Moreover, the Sanskrit text of the *Pañca* (II-III) uses *daśa-pāramitā* (39.10) and *ṣaṭ-pāramitā* (40.7) nearby. Therefore, this point does not prove the apocryphal nature of the *GSHJ*.

7. Epithets of the Buddha pp.83-84; 687b19-23

> 功德日, 智滿月, 清涼池, 除罪珠, 光明藏, 智慧山, 戎品河, 迷衢導, 邪見燈, 破煩惱賊, 一切衆生父母, 大歸依處

> the Sun of Merit, the Full Moon of Wisdom, the Pure Pond, the Sin-Removing Gem, the Storehouse of Light, the Mountain of Wisdom, the River of Precepts, the Guide for [Those Who Are Lost on] a Maze-like Pass [of *Saṃsāra*], the Lamp [Banishing] Wrong Views, the Destroyer of the Enemies That are Defilements, the Mother and Father of All the Sentient Beings, the Great Refuge.

Tsukinowa maintains that these are very peculiar epithets of the Buddha which are not seen anywhere else. This point also seems to be well-founded.

c. Borrowings from Other Chinese Buddhist Texts

Another important reason why Tsukinowa considers the *GSHJ* to be apocryphal is that many expressions in this sūtra seem to be based on the Chinese version of other

24. I owe these references to the *Avataṃsaka* to my colleague Elissa Cohen.

Buddhist scriptures. The points he finds problematic are as follows:[25]

Table 2

1. *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 *weiwu samādhi* p.60; 690a22; 666a4-5 [12]	*Weiwu senmei jing* 惟務(or 惟無)三昧經[13] *Weiwu samādhi sūtra*
2. 十六種惡律儀 p.62; 690b17 sixteen types of bad morality	*MMPS*, T12:538b9-17[14]
3. The names of the past Buddhas p.74 (Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa)	*DĀ* (*Mahāvadānasūtra* [*Daben jing*] 大本經) T1:1c20-25[15]
T15:660b23-c15 毘婆尸如來 Vipaśyin Tathāgata 尸棄佛 Śikhin Buddha 毘舍佛 *Viśva Buddha 拘樓孫佛 Krakucchanda Buddha 拘那含牟尼佛 Kanakamuni Buddha 迦葉佛 Kāśyapa Buddha	毘婆尸如來 Vipaśyin Tathāgata 尸棄如來 Śikhin Tathāgata 毘舍婆如來[16] Viśvabhū Tathāgata 拘樓孫 Krakucchanda 拘那含 Kanaka[muni] 迦葉 Kāśyapa

25. The format of the left-hand column is the same as that in Table 1. In the right column, I list the name of the sūtras on which Tsukinowa believes the particular expression of the *GSHJ* was based. The title of each sūtra is followed by the reference to the passage in question. If space allows, I also quote the passages themselves.

T15:677c16-24 毘婆尸佛 Vipaśyin Buddha 尸棄如來 Śikhin Tathāgata 毘舍滿月 [*sic*][17] *Viśva Full Moon 拘樓孫佛 Krakucchanda Buddha 迦那含佛 Kanaka[muni] Buddha 迦葉世尊 Kāśyapa Tathāgata 釋迦牟尼 Śākyamuni	
T15:693a17-c13 毘婆尸佛 Vipaśyin Buddha 尸棄世尊 Śikhin, the Blessed One 毘舍世尊 [*sic*][18] *Viśva, the Blessed One 拘樓孫佛 Krakucchanda Buddha 拘那含牟尼佛 Kanakamuni Buddha 迦葉世尊 Kāśyapa, the Blessed One 釋迦牟尼佛 Śākyamuni Buddha	

4. The Buddhas of the ten directions p.74; T15:694a1-b29	*Shizhu piposa lun* 十住毘婆沙論 T26:41b18-42a12
東方: 善德 Eastern Direction: Good Virtue	東方: 善德 Eastern Direction: Good Virtue (Bhadraśrī)[19]
南方: 旃檀德佛 Southern Direction: Sandal-Wood-Virtue Buddha	南方: 旃檀德 Southern Direction: Sandal-Wood-Virtue Buddha (Candanaśrī)
西方: 無量明佛 Western Direction: Boundless Light Buddha	西方: 無量明佛 Western Direction: Boundless Light Buddha (Anantāvabhāsa) [20]
北方: 相德佛 Northern Direction: Mark-Virtue Buddha	北方: 相德佛 Northern Direction: Mark-Virtue Buddha (Ketuśrī)[21]
東南方: 無憂德佛 South-Eastern Direction: Worry-less-Virtue Buddha	東南方: 無憂德 South-Eastern Direction: Worry-less-Virtue (Aśokaśrī)
西南方: 寶施佛 South-Western Direction: Jewel-Donation Buddha	西南方: 寶施佛 South-Western Direction: Jewel-Donation Buddha (Ratnayaṣṭi)
西北方: 華德佛 North-Western Direction: Flower-Virtue Buddha	西北方: 華德佛 North-Western Direction: Flower-Virtue (Kusumaśrī)
東北方: 三乘行佛 North-Eastern Direction: Three-Vehicle Practice Buddha	東北方: 三乘行佛 North-Eastern Direction: Three-Vehicle Practice Buddha (Trivikrama)
上方: 廣衆德佛 Upward: Broad Manifold Virtue Buddha	上方: 廣衆德佛[22] Upward: Broad Manifold Virtue Buddha (Vipulaguṇaśrī)
下方: 明德佛 Downward: Bright Virtue Buddha	下方: 明德佛 Downward: Bright Virtue Buddha (Jotiśrī)

5. The Buddhas of the four directions[23] p.74; T15:689a7-12 東方, 妙喜: 阿閦 Eastern Direction, Abhirati: Akṣobhyarājan 南方, 歡喜: 寶相 Southern Direction: "Rejoicing": Ratnaketu 西方, 極楽: 無量壽 Western Direction, Sukhāvatī: Amitāyus 北方, 蓮華莊嚴: 微妙聲 Northern Direction, "Lotus-Ornament": Dudubhisvara	*Suvarṇabhāsa* (Dharmakṣema) T16:335b12-13; Nobel ed., 2.4-5. 東方, 阿閦 Eastern Direction: Akṣobhyarājan 南方, 寶相 Southern Direction: Ratnaketu 西, 無量壽 West: Amitāyus 北, 微妙聲 North: Dundubhisvara
6. The Buddhas in Chapter 8 "Acts in past lives" 本行品 p.75 日月燈明 (689c16) Sun-Moon Light [Buddha] 空王佛 (688c25) Sky-King Buddha 寶威徳上王如來 (688b19) Superior King of Jewel-Like Majesty Tathāgata	*SPS* (Kumārajīva's version) 日月燈明如來 (T9:3c18-19) Sun-Moon Light Tathāgata Candrasūryapradīpa (16.4-5) 空王佛 (T9:30a3) Sky-King Buddha Dharmagaganābhyudgatarāja (191.21) 寶威徳上王佛 (T9:61a13-14) Superior King of Jewel-Like Majesty Tathāgata Ratnatejobhyudgatarāja (384.15)
7. 散脂鬼神 (p.75; 678c9) Saṃjñāya demon	散脂鬼神大將 (*Suvarṇabhāsa* [Dharmakṣema's version], T16:346b16) Saṃjñāya demon general *Saṃjñāyo nāma mahāyakṣasenāpatiḥ* (128.4)
8. 瞿師羅觀佛此光隨小 (p.75; 660a18-19) When Ghosila looked at the Buddha, the light became small accordingly.[24]	爲瞿師羅長者示三尺身 (*MMPS*, T12:738b18)[25] He showed the body of three *chi* to merchant Ghosila.

9. 如雜華說 (pp.75-76; 660a20; 675a21) As is taught in the *Various Flower Sūtra.* 於雜華經已廣分別 (pp.75-76; 687b13) It has been already fully explained in the *Various Flower Sūtra.*	如佛雜花經中廣說 (*MMPS*, T12:493b4-5; cf. Cf. T12:485b11-12) As is fully explained in the *Various Flower Sūtra.*
10. Laodu baduo 牢度拔多 (pp.76-77; 649c18) Raudrabhadra? Raudravaṭa? Laodu chaqie 牢度叉伽 (pp.76-77; 689b17) Raudrākṣaka?	Laoducha 勞度差 Raudrākṣa?[26] (*XYJ*, T4:389a5; 420b14; 432c17)
11. 旋陀羅尼 (p.78-80; 688a29; 692c26) revolving *dhāraṇī* 旋憶持 (pp.78-80; 663a13) revolving retention	旋陀羅尼 (*SPS* [Kumārajīva's version], T9:44a13; 61b7-8) revolving *dhāraṇī* *parivartā dhāraṇī* (279.12) *āvartā nāma dhāraṇī* (386.16-18)

Tsukinowa's vast knowledge of Buddhist scriptures is impressive, and indeed these agreements in Chinese wording would hardly be coincidental. Of course it is common phenomena that the wording of a Chinese translation is influenced by that of the texts translated earlier. Therefore, these agreements may not look too significant. Nevertheless, in the case of the *GSHJ*, not merely is the wording influenced by prior texts, but also the contents themselves seem to presuppose earlier texts (as in items 2 and 8). Also, the expression *Various Flower Sūtra* (*Zahua jing* 雜華經) is noteworthy. As Tsukinowa says (pp.75-76), if the *GSHJ* was indeed translated by Buddhabhadra, it would be natural to expect the title *Flower Ornament Sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經) as he translates in his version of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*. It would be reasonable to suspect that the *GSHJ* is picking up this expression from the Dharmakṣema's *MMPS*.[26]

---

26. In his *Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏(T35:524b15-17 [No.1735]), Chengguan 澄觀 gives only the *MMPS* and the *GSHJ* as the sources of this expression. Judging from his strong tendency to be comprehensive, it is likely that these two were the only known sources to Chengguan (and probably for other Chinese Buddhists in general) in this regard. This would make it more likely that the *MMPS* and the *GSHJ* were directly connected. I thank Elissa Cohen for the reference.

Further, No.6 is important. It may look that this much similarity is not so significant. We should, however, note the exact agreement of the Chinese translations. As Tsukinowa points out (p.75), Kumārajīva himself translates Candrasūryapradīpa as Riyuedeng fo 日月燈佛 (not as Riyue dengming fo 日月燈明佛) in the Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (*Emituo jing* 阿彌陀經, T12:347b24 + n.26 [No.366]). Considering that Kuangwang fo 空王佛, "Sky-King Buddha," is a very free translation of Dharmagaganābhyudgatarāja, "The King Who Has Risen into (?) the Dharma-Sky," it is highly unlikely that the translations of the name of this Buddha agree coincidentally. Probably what the "translator" of the *GSHJ* was looking at in front of them was not a Sanskrit text but Kumārajīva's Chinese version of the *SPS*.

Considering these points, it seems indeed likely that the *GSHJ* was referring to these sūtras translated into Chinese in the early fifth century. It should be noted here that most of these Chinese texts were translated by either Kumārajīva (*Shizhu piposa lun*, *SPL*) or Dharmakṣema (*MMPS*, *Suvarṇabhāsa*; on the latter sūtra, cf. p.195 of this chapter). It would follow that the Chinese text of the *GSHJ* was written in the area where these texts, which must have been new at that point, were available.[27]

Here I would like to discuss two items of the list a little more in detail.

The first is "Pishe" (Ch.) 毘舍, which is the name of one of the past seven Buddhas, and its Sanskrit original is either Viśvabhū or Viśvabhuj (*BHSD* s.v. "Viśvabhū"). The *GSHJ* transcribes this name twice as "Pishe" (T15:660c13; 693b22) and once as Pishe Manyue 毘舍滿月, "Pishe the Full Moon" (which may be a mistake of Pishepu Fo 毘舍蒱佛

27. In this regard, we should note that fifth-century copies of Dharmakṣema's *Suvarṇabhāsa* and Buddhabhadra's *Avasaṃsaka* are found in Turfan. It is certain that they were available when Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 ruled over Turfan. See Yao Chonxin 1996, 74-75. Yao also points out that the translations by Kumārajīva and Dharmakṣema were very popular in Turfan.

, "Pishepu [Viśvabhū] Buddha";[28] T15:677c18). It catches our eyes that the *GSHJ* ignores the last syllable (Tsukinowa 1971, 74).[29]

The transcription Pishe is indeed unusual, but we find this expression at least in two other texts: the *EĀ* and the *Ayuwang xi huaimu yinyuan jing* 阿育王息壞目因緣經.

The occurrences in the *EĀ* are as follows:

> 復於彼劫中　毘舍如來現 (T2:790b10)

Also in that *kalpa*, Pishe Tathāgata appeared.

> 毘舍坐波羅. (Ibid., c22)
>
> Pishe is seated [under] a Pāla tree [and attains awakening].

The passage from the *Ayuwang xi huaimu yinyuan jing* 阿育王息壞目因緣經 is as follows (T50:178a9-10 [No.2045]):

> 憶念我昔　承事諸佛
> 式佛維衛　毘舍如來
>
> I recall that in the past I served various Buddhas: Śikhin, Vipaśin, and Pishe Tathāgata.

We should note here that the quotations from the *EĀ* and in the *Ayuwang xi huaimu yinyuan jing* are all from verses, while in the *GSHJ*, the transcription in question appears in prose (T15:660c13; 693b22). If it appears in verses, this strange transcription is perfectly understandable as resulting from the restriction of syllables. In the case of the *EĀ*, we can

---

28. See endnote 17.

29. The last syllable (*bhū* or *bhuj*) of the name of this Buddha is usually represented in Chinese transcriptions. See, e.g., endnote 16.

easily confirm this point, because in the prose portion this name is transcribed fully as Pisheluopo 毘舍羅婆 (T2:790b2; 15; 24; c4; 14-15; 28; 791a14; 24), and even in verses elsewhere in the same text as Pisuopo 毘娑婆 (ibid.,791a7; 29).

The *EĀ* and the *Ayuwang xi huaimu yinyuan jing* seem to be closely related to the *GSHJ* on other points as well. Therefore, in this case also, it is likely that the *GSHJ* took over the abridged transcription "Pishe," which was adopted by the *EĀ* and the *Ayuwang xi huaimu yinyuan jing* merely for prosodic reasons, and used it where such an abridgement is not necessary. If the *GSHJ* was directly translated from an Indic text, such a phenomenon will be very unlikely to happen. We must therefore conclude that this is another strong indication that the *GSHJ* was not directly based on an Indian original.

The second is *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧. Tsukinowa (p.60) maintains that this term is taken from the *Weiwu sanmei jing* 惟務三昧經 (also written as *Weiwu sanmei jing* 惟無三昧經; see the *CSJ* T55:38c1), a well-known apocryphal sūtra (see, e.g., Makita Tairyō 1976, 100), and that a text based on an apocryphal work must be apocryphal itself.

The word *weiwu* 惟務, however, appears in Lokakṣema's version of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (*Dunzhentuoluo suowen rulai sanmei jing* 伅眞陀羅所問如來三昧經, T15:348b-67b [No.624], *DSRJ*) at least three times. Below I will show the lines in question, with the corresponding portions of Kumārajīva's version of the same sūtra (*Dashu jinnaluo wan suowen jing* 大樹緊那羅王所問經, T15:367b-89a [No.625], *DJSJ*) in the middle column, and of the Tibetan version (Harrison's edition) in the right column.[30]

30. References to the Chinese versions are to Taishō vol.15. References to the Tibetan version are to Harrison's edition.

Table 3

1. *chan*, *weiwu*, *sanmei*, *sanmoyue* 禪惟務三昧三摩越 (348c7-8) *Dhyāna*, *weiwu*, *samādhi*, and *samāpatti*.	*yu zhu chanding*, *jietuo*, *sanmei* 於諸禪定解脱三昧 (367b29) In various *dhyāna*, *vimoksa*, and *samādhi*.	bsam gtan daṅ / rnam par thar pa daṅ / tiṅ ṅe 'dzin daṅ / sñoms par 'jug pa daṅ / (5.2-3 [section1A]) *dhyāna*, *vimoksa*, *samādhi*, and *samāpatti*.
2. *xide ba weiwu*, *chan*, *jinjian sidi* 悉得八惟務禪盡見四諦 (351c20-21) [You] have all attained the eightfold *weiwu* and *dhyāna* and all saw the Four [Noble] Truths.	*de ba jietuo*, *jian si shengdi* 得八解脱見四聖諦 (371a11) [You] have attained the eightfold *vimoksas* and saw the Four [Noble] Truths.	. . . rnam par thar pa brgyad la bsam gtan pa / bden pa bźi mthoṅ bar gyur pa yin na / (57.2-3 [section 3G]) If [you] . . . meditate in the [stages of] eightfold *vimokṣa*s and see the Four [Noble] Truths, . . .
3. *chan*,*weiwu*, *sanmei*, *sanmoyue* 禪惟務三昧三摩越 (354c24) One faces *dhyāna*, *weiwu*, *samādhi*, and *samāpatti*.	*chanding*, *jietuo*, *sanmei zhi sheng* 禪定解脱三昧之聲 (374b12) The words of *dhyāna*, *vimoksa*, and *samādhi*.	bsam gtan daṅ / rnam par thar pa daṅ / tiṅ ṅe 'dzin daṅ / sñoms par 'jug pa'i sgra 'byuṅ ṅo // (97.2-4 [section 5D]) There are words of *dhyāna*, *vimokṣa*, *samādhi*, and *samāpatti*.

As I have marked with underlines, it is certain that Lokakṣema's *weiwu* 惟務 corresponds to Kumārajīva's *jietuo* 解脱.[31] As is shown in the second example, this *weiwu* 惟務/*jietuo* 解脱 seems to refer to the eight stages of *vimokṣa*, and 惟務 (in the Sui/Tang pronunciation *yiui-miu*) or 惟無 (Sui/Tang pronunciation *yiui-miuo*)[32] would be an archaic transcription of this Sanskrit word (or its Middle-Indic equivalent). On the other hand, the very word *weiwu sanmei* 惟務三昧 appears in the first and the third examples. These lines, however, seem to be simply enumerating various items of practice, and therefore *weiwu sanmei* 惟務三昧 would not be a particular type of *samādhi* called *weiwu* 惟務 but simply

---

31. I owe the references to the Chinese versions and the observation up to this point to Miyai Rika 宮井里佳. I thank her for this precious information.

32. These ancient pronunciations are those given by *Gakken kanwa daijiten*. Cf. Vimalakīrti corresponds to 維摩詰 (Sui/Tang pronunciation of 維 is also *yiui*).

eight stages of *vimokṣa*s <u>and</u> three types of *samādhi*s.[33]

A similar list of the items of practice is given in the *Mvy*, No.126 as follows:

sarva-<u>dhyāna-vimokṣa-samādhi-samāpatti</u>-saṃkleśa-vyavadāna-vyutthāna-jñāna-balam

The power of knowing all the <u>*dhyāna*, *vimokṣa*, *samādhi*, *samāpatti*,</u> defilement, purification, and arising

Note that the underlined part agrees with the first passage from Lokakṣema's version (*"dhyāna*, *weiwu, samādhi*, and *samāpatti"* 禪惟務三昧三摩越). In the list of the *MVy* also, the relation between *vimokṣa* and *samādhi* must be mere juxtaposition; it is impossible to take this *vimokṣa-samādhi* as a proper noun signifying a particular type of *samādhi*.

We cannot ascertain how the apocryphal *Weiwu sanmei jing* 惟務三昧經 used the word *weiwu sanmei* 惟無(務)三昧.[34] Nevertheless, since it is used as the title of the sūtra, probably the author misunderstood Lokakṣema's unusual terminology and took *weiwu sanmei* 惟無(務)三昧 as a particular type of *samādhi*.

In the *GSHJ*, on the other hand, *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 appears at least once and possibly twice. The occurrence is not very frequent, but if a word based on an apocryphal text appears even once, it would be a significant piece of evidence to prove the apocryphal nature of the *GSHJ*. Since, however, this word also appears in a Chinese version of an Indian text, the *Drumakinnara*, this point needs to be examined carefully. The point here is

---

33. For the items of the eightfold *vimokṣa*, see the *MVy* 1511-18. The threefold *samādhi*s are: *śūnya*, *animitta*, and *apraṇihita*.

34. There is a incomplete manuscript of this text (containing only the last portion) from Dunhuang kept in the Taipei Central Library (Taibei zhongyang tushuguan 台北中央圖書館). The manuscript is photo-reprinted in the *Dunhuang juanzi* 敦煌卷子(6:1209-19 [No.129]). Unfortunately the surviving part of the manuscript only discusses precepts and does not contain any discussion of the meaning of *weiwu sanmei*.

whether this word is interpreted correctly (*weiwu* 惟無 and *sanmei* 三昧) or mistakenly (a *sanmei* 三昧 called *weiwu* 惟無) in the *GSHJ*. If the latter is the case, influence of Chinese thinking on this sūtra would be undeniable.

The passage of the *GSHJ* where all the manuscripts and editions show *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 is as follows (T15:690a20-22):

> 十方諸佛及諸化佛坐寶蓮華, 爲此賢劫諸大菩薩說般舟甚深三昧. 亦讚觀佛最初因緣惟無三昧念佛境界金剛譬定.
>
> The Buddhas of the ten directions and various emanation Buddhas are seated on jewel lotus flowers and explain the profound *pratyutpanna-samādhi* (般舟甚深三昧) for the great bodhisattvas of the *bhadrakalpa*. Also they praise the *weiwu sanmei* (惟無三昧), the state of calling to mind the Buddha (念佛境界), and the diamond-like *samādhi* (金剛譬定) which are obtained through the visualization of the Buddha as their first condition (觀佛最初因緣).

The meaning of the crucial second sentence is not very clear, and accordingly my translation is tentative. Nevertheless, since *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 seems to be parallel to the preceding "profound *pratyutpanna samādhi*" 般舟甚深三昧, and since the subsequent two items both consist of four characters ("the state of calling to mind the Buddha" [*nianfo jingjie* 念佛境界] and "diamond-like *samādhi*" [*jingang piding* 金剛譬定]), it seems likely that *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 was understood as a single word.

The other passage where only certain manuscripts and edition have *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 (or its variants; see endnote 12 of this chapter) is as follows (T15:666a4-5):

> 說首楞嚴三昧, 般舟三昧, 亦說惟無三昧.
>
> They [Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī] explain the *śūraṅgama-samādhi* (首楞嚴三昧), the *pratyutpanna-samādhi* (般舟三昧), as well as the *weiwu sanmei* (惟無三昧).

In this case, it would be impossible to read this *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 as two separate words (provided, of course, that *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 was the original reading of the text, but that possibility is not small; see endnote 12).

Therefore, it is very likely that in these cases the *GSHJ* is based on a Chinese misunderstanding of this archaic transcription.

Concluding Remarks

Although not all the points raised by Tsukinowa are convincing, it is clear that the text of the *GSHJ* has indeed many problems.

They contain misunderstandings that are possible only in Chinese (such as in the case of *weiwu sanmei*). Also, some passages have the style or contents that do not seem possible in Sanskrit (such as the inconsistent titles of the disciples of the Buddha and the strange etymology of *avīci*). Further, it would be undeniable that the *GSHJ* is picking up many elements from other Chinese texts translated in the early fifth century. While it is true that the Chinese translators frequently consult prior texts and are often influenced by pre-established terminology, in the case of the *GSHJ*, the problems are far more serious than that.

Therefore, it is very difficult to assume the existence of a non-Chinese original from which the *GSHJ* was translated. In spite of many unmistakably Indian elements, the Chinese text of the *GSHJ* seems to have been composed in Chinese originally. In the following few chapters, we shall see further evidence to prove this point.

Notes to the Tables

In the following notes, when I am summarizing or paraphrasing the arguments of Tsukinowa, I mark them as "(Tsukinowa)" at the end. The exact page refenreces are indicated in the tables.

1 Yanfunatan 閻浮那檀 is a standard transcription of Jambūnada, and Yanfunatan zijin 閻浮那檀紫金 is gold dust gathered in the river-bed of the Jambū River (*nada*). It is shortened as Yanfutanjin 閻浮檀金 at times, but it is never written as Yanfutanna zijin 閻浮檀那紫金. This transcription must have beeen made by some Chinese translator who did not know the Sanskrit word *nada* and confused it with *dāna*, "liberalty," which is usually transcribed as *tanna* 檀那. (Tsukinowa)

2 "Counting-breath" (*shuxi*) 數息 is the standard translation of *ānāpāna*, "inhale and exhale," which is usually transcribed as *anban* 安般. Thus, this compound expression is not possible in Sanskrit, which would result in the sheer redundancy: **ānāpāna-ānāpāna*. (Tsukinowa)

3 *Daoyi* 道意 is one of the Chinese equivalents of *bodhicitta*, and thus *dao* 道 corresponds to *bodhi*. Therefore *puti daoyi* 菩提道意 is redundant. (Tsukinowa)

4 What Tsukinowa means here is not entirely clear. This point will be discussed later.

5 "A Gold-Winged Bird" 金翅鳥 is a standard translation of Garuḍa (Jialouluo) 迦樓羅. Since they correspond to the same Sanskrit word, if we Sanskritize this phrase, it would become a redundant one. (Tsukinowa)

6 Two transcriptions of the same name are used together. So is the next item. (Tsukinowa)

7 Translation and transcription of the same word are mixed in a single text. (Tsukinowa)

8 Cf. Tsukinowa 1971, 120, where he discusses a similar expression in the *GPXJ*.

9 These are the names of the three daughters of *māra* who tried to seduce the ascetic Gautama just before his awakening. Prīti usually corresponds to Chinese *yue* 悅, and in this context, she is always mentioned second among the list. The *GSHJ* that mentions Yuebi 悅彼 first is an anomaly in this regard. (Tsukinowa)

10 *Kolita* is a name of a person or a place. If it is a plant, it should be *nyagrodha* [*nijulütuo* 尼拘律陀]. (Tsukinowa)

11 *Vairambha* is "n. [=name] or epithet of certain very violent winds" (*BHSD*, s.v. "*vairambha*"). This word is usually transcribed/translated as *pilan feng* 毘嵐風, *pilan feng* 毘藍風, and so forth. *Xuanlan feng* 旋嵐風 is unseen elsewhere. (Tsukinowa)

12 As for T15:666a4-5, the text of the Taishō canon has *guanfo sanmei* 觀佛三昧. However, the Yuan 元 version has *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 and the Tenpyō manuscript at Shōsōin, *weiwu sanmei* 維無三昧 according to T15:666, n.1. Although the character is not very clear, a Dunhuang manuscript (P.2078) in the *Dunhuang dazangjing* 敦煌大藏經 59:212b26 also seems to have *weiwu san* 維无三 (the last 昧 is missing). Since the Tenpyō manuscript and the Dunhuang manuscript agree, it is likely that *weiwu*

sanmei 維無三昧 was the original reading here.

13 This is a well-known apocryphal sūtra. See p.209 of this chapter.

14 The *GSHJ* uses the expression "sixteen types of bad morality" without defining the contents. Since this is not a well-known concept only seen in the *MMPS* (and the *Dacheng yizhang* 大乘義章, T44:465a-875c [No.1851]), the way the *GSHJ* uses this expression is strange. It is likely that the *GSHJ* presupposes the familiarity with the Chinese version of the *MMPS*. (Tsukinowa)

15 See Karashima Seishi 1994, 144-45.

16 Karashima 1994, 145 reconstructs the original Middle-Indic word corresponding to this transcription as *Viśśabhu-. It should be noted that *po* 婆 corresponds to the labial consonant *bh*, not to the semivowel *v* (Viś<u>va</u>bhū- / Viś<u>va</u>bhuj-), which did not even exist in the original word in Karashima's opinion.

17 A Dunhuang manuscript (S.3274) in the *Dunhuang dazangjing* (59:227b13) shows the same reading. It, however, does not seem to make sense. Perhaps we should emend 滿月 as 蒲佛 according to the Shōsōin manuscript (T15:677, n.16), contra Tsukinowa 1971, 74. Miscopy of 蒲佛 as 満月 would be possible.

18 A Dunhuang manuscript (S.6821) has the same reading (*Dunhuang dazangjing* 59:253a2).

19 Mukai Ryōkai 1997, 122 compares this portion of the text with the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti* and identifies the Sanskrit names. For some of the items, we can also find parallels in the *Vinayaviniścaya-Upālipariprcchā* quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (169.11-13; See Uryūzu Ryūshin 1994, p.156, n.3). Translations are from Chinese.

20 The *Upālipariprttchā* has Anantaujas.

21 In the *Upālipariprcchā*, Prabhāsaśrī and Xiangde 相德 appear at the corresponding positions in the lists of the two texts. Nevertheless, *prabhāsa* and *xiang* 相, "mark," do not agree, so this correspondence is uncertain.

22 The order of the last two items are inverted in the *Shizhu piposa lun*.

23 The Sanskrit names of the four Buddhas are based on the *Suvarṇabhāsa*. See the right column. The *GSHJ* further gives the names of the Buddha lands of these four Buddhas, but the Sanskrit for the second and the fourth items cannot be confirmed. (Tsukinowa)

24 Cf. The *Dasheng Daji Dizang shilun jing* 大乘大集地藏十輪經, T13:775c19-21 (No.411).

25 See also the *MMPS*, T12:637c6ff.

26 The story in the *XYJ* has a parallel in the *Śayanāsanavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (Dutt ed., p.21), and there the name appears as Raktākṣa, "Red Eyed One."

2. The Buddha's Bodily Marks

Since the central subject of the *GSHJ* is the visualization of the Buddha's bodily marks,[1] the descriptions of these marks are of cardinal importance in this sūtra. Nevertheless, this is one of the subjects through which the problematic nature of the *GSHJ* becomes most manifest. The *GSHJ* gives lists of the objects of visualization (mostly bodily marks) in Chapter 2 "Enumeration of the Objects of Visualization" 序觀地品 (T15:647b-48c), but these lists are very different from other lists found in mainstream Buddhist texts. Moreover, even though these lists are clearly intended as a virtual table of contents of the whole *GSHJ*, they are not carefully followed in the subsequent chapters.[2]

In this chapter, I shall first collate these lists of bodily marks with the actual contents of the subsequent chapters in order to illustrate the structural problems of this sūtra. Then I shall attempt to identify the possible sources of the lists of the *GSHJ* in the hope of clarifying how this peculiar list was formed. It seems undeniable that the *GSHJ* is lifting many passages from other Chinese Buddhist texts, especially certain texts translated by Kumārajīva and Dharmakṣema in the beginning of the fifth century.

In an appendix (3) attached to this chapter, I would like to present a chanting manual based on the *GSHJ* found in Dunhuang, the *Xianghao jing* 相好經 (*The Sūtra on the Major and Minor Bodily Marks*). Based on this text, I would like to discuss the nature of practices based on the *GSHJ* and the *Xianghao jing*. I hope my arguments will also shed light on the inseparable relationship between visualization and chanting in the

---

1. As I have already indicated in footnote 4 to the Introduction of this dissertation, this point is not without question. I actually suspect that the *GSHJ* may have been primarily a narrative text for popular story-telling based on prior traditions of visualization. This point needs to be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, as its title indicates, it is clear that the *GSHJ* itself claims to be a text for visualization.

2. This is unusual for Indian texts. For example, in the *MMPS*, the table of contents and the subsequent contents neatly agree. See Takasaki Jikidō 1974, 134-35.

Dunhuang area.

a. "Table of Contents" Collated with the Subsequent Descriptions

The first list of the objects of visualization in Chapter 2 (T15:647b24-c6), collated with the discussion of the topics in the subsequent chapters, is as follows:[3]

Table 1

1. 念佛 Calling the Buddha to mind	+
2. 觀佛 Visualization of the Buddha.	+
3. 見佛 Seeing the Buddha.	+
4. 分別相好 Analysis of the major and the minor bodily marks [of the Buddha].	+
5. 佛光明 The light of the Buddha.	+
6. 佛身內 The inside of the Buddha's body.	? (3) 665c2
7. 觀佛心 Visualization of the Buddha's heart.	(4) 668b16

3. The references to the corresponding portions in the sūtra are given in the right column. The numbers in parenthesis refer to the numbers of the chapters of the *GSHJ*, followed by the page, column, and the line numbers of the Taishō canon vol.15. Note that the line numbers refer to the beginnings of sections and do not necessarily mean that the words indicated in the table appear exactly on that line. It should also be noted that I count the line numbers of the Taishō canon as if all the columns uniformly consisted of 29 lines.

Further, if some items are too general and hard to locate in specific portions in the sūtra, they are marked with plus signs (+). When some items lack corresponding substantial discussion, they are marked with two hyphens (--). A question mark (?) shows a problematic item.

These conventions apply throughout this chapter.

8. 觀佛頂 Visualization of the Buddha's head.	(3) 648c25
9. 觀佛足下千輻輪相 Visualization of the mark of a wheel with one thousand spokes on the soles of the Buddha's feet.	--
10. 佛生時相 [How the bodily] marks [looked] when the Buddha was born.	(3) 649b20
11. 佛納妃時 [How the bodily marks looked] when the Buddha married a princess.	(3) 649c4
12. 佛出家時 [How the bodily marks looked] when the Buddha left the household.	(3) 650a9
13. 佛苦行時 [How the bodily marks looked] when the Buddha practiced asceticism.	(3) 650b11
14 佛降魔時 [How the bodily marks looked] when the Buddha subdued the demons.	(3) 650c29
15. 佛得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時 [How the bodily marks looked] when the Buddha attained the *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*.	(3) 653c1
16. 如來轉法輪時相 [How the bodily] marks [looked] when the Tathāgata turned the wheel of the Dharma.	--
17. 如來寶馬藏相 The mark of the Tathāgata's hidden male organ.	(7) 683b5
18. 如來昇忉利天爲母摩耶夫人說法時相	(6) 677a28

[How bodily mark looked] when the Tathāgata ascended to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven and preached to [his] mother, Queen Māyā.	
19. 如來下忉利天時相 [How] the [bodily] marks [looked] when the Tathāgata descended from the Trāyastriṃśa heaven.	(6) 678b3
20. 如來行住坐臥四威儀中光明相 [How] the mark of light [looked] in his four kinds of deportment: walking, standing, sitting, and lying.	(6) +
21. 如來詣拘尸那降度力士相 [How] the [bodily marks looked] when the Tathāgata went to Kuśinagara and delivered the powerful men.[1]	(6) 681c8
22. 如來伏曠野鬼神毛孔光明相 [How] the mark of light from the pores of the Tathāgata [looked] when the he subdued the demons in the wilderness.	(6) 678c6

Here, the items 1 "calling the Buddha to mind" 念佛 to 5 "light of the Buddha" 佛光明 are too general to specify the portions where they are discussed. 6 "knowing the inside of the Buddha's body" 知佛身内 may refer to such items as "visualizing the Buddha's brain" 観如來脳 (T15:648b2), various items on the Buddha's bones, or the emanation Buddhas in the Buddha's body (T15:665c2). In either case, "the inside of the Buddha's body" is an unusual item to include in a list of the bodily marks of the Buddha (although there are texts that refer to bones among the "secondary marks"; see Henmi Baiei [1935]1982, table 2). We shall come back to this point later. 7 "visualizing the Buddha's heart" 観佛心 seems to correspond to Chapter 4, "The Visualization of the Heart of the Buddha," 観佛心品, although the Buddha's heart is discussed in a few other places (see Appendix 4, Table 1, item [23]). 8 "The Buddha's head" 佛頂 and 9 "the mark of a wheel

with one thousand spokes on the soles of the Buddha's feet" 佛足下千輻輪相 are the highest and the lowest of the Buddha's bodily marks. They seem to be specifically mentioned here because of their importance in the context of "downward visualization [from the head to the feet]" 順觀 and "upward visualization [from the feet to the head]" 逆觀. Although "the Buddha's head" is discussed later, we do not find a substantial discussion of "the mark of a wheel with one thousand spokes on the soles of the Buddha's feet."

Items 10 "[how the bodily] marks [looked] when the Buddha was born" 佛生時相 to 22 "[how] the mark of the light from the pores of the Tathāgata [looked] when he subdued the demons in the wilderness" 如來伏曠野鬼神毛孔光明相 refer to various events in the Buddha's life (except 17 "the mark of the Tathāgata's hidden male organ" 如來寶馬如來寶馬藏相, which is another bodily mark). They are arranged in a relatively reasonable order, but the corresponding discussions in the subsequent chapters appear in a very disorderly way. 10 "[how the bodily] marks [looked] when the Buddha was born" 佛生時相 to 15 "[how the bodily marks looked] when the Buddha attained the *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*" 佛得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時are embedded in the section on "the mark of the white tuft [between the brows]" 白毫相 (Table 3, items 4.1.1-7 of the right column). 18 "[How the bodily] marks [looked] when the Tathāgata ascended to the Tuṣita heaven and preached to [his] mother, Queen Māyā" 如來昇忉利天爲母摩耶夫人説法時相 to 22 "[how] the mark of light from the pores [looked] when the Tathāgata subdued the demons in the wilderness" 如來伏曠野鬼神毛孔光明相 have corresponding portions in Chapter 6 "visualization of the four kinds of deportment [of the Buddha]" 觀四威儀品, but the sequence in which these items are mentioned in this list does not reflect the order in which they are discussed in Chapter 6. It is also not very logical that 17 "the mark of the Tathāgata's hidden male organ" 如來寶馬藏如來寶馬藏相 appears among the events of the Buddha's life.[4]

---

4. On this topic, see Section III.3 of this dissertation.

A second and similar list found in Chapter 2 enumerates the objects of "concentration" 繫念 (T15:647c9-26). This list is as follows:

Table 2

1. 具足身相 The complete bodily marks.	+
2. 諸相好中一一相好 Each of the bodily marks.	+
3. 隨順相好 Downward [visualization of] the marks [from the head to the feet].	? (9) 690c29
4. 逆相好 Upward [visualization of] the marks [from the feet to the head].	? (9) 690c20
5. 光明 Light.	+
6. 行 Walking.	(6) 681c8
7. 住 Standing.	(6) ?
8. 坐 Sitting.	(6) 681c1
9. 臥 Reclining.	(6) 682a1
10. 乞食 Begging for food.	(6) 675c3
11. 初生 Birth.	(3) 649b20
12. 納妃時 When he married a princess.	(3) 649c4

13. 出家時 When he left the household.	(3) 650a9
14. 苦行時 When he practiced asceticism.	(3) 650b11
15. 降魔時 When he subdued the demons.	(3) 650c29
16. 成佛時 When he attained buddhahood.	(3) 653c1
17. 轉法輪時 When he turned the wheel of the Dharma.	--
18. 昇忉利天爲母説法時 When he ascended to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven and preached the Dharma to his mother.	(6) 677a28
19. 降伏曠野鬼神 Subjugation of the demons in the wilderness.	(6) 678c6
20. 於那乾訶羅降伏諸龍留影時 When he subdued *nāgas* at Nagarahāra and left his shadow.[2]	(6) 679b7
21.在拘尸那城, 降伏六師尼提賤人及諸悪律儀殷重邪見人 Subjugation in Kuśinagara of six despicable heretics[4] and the people who were sticking to wrong precepts and profoundly wrong views.	?[3]

Here again, as is shown by the page references in the right column, this list does not correspond to the sequence in which these topics are discussed in the subsequent chapters of the sūtra. Even stranger is that many of these items are merely repetitions of what has already been enumerated in the previous list. This is very unnatural and clearly illustrates the disorderly nature of this text.

Following this a third list appears, again under the heading of "concentration" 繫念. This list enumerates the bodily marks of the Buddha and is the most important one for the Buddha visualization, the central topic of the *GSHJ*. This list is further divided into two parts. The first part of the list (T15:648a4-c13) is as follows:[5]

Table 3

1. 頂上 (236) Top of the head.	1. 頂 (648c25) Head.
2. 毛髮 (Cf. #343)[5] Hair.	2. 八萬四千毛 (649a17) Eighty-four thousand hairs.
3. 髮際 The bottom line of the hair.	3. 髮際 (649b11) The bottom line of the hair.
4. 額廣平正相 (238) Wide and flat forehead.	4. 額廣平正相 (649b19) Wide and flat forehead.
5. 眉間白毫相 (239) White tuft between the brows.	4.1. 白毛相 (649b20) White tuft.
	4.1.1. 初生時白毫相光 (649b20) [How] the light of the white tuft [looked] when he was born.
	4.1.2. 童子時白毫毛相 (649b26)

5. The corresponding sections in Chapter 3 "Chapter on the Visualization of Bodily Marks" 觀相品 (ibid, 648c24-68b8) are shown in the right column. For the items that have corresponding elements in the list of the *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*, "marks of a great person," of the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*MVy*), I have also included the number of the *MVy* in parenthesis. (The choice of the *MVy* as the source of Sanskrit expressions is simply for the sake of convenience; I do not mean that the *GSHJ* and the *MVy* had particular connection.) If the items appear in the list of *anuvyañjanas* 隨好, "minor marks," of the *MVy*, I marked the numbers with # (for example, #269). By these numbers, all I mean is that there are somewhat comparable expressions in the *MVy*; these numbers do not necessarily mean that the *MVy* has exactly the same expression as those of the *GSHJ*. All the translations are based on the Chinese text of the *GSHJ*, not on the *MVy*. In order to save space, I leave *xiang*相, "mark," untranslated in this list.

In the descriptions of the marks in Chapter 3, sometimes sections on several bodily marks are embedded in another section. In such a case, I used multiple-digit numbers as the section number (e.g., 1.1). When some bodily marks are mentioned under the heading of another mark without forming independent sections, they are marked using alphabetical letters (e.g., 4.2.a).

	[How] the white tuft [looked] when he was a child.
	4.1.3. 納妃時白毫毛相 (649c4) [How] the white tuft [looked] when he married a princess.
	4.1.4. 出家時白毫相 (650a9) [How] the white tuft [looked] when he left the household.
	4.1.5. 苦行時白毫毛相 (650b11) [How] the white tuft [looked] when he practiced asceticism.
	4.1.6. 降魔時白毫相光[6] (650c29) [How] the white tuft [looked] when he subdued the demons.
	4.1.7. 成佛時大人相 (653c1) [How] the marks of a great person[7] [looked] when he attained buddhahood.
	4.2. 額廣平正相 (655c6)[8] Wide and flat forehead.
	a. 髮際相 (655c14) The bottom line of the hair.
	b. 頭諸毛孔相 (655c14-15) Pores of the head.
	c. 脳中相 (655c15) Inside the brain.
6. 眉 (#332, etc.)[9] Brows.	5. 眉相 (655c20) Brows.
7. 牛王眼相 (240) Eyes like those of an ox king.	? 6. 眼睫相 (656a5)[10] Eyelashes.
	7. 耳 (656b14)[11] Ears.
	8. 方頰車相 (656c3)

	Square jaw. (246)
	9. 師子欠相 (656c10) Lion-like yawn.
8. 修直鼻相 (327)[12] Long straight nose.	10. 鼻相 (656c20) Nose.
9. 鷹王觜[13]相 [Nose like] the beak of a hawk king.	鼻端如鷹王觜[14] (656c21) The tip of the nose like the beak of a hawk king.
10. 髭鬢如蝌斗形流出光明 Moustache[15] like [two] tadpoles emitting light.	11. 髭 (657a5) Moustache.
11. 脣上齶[16]際[17] The border between the upper lip[18] and the gum.	--
12. 脣色赤好如頻婆果 The red color of the lips like that of a *bimba* fruit.	12. 脣色赤好如頻婆果 (657a14) The red color of the lips like that of a *bimba* fruit.
13. 下脣如鉢頭摩[19]華莖者,[20] 其色紅赤上入頻婆果色中 The lower lip like the stalk of a lotus flower, whose red color enters the color of a *bimba* fruit above.	--
14. 口四十齒相 (241) Forty teeth of the mouth.	a. 口四十齒 (657a18-19) Forty teeth of the mouth.
15. 齒白齊密相 (242; 243) White and even teeth without gaps.	a.a. 自然齊白 (657a20) Naturally even and white.
16. 齒上印文相 Seals on the teeth.	a.b. 齒間文 (657a21) Marks between the teeth.
17. 齒畫界 Lines between the teeth.[21]	a.c. 畫 (657a21) Lines [between the teeth].
18. 如來上齶相者,[22] 八萬四千畫了了分明 The upper gum of the Tathāgata; eighty-four thousand clear lines.	--

19. 下斷如優曇鉢華莖色 The lower gum whose color is like that of the stalk of an *uḍumbara* flower.[23]	--
20. 咽喉如琉璃筒，狀如累蓮華相 The neck like a beryl cylinder whose shape is like that of piled-up lotus flowers.	--
21. 廣長舌相蓮華葉形，上色五畫五彩分明，舌下十脈 衆光流出，舌相廣長遍覆其面 (247) Wide and long tongue like a petal of a lotus flower. On its upper side are five lines with five clear colors. On its lower side are ten veins from which rays of light flow out. The wide and long tongue covers the whole face.	13. 廣長舌相 (657a29) Wide and long tongue.
22. 咽喉節中有三相 Three marks between the lines of the neck.[24]	14. 頸相 (659b7) Neck.
	a. 缺瓮[25]骨滿相 (659b7)[26] Shoulder bones without hollows.
	b.臆德字相[27]萬字印相 (659b7-8)[28] *Śrīvatsa* mark and *svastika* mark on the chest.
23. 咽脣[29]相如金翅鳥眼 Neck like the eyes of a *garuḍa* [30]	--
24. 頭相 Head.	15. 放常光相 (662c28) [Head] always emitting light.
25. 八萬四千髮相[31] Eighty-four thousand hairs.	--
26. 毛右旋 (237) Clockwise-curling hair.	--
27. 一一孔一毛旋生 (256) Curly body-hair grows from each pore.	--
28. 頭皮 Skin of the head.	--

29. 肉髻骨 Bone of the protuberance on the head.	--
30. 脳 Brain	--
	16. 眉間光明 (663a15)[32] Light from between the brows.
--	17. 額廣平正相 (663b13)[33] Wide and flat forehead.
--	18. 鼻出光明 (663c6) Nose that emits light.
--	19. 面門光明 (664a9) Light from the mouth.[34]
31. 耳普垂睡 (Cf. #336) Wide and hanging ears.	20. 耳 (664a19) Ears.
32. 耳輪郭相 (#337) Contours of the ears.	--
33. 耳旋生七毛相 Seven curly hairs growing from the ears.	耳中毛 (664a26) Hairs in the ears.
	21. 頸相 (664b2)[35] Neck.
34. 缺盆[36]骨滿相, 於彼相中旋生光臺 (249) Shoulder bones without hollows, in which a tower of revolving light appears.	22. 缺瓫骨滿相 (664b18) Shoulder bones without hollows.
35. 腋下滿相. 於其相中懸生五珠. 如摩尼珠上拄[37]佛腋 (251) Flat armpits. Five gems hang [from them] like *maṇi*s that support the Buddha's armpits.	腋下摩尼珠皆放光明. (665a15-16) The *maṇi* gems under the armpits all emit light.
36. 臂傭[38]纖圓如象王鼻[39] Forearms straight, slender, and round like the trunk of an elephant king.	23. 臂傭纖圓如象王鼻相 (665b10) Forearms straight, slender, and round like the trunk of an elephant king.

37. 肘骨如龍王髮. 婉轉[40]相著, 文彩不壞. 節[41]頭槃[42]龍不見其迹. 手指參差不失其所. 於指節端十二輪現. The bones of the elbow like the hairs of a *nāga* king are smoothly stuck together. [Nevertheless] its patterns are not destroyed. The tips of the joint-bones are [intertwined like] coiled *nāga*s whose traces are invisible. Long and short fingers are nicely arranged, on whose tips twelve wheels appear.	--
38. 赤銅爪、其爪八色了了分明. (#269) Nails [like] red copper with eight colors, which are very clear.	--
39. 合曼[43]掌相 張時則見斂[44]指不見. 如眞珠網了了分明 勝閻浮檀[45]金百千萬倍. 其色明達過於眼界. 於十指端各生卍字, 卍點間有千輻輪. 衆相具足如和合百千蓮華. (262) The palms with webs, which are visible when stretched but not when the fingers are retracted. The webs are clear like nets of pearls and surpasses in clarity the gold [dust] from the Jambūnada river by one billion times. A *svastika* mark appears on each of the tips of the ten fingers. Among the points of *svastika* there is a wheel with one thousand spokes, which is complete with various marks as if a hundred thousand lotus flowers were put together.	--
40. 掌文間成如自在天宮. 其掌平正人天無類. 當於掌中生千輻相 於十方面開摩尼光. 於其輪下有十種畫. 一一畫如自在天眼清白分明. 然後入掌相中. (Cf. #311)[46] [The space] among the lines of the palms becomes, as it were, the palace of Maheśvara. The flatness of the palms is unparalleled among deities and human beings. Right in the palms arise [wheels] with one thousand spokes, which emit *maṇi*-like light from the ten sides. Under the wheels there are ten lines. Each of them is as white as the eyes of Maheśvara. Afterwards [the light] enters the marks of the palm.	--

41. 毛背毛上向靡, 如紺琉璃. 流出五色光入網曼中. (Cf. 257)[47] The hairs on the back of the hands flow upwards like navy-blue beryl. Rays of light of five colors flow out and enter the webs.	--
42. 手足柔軟如天劫貝[48] (#310) The hands and feet are as soft as heavenly cotton.	--
43. 手內外握 The hands [can] grasp inwards and outwards.	--
44. 胸徳字萬印相, 三摩尼光相[49] *Śrīvatsa* and *svastika* marks on the chest and the three rays of *maṇi*-color light.	24. 胸徳字万[*sic*] 字相 (665a15)[50] *Śrīvatsa* and *svastika* marks on the chest.
	25. 臂傭纖圓如象王鼻 (665b10)[51] Forearms straight, slender, and round like the trunk of an elephant king.
45. 臍如毘楞伽寶珠[52] (#305, 306)[53] The navel like a Śakrābhilagna jewel.	26. 臍相 (665b26) Navel.
46. 脇肋[54]大小正等婉轉相著. The ribs are of the same length and are entangled and stuck to each other.	--
47. 諸骨支節, 槃龍相結其間密緻. (Cf. #298)[55] The joint-bones are intertwined without gaps.	--
48. 鉤鎖骨[56]卷舒自在不相妨礙. Hooked joint bones bend and stretch freely without hindering each other.	--
49. 骨色鮮白頗梨雪山不得爲譬. 上有紅色間錯成文. 凝液如脂.	--

The color of the bones is so clearly white that crystals or the Snow Mountains are not comparable [to it]. Red color is mixed [with white] and makes patterns. The viscous liquid is like fat.	
50. 伊尼鹿王⿰⻊專相 (267) Calves like those of an *aiṇeya* deer king.[57]	--
51. 踝相 (260) Ankles.	--
52. 足趺平正相 (265) Flat insteps.	
53. 足趺上色, 閻浮檀金色, 毛上向靡, 足指網間如羅文彩. 於其文間衆彩玄黃, 不可具名. The color of the insteps is like that of the gold [dust] from the Jambūnada river. Hairs flow upwards. The webs between the toes have colorful patterns like those of figured thin silk. The various colors among these patterns, like black and yellow, are [too numerous] to list fully.	--
54. 赤銅爪相, 於其爪端有五師子口.[58] Nails like red copper on whose tips there are five lion's mouths.	--
55. 脚指端蠡[59]文相. 如毘紐羯磨天[60] 諸畫之印. The patterns of conch shells on the tips of the toes are like the seals drawn by the god Viśvakarman.	--
56. 足下平滿不容一毛, 足下千輻輪相. 轂輞具足. 魚鱗相次, 金剛杵相. 足跟亦有梵王頂相, 衆蠡不異. (264)	--

The soles of the feet are so flat that they do not admit even a single hair underneath. The wheel with a thousand spokes on the soles of the feet is complete with a hub and a hoop. Adamantine cudgels follow one after another like scales of fish (?). On the ankles are also marks of the head of Brahmā king, which are no different from conch shells (?).	

It is well known that Buddhist texts frequently mention thirty-two major and eighty minor bodily marks (*lakṣaṇa* [*xiang* 相] and *anuvyañjana* [*suihao* 隨好]). Scholars have pointed out, however, that the contents of these marks are far from consistent among various texts, although the numbers (thirty-two and eighty) seem to have been fixed (e.g., see Henmi [1935]1982, 47-56; Okada Yukihiro 1989, 303-7; 1991a, 12-16; Yamada Meiji 1967, 33ff.). Nevertheless, even considering the variety of lists, the *GSHJ'* s list is full of curiosities.

First, here again, the structural disorder is conspicuous. At the beginning of Chapter 2, the *GSHJ* clearly mentions "thirty-two major and eighty minor bodily marks" 三十二相八十種隨形好 (T15:647b20-21), but in fact a total of fifty-six marks are listed in the chapter. This list of fifty-six items is not carefully followed in the subsequent explanation of each mark in the next chapter (Chapter 3 "Visualization of the Bodily Marks"). In particular, the last eleven (and many other) items on the list are left entirely unexplained in Chapter 3. Moreover, the general downward order of items from the head to the feet is disturbed by the intrusion of several items concerning the head (24-30 in the left column) after the items on the neck (20-23). In particular, it is extremely strange to consider items 29 "head bone" and 30 "brain" as among the Buddha's bodily marks. We also notice that the discussion of the neck (20-23) is strangely interrupted by an item on the tongue (21).

There is no other known textual tradition that enumerates fifty-six bodily marks of the Buddha (although, as we shall see later [p.233], there is a chapter of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* that gives ninety-seven marks; T9:601a-605a; T10:251b-55c). Taken together with

the peculiar items that Ono ([1923]1977, 103) associates with Gandhāran statues but that are apparently not found in texts other than the *GSHJ* (mustache, brain, several items on bones, etc.), it seems certain that the *GSHJ* is not following any particular Indian tradition of the *lakṣaṇas*, "major marks," and *anuvyañjanas*, "minor marks," (Cf. Henmi [1935]1982, 53; Tsukinowa 1971, 72-74). We get the impression that the *GSHJ* represents an original list only loosely based on the prior traditions.

The second part of the list of the objects of "concentration" 繫念 is as follows (T15:648c13-23):[6]

Table 4

1. 順観 Downward visualization [from the head to the feet].	(9) 690c29	Cf. (5) 675b1
2. 逆観 Upward visualization [from the feet to the head].	(9) 690c20	Cf. (5) 675b1
3. 金色 Golden color.	(9) 691c20	
4. 巨身丈六 Big body of one *zhang* six *chi*.	(9) 691a16	Cf. (5) 675b1 Cf. (10) 693c13
5. 圓光一尋[61] Halo of one *xun*.[62]	(9) 691a17	Cf. (3) 654c25 Cf. (3) 659c2 Cf. (5) 675b1
6. 擧身光明 Light from the entire body.	(9) 691b17	
7. 說法時瑞應相 Auspicious marks when he preached the Dharma.	? (9) 691b27	

6. In principle these items seem to correspond to the discussion in Chapter 9. In the middle column of this table I show the apparent referents in Chapter 9. When I can find some comparable elements in other chapters, I show them in the right column.

8. 臍上向相下向相 The mark of the navel facing up and down (?).		Cf. (3) 665c6-7 Cf. (3) 659c29?

Since these are mostly related to the whole body of the Buddha rather than individual bodily parts, this is not entirely repetitive (although it is hard to explain why the navel is mentioned at the end of this list). Nevertheless, it is rather redundant to enumerate further bodily characteristics after the completion of the former list. Also, it is to be noted that most items are related to chapter 9 "Visualization of Statues" 觀像品. This fact may support Shikii's suspicion (1978, 518-19) that Chapter 9 was one of the chapters added later.[7]

b. Possible Sources

In any case, these lists are clearly very unusual. Among them, the first part of the third list (Table 3) is the most extensive and the most important one. It will be very helpful in clarifying the nature of the *GSHJ* if we can identify the background of this list.

Since the *GSHJ* itself (T15:687b13) refers to the *Avataṃsakasūtra* (probably referring to the *Rulai xianghai pin* 如來相海品, "The Chapter on the Ocean of the Major Bodily Marks of the Buddha"; T9:601a-5a), this text should be considered as the first candidate for such a source.[8] This chapter of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* may indeed have

7. Shikii's theory is summarized in Section 1, Chapter 3 of this dissertation. I think it is possible to suspect that this supplementary list was added later to the original list after Chapter 9 was supplemented to the core portion of the *GSHJ*.

8. Chengguan 澄観 also indicates this portion (in Śikṣānanda's version, T10:251b-55c) as the referent of the *GSHJ* in his *Da huayan jing lüece* 大華嚴經略策 T36:708c23-9a3. I thank my colleague Elissa Cohen for the reference. Cf. Yusuki Ryōei [1927]1975, 444.

influenced the author(s)/compiler(s)[9] of the *GSHJ* in the following two points: (1) the *Xianghai pin* gives a list of ninety-seven major marks (according to the numbering of Śikṣānanda's version; T10:255c8).[10] This may have encouraged the author(s) of the *GSHJ* to make a list that contains more items than the standard thirty-two. (2) The *Xianghai pin* associates miraculous events with each one of the marks (mainly the emission of light and illumination of various things). The general atmosphere of such descriptions is very similar to that of the *GSHJ*.

Nevertheless, if we compare expressions in the *Avataṃsaka* and the *GSHJ* more concretely, there are actually very few similar elements. Thus it is difficult to say that the *Avataṃsaka* exerted more than an atmospheric influence over the *GSHJ*. There are, however, other sources that seem to have been more directly connected to the *GSHJ*. In the following, I shall attempt to identify the possible sources of this list as much as possible.[11]

Table 5

GSHJ	Other Texts
1. Cf. 如來頂骨團圓猶如合拳, 其色正白. (648C25-26)[63]	*DZL*:頂髻相. 菩薩有骨髻如拳等在頂上. (T25:91a15-16)

9. Considering the compilatory nature of the *GSHJ*, perhaps "compiler" is more appropriate than "author." On ther other hand, many peculiar stories in the *GSHJ* we shall discuss in the subseqent chapters must be products of the originality of the people who composed this text. In that sense, "author" seems more appropriate. It is quite possible that many people were involved in the composition of this text, and some were more like "authors," and others acted as "compilers." However, in order not to make my statements unnecessarily complicated, in what follows, I simply say "author(s)."

10. Minor marks are discussed in the following chapter, so all the items in this chapter should be regarded as major marks.

11. In so doing, since the disorderly descriptions of the *GSHJ* are difficult to handle, I reorder the list according to sequence of the marks in the *Xianghao jing* 相好經 (*XJ*; see Appendix 4). For this reason, the serial numbers in the left column correspond to the number in the order of the *XJ* (see Appendix 4, Table 1), not in the order of the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, note that all the quotations are from the *GSHJ*, not from the *XJ*. The passages of the *GSHJ* are taken mainly from Chapters 2 and 3, but some of them are also from Chapter 4. I omit the items for which I cannot identify possible sources.

The head bone of the Tathāgata is round like a clenched fist. Its color is pure white.	The mark of a protuberance on the head. The Bodhisattva has a protuberance of bone like a fist on the head.
2. 如來今者頭上有八万四千毛. 皆兩向靡右旋而生. 分齊分明四抓[64]分明. 一一毛孔旋生五光入前十四色光中. . . . 今當更量. 即申量之, 長一丈三尺五寸. 放已右旋還成蠡文. (649a18-27) Now on the head of Tathāgata are eighty-four thousand hairs. All flow to both sides and curl clockwise. They are clearly separated and have four clear planes (?). Each pore on the head emits five revolving rays of light, which enter the aforementioned fourteen rays of light. . . . "Now I shall measure again," [saying so, Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī] extended [the Buddha's hair] and measured it. It was one *zhang* three *chi* five *cun* long. When released, they curl clockwise and turn in the pattern of conch-shells.	*CMJ*: 髮紺青色一一髮舒長丈三. 還放之時右旋宛轉. 有琉璃光, 住佛頂上. 如是一一孔, 一毛旋生. 觀八萬四千毛皆使了了. (T15:255b7-9) The color of the hairs is navy-blue. When extended, each hair is one *zhang* three [*chi*] long. When released, they curl clockwise. They have light of [the color of] beryl that stays above the Buddha's head. Thus a curly hair grows from every pore. One should visualize eighty-four thousand hairs and make them all clear.
3. 頭皮. (648b1) The skin of the head.	*CMJ*: 次觀頭皮. (T15:243c18) Then one visualizes the skin of the head.[65]
4. 如來頂骨團圓猶如合捲. 其色正白. (648c25-26) The head bone of the Tathāgata is round like a clenched fist. Its color is pure white.	*ZCMF*: 次當觀骨. 見骨皎白. 如白琉璃. . . . 次觀頭骨. (T15:334b8-11) Then one should visualize bones. One see the bones pure white like white beryl. . . . Then one visualizes the head-bone.[66]
5. 脳頗梨色. 有十四脈衆畫具足. 亦十四光其光如脈分明了了. 於脳脈中旋生諸光上衝頭骨. 從頭骨出乃至髮際. 有十四色團遶衆髮. (648C27-49a2) The brain has the color of crystal. It has fourteen veins with various lines. There are also fourteen rays of light, which are clearly visible like veins. Revolving rays of light arise [from] within the veins of the brain and hit the head bone. They go out of the head bone and reach the bottom line of the hair. The rays have fourteen colors and encircle the hairs.	*ZCMF*: 一一髮下有四百四脈. 直入惱中. 其餘薄皮厚皮, 骨與身無異. 唯有惱膜十四重. (T15:334b11-13) Under each hair there are four hundred and four veins directly entering the brain. Other thin and thick skins are not different from [the colors of] the bones and the body (?).[67] Only the brain has fourteenfold meninges.[68]

8. 菩薩初生時白毫相光. . . . 今試看之. 即舒白毛見毛正直如白琉璃筒. 於其毛端出五色光明還入毛孔. (649b26-29) The light of the mark of the white tuft when the Bodhisattva was first born. . . . "Now I shall try and see." [Thus thinking Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī] stretched the white tuft and saw that the hair was straight like a white beryl cylinder. Rays of light of five colors come out from the tip of the hair and return to the pore.	*CMJ*: 復觀額廣平正眉間毫相. 白如珂雪. 如頗梨珠. (T15:255b11-12) Then one visualizes the wide and flat forehead and the tuft between the brows. [The hair] is white like snow or like a crystal ball.[69]
9. 如來眉相. 左右二眉形如月初. 卷生諸毛稀稠得所. 隨月形轉. 其色艶紫,毛端紺青琉璃妙光色無與比. 眉光兩靡散入諸髮. 既入髮已上至髮杪. 其光蠡起. 蜂翠, 孔雀色无以類. (655c20-24) The mark of the brows of the Tathāgata. The left and the right brows are like that of a new moon. Curling hairs are thin and dense in the proper places and curve in the shape of the moon. The color is glamorous purple, and the tips of the hairs are navy blue. Even the wondrous light of navy-blue beryl is not comparable to them. Rays of light from the brows flow to the both sides and diffusely enter the hairs. After entering the hairs, they reach the tips of the hairs. Revolving light arises. [Even] the green of bees or the color of peacocks is not comparable to that.	*DZL*: 三者眉如初生月紺琉璃色. (T25:684b14-15) The third is the brows like a new moon with the color of navy-blue beryl. Cf. 十住毘婆沙論：髮色如黒蜂. (T26:70a15-16) The color of the hair is like that of black bees.
10. 如來眼睫. 上下各生有五百毛. 柔軟可愛如優曇鉢華鬚. (656a5-6) The upper and the lower eyelashes of the Tathāgata have five hundred hairs respectively. They are soft and lovely like the filaments of an *uḍumbara* flower.	*DZL*: 三十者牛眼睫相. 如牛王眼睫長好不亂. (T25:91a14-15) The thirtieth is the mark of the eyelashes of an ox. Like the eyelashes of an ox king, they are long and not in disorder.
11. 佛眼青白. 白者過於白寶. 百億萬倍. 青者勝青蓮華及紺琉璃. 百億萬倍. 上下俱眴如牛王目. 眼雙眦[70]頭旋生二光. 如青蓮花極爲微細. (656a10-13)	*DZL*: 二十九者眞青眼相. 如好青蓮華. (T25:91a13-14)

The eyes of the Buddha are blue and white. The white part is a hundred trillion times as white as a white jewel. The blue part surpasses a blue lotus flower and navy-blue beryl by a hundred trillion times. The upper and lower [eyelids] blink together like the eyes of an ox king. Two revolving rays of light from the two exterior corners of the eyes come out, which are very refined like blue flowers.	The twenty-ninth is the mark of true blue eyes. They are like a nice blue lotus flower.
	Cf. *GWSJ*：佛眼清淨如四大海水．靑[71]白分明．(T12:343b19-20)[72]
	The eyes of [Amitābha] Buddha are pure like the water of the four great oceans. Blue and white [parts] are clearly separated.
13. 如來方頰車相．如來頰上六畫中．左右正等．有妙光色輝艶倍常．閻浮檀金光色遍照令佛面相如淨金色．譬如和合百千日月．(656c3-6)	*DZL*: 二十五者方頰車如師子．(T25:681a18-19)
The mark of the square jaws of the Tathāgata. On the cheek of the Tathāgata there are six symmetrical lines. There is a shining color even more resplendent than usual. The color of the light of the gold [dust] from the Jambūnada River universally illuminates and turns the marks on the Buddha's face into a pure golden color as if a hundred thousand suns and moons were put together.	The twenty-fifth is the square jaws like those of a lion.
14. 修直鼻相 (648a9-10) The mark of the long straight nose. 鷹王觜相 The mark of the [nose like] the beak of a hawk king.	*CMJ*: 復觀像鼻．如鑄金鋌似鷹王嘴．當于面門．(T15:255b12-13) Further one visualizes the nose of the statue, which is like a cast golden stick and resembles the beak of a hawk pointing to the mouth.
如來鼻高脩而且直當于面門．如來鼻端如鷹王觜.[73] 鼻孔流光上下灌注．(656c20-22)	Cf. *Sengqie luocha suoji jing* 僧伽羅刹所集經：如来鼻第一，猶如鸚鵡觜,[74] 是故歸命之，當在面門中．(T4:127b20-22 [No.194])
The nose of the Tathāgata is high, long, and straight directly pointing to the mouth. The tip of the Tathāgata's nose is like the beak of a hawk king. Light flows out of the holes of the nose and pours upwards and downwards.	The Tathāgata's nose is superb like the beak of a parrot.[75] Therefore I pay homage to that which is on the face.[76]

	Fo benxingji jing 佛本行集經：是童子鼻，端立圓直如鸚鵡鳥. (T3:696c10 [No.193]) The nose of this boy is upright and straight like [the beak of] a parrot.[77]
16. 如來師子欠相. 佛張口時如師子王口. 方正等. 口兩吻邊流出三光. 其光金色. 過踰前光百千萬倍. (656c10-12) The mark of the lion-like yawn of the Tathāgata. When the Buddha stretches the mouth, it is a true square like the mouth of a lion king. Three rays of light flow out from around the two corners of the mouth. The light surpasses the previous light in its golden color by one billion times.	*MMPS*: 是則能師子吼. 眞師子王晨朝出穴頻申欠呿. 四向顧望發聲震吼. (T12:522b26-27) He can roar as a lion. A true lion king comes out of a cave in the early morning, frowns, sighs, and yawns. He looks around, utters a snarl, and roars.[78]
17. 如來脣色赤好. 如頻婆菓相. (657a14-15) The mark of the red color of the lips of the Tathāgata like a *bimba* fruit.	*DZL*: 二十九者，脣赤如頻婆果相. (T25:684b26-27) The twenty-ninth is the mark of the red lips like a *bimba* fruit.
18. 口四十齒. 印上生光. 其光紅白光光相照. 照四十齒. 令四十齒根自然齊白如頗黎壁. 上下齊平无參差者. 齒間文畫流出諸光亦紅白色. 如是衆色佛在世時暎曜人目. 佛滅度後，當以心眼觀見此色. (657a18-23) The forty teeth of the mouth. Above the seals [on the teeth] arise rays of light. The rays are red and white and illuminate one another. They [further] illuminate the forty teeth and make the roots of the forty teeth naturally white like a crystal wall. The upper and lower teeth are even, and there are none that are uneven. The patterns and lines between the teeth emit various rays of light, also red and white. When the Buddha was alive, these various colors were resplendent to people's eyes. After the passing away of the Buddha, one should contemplate these colors with the mind's eye.	*CMJ*: 次觀像齒. 口四十齒. 方白齊平. 齒上有印印中出光. 如白真珠. 齒間紅色，流出紅光. (T15:255b14-16) Then one visualizes the teeth of the statue. The forty teeth of the mouth are square, white, and even. There are seals on the teeth, in which light appears like white pearls. The red color between the teeth emits red light.

20. 如來廣長舌相. 如來舌者是十波羅蜜十善報得. 其舌根下及舌兩邊有二寶珠. 流注甘露渧舌根上. 諸 天世人十地菩薩無此舌相亦無此味. 舌上五畫如寶印文. 如此上味入印文中. 流注上下入瑠璃筒. 諸佛笑時動其舌根. 此味力故舌出五光五色分明. 遶佛七匝還從頂入. 佛出舌時如赤蓮華葉. 上至髮際. 遍覆佛面. (657a29-b7) The mark of the wide and long tongue of the Tathāgata. The tongue of the Tathāgata is the retribution of the Ten Perfections and the Ten Good Deeds. Under the tongue and on both sides of the tongue there are two gems, which release drops of ambrosia on the tongue [and make everything taste good]. Various deities, worldly people, and even bodhisattvas of the tenth stage have no such mark of the tongue nor such taste. On the tongue are five lines like the patterns of jewel seals. Such supreme taste enters the pattern of the seal, pouring upwards and downwards, enters the beryl cylinder. When various Buddhas laugh, they move the roots of their tongues. Owing to the power of this taste, the tongue emits rays of light of five colors, which are clear. [The rays] encircle the Buddha seven times and enter the head. When the Buddha puts out his tongue, it is like a petal of a red lotus flower. It reaches the bottom line of the hair and covers the Buddha's face completely.	*DZL*: 二十六者味中得上味相. . . . 復有人言. 若菩薩擧食著口中. 是時咽喉邊兩處. 流注甘露和合諸味. 是味清浄故, 名味中上味. 二十七者大舌相. 是菩薩大舌從口中出覆一切面分. 乃至髮際. 若還入口亦復不滿. (T25:90c26-91a8) The twenty-sixth is the mark of [the Bodhisattva] savoring the supreme tastes. . . Some others say: When the Bodhisattva puts food in his mouth, both sides of the throat release ambrosia, which is mixed with various tastes. Since this taste is pure, it is called the supreme taste. The twenty-seventh is the mark of the great tongue. The great tongue of the Bodhisattva emerges from the mouth and covers the whole face up to the bottom line of the hair. When it comes back, the mouth is still not filled up. *DZL*: 二十六者味中得上味. 咽中二處津液流出. (T25:681a19-20) The twenty-sixth is that [the Buddha] gets the supreme taste. Fluid flows out of two spots in the throat.
22. 咽喉如琉璃筒. 狀如累蓮華相 (648a21-22) The mark of the neck like a beryl cylinder whose shape is like that of piled-up lotus flowers	*CMJ*: 次觀像頸. 如琉璃筒顯發金顏. (T15:255b16-17) Then one visualizes the neck of the statue like a beryl cylinder manifesting the golden face. *CMJ*: 復觀咽喉, 如琉璃筒.[79] (T15:262a11) Then one visualizes the throat like a beryl cylinder.
23. 見如來心如紅蓮華. 金花暎飾. 紅華金光. 不開不合團圓如心. (668a16-18)	Cf. *SSUS*：心如蓮花. 晝則開帳. 無日光故. 夜則還合. (T17:383a12-13)

[The King] saw the Tathāgata's heart like a red lotus flower. It was decorated with golden flowers. [There are also] red flowers [emitting] golden rays of light. Neither open nor closed, it was round like a heart.	The heart is like a lotus flower. It opens in the daytime but closes back up at night because there is no sunlight.[80]
28. 如來臂傭纖圓如象王鼻相. (665b10) The mark of the Tathāgata's forearms straight and slender like the trunk of an elephant king.	*DZL*: 次觀佛像臂如象王鼻. (T25:255b18-19) Then one visualizes the forearms of the Buddha's statue like the trunk of an elephant king.
30. 手指參差不失其所. 於指節端十二輪現. (648b11) The long and short fingers are nicely arranged, on whose tips appear twelve wheels.	*CMJ*: 手十指參差不失其所. (T15:2519-20) Among the ten fingers, the long and short ones are nicely arranged.
31. 赤銅爪. 其爪八色了了分明. (648b12) Nails like red copper. Eight colors of the nails are clear.	*CMJ*: 如赤銅爪. (T15:255b21) Nails like red copper.
33. 合曼掌相, 張時則見斂指不見. 如真珠網了了分明, 勝閻浮檀金百千萬倍. 其色明達過於眼界. (648b13-15) The mark of the palms with webs, which are visible when extended but not when the fingers are retracted. [The webs are] clear like nets of pearls. They [webs] surpass the gold dust from the Jambūnada River by one billion times. It is so brilliant that it is beyond [the cognition of] the eye.	*CMJ*: 次觀合曼掌. 猶如鵝王. 舒時則現. 似真珠網. 攝手不見. (T15:255b22-23) Then one visualizes the palms with webs like those of a goose king. When stretched they appear like nets of pearls. When the hand is clenched they are not visible. *DZL*: 五者手足縵網相. 如鴈王張指則現不張不現. The fifth is the mark of webs in the hands and the feet. Like those of a goose king, when the fingers are stretched, they appear, but when not stretched they do not appear.
34. 掌文間成如自在天宮. 其掌平正人天無類. 當於掌中生千輻相, 於十方面開摩尼光. (648b17-19)	*DZL*:三十五者手文明直. (T25:6894b29)

The palace of Maheśvara appears among the lines of the palms. The flatness of the palms is unparalleled among deities and human beings. Right in the palms arise [wheels] with one thousand spokes, which emit *maṇi*-like light from the ten sides.	The thirty-fifth is the clear and straight lines of the palms.
35. 手背毛上向靡, 如紺琉璃, 流出五色光入網曼中 (648b22-23) The hairs on the back of the hands flow upwards like navy-blue beryl. Rays of light of five colors come out and enter the webs.	*CMJ*: 手上生毛, 如琉璃光毛悉上靡. (T15:255b20-21) Hairs grow on the hands like rays of beryl. Hairs all flow upwards.
36. 手足柔軟如天劫貝 (648b23-24) The hands and feet are as soft as heavenly cotton.	*DZL*: 手足柔軟相. 如細劫波毳, 勝餘身分. (T25:90b10-11) The mark of the soft hands and feet like thin cotton superior to the other parts of the body. Cf. *CMJ*: 皮極微薄. 薄於天劫貝. (T15:252b4) The skin is even thinner than heavenly cotton.
37. 手內外握 (648b24) The hands [can] grasp inwards and outwards.	*CMJ*:手內外握. (T15:255b10) The hands [can] grasp inwards and outwards.
39. 如來胸德字万字相. (665a15) The mark of the *śrīvatsa* and the *svastika* on the chest of the Tathāgata.	*CMJ*: 次觀像胸德字万印. 衆相印中極令分明. 印印出光. 五色具足. (T15:255b27-28) Then one visualizes the *śrīvatsa* and the *svastika* on the chest of the statue and makes it extremely clear among the various marks. Each seal emits light of five colors.
40. 腋下滿相, 於其相中懸生五珠. 如摩尼珠上拄佛腋. (648b7-8) The mark of the flat armpits. Five gems hang [from them] like *maṇi*s that support the Buddha's armpits.	*DZL*: 腋下降滿相. (T25:90c15) The flat armpits.
43. 脇肋[81]大小正等婉轉相著. (648b27-28) The ribs are of the same length and are entangled and stuck to each other.	Cf. *SSUS*：左右卷脇肋各十二骨. (T11:383b11) The left and the right ribs respectively consist of twelve bones.

44. 諸骨支節, 槃龍相結其間密緻. (648b28-29) The joint-bones are intertwined [like] coiled *nāgas* without gaps.	*MMPS*: 十住菩薩諸節骨解槃[82]龍相結. (T12:429b18-19) The joint-bones of a bodhisattva of the tenth stage are intertwined [like] coiled *nāgas*.
45. 鉤鎖骨卷舒自在不相妨礙. (648b29-c1) Hooked joint bones bend and stretch freely without hindering each other. 骨色鮮白頗梨雪山不得爲譬. 上有紅色間錯成文. 凝液如脂. (648c1-3) The color of the bones is so clearly white that crystals or the Snow Mountains are not comparable [to that]. Red color is mixed [with white] and makes patterns. The viscous liquid is like fat.	*DZL*: 六者骨際如鉤鎖. (T25:684b16) The sixth is the joints of bones like hooks. Cf. *CMJ*: 想諸脊骨, 白如珂雪. 見脊骨已, 見舉身骨. 節節相拄. 轉復明淨. 白如頗梨. (T15:249a25-27) One imagines vertebrae as white as pure snow. Having seen the vertebrae, one sees the bones in the whole body. Joints support each other. They become increasingly clear and white like crystal.[83] Cf. *CMJ*: 見白骨人, 如白雪山. (T15:259a27) One sees a man of white bones like the white Snow Mountains.
49. 伊尼鹿王𨄔相 (648c3-4) The mark of the calves like those of *aineya* deer king. Cf. 鹿王𨄔(660a4) Calves like those of a deer king.	*DZL*: 如伊泥延鹿膞. (T25:90b16) Like calves of a black antelope.
51. 踝相 (648c4) The mark of ankles.	*DZL*: 十七者踝不現. (T25:684b21) The seventeenth is the invisible ankles.
52. 足趺平正相 (648c5) Flat insteps.	*DZL*: 七者足趺高滿相. (T25:90b11 The seventh is the mark of the high and heaped insteps.
53. 足趺上色, 閻浮檀金色, 毛上向靡. (648c6-7) The color of the insteps is like that of the gold dust from the Jambūnada River. Hairs flow upwards.	*DZL*: 足趺上色眞金色. (T25:90b14) The color on the insteps is true golden color. *CMJ*: 足上生毛, 如紺琉璃. 毛皆上靡. (T15:255b26-27) The hairs on the feet are like navy-blue beryl. The hairs all flow upwards.

54. 足指網間如羅文彩. 於其文間衆彩玄黄, 不可具名. (648c7-8) The webs between the toes have colorful patterns like those of figured thin silk. The various colors, like black and yellow, among these patterns are [too numerous] to list fully.	*CMJ*: 脚指網間, 猶如羅文. (T15:255b28-29) The webs between the toes are like patterns of figured thin silk. *DZL*: 足指間網及足邊色如眞珊瑚. (T25:90b12-13) The color of the webs between the toes and around the feet is like that of true coral.
55. 赤銅爪相, 於其爪端有五師子口. (648c8-9) The mark of the nails like red copper on whose tips there are five lion's mouths. Cf. 赤銅爪 (660a7) Nails like red copper.	*DZL*: 三者長指相. 指纖長端直. . . . 指爪如淨赤銅. (T25:90b7-13) The third is the mark of long toes.[84] The toes are slender, long, and straight. . . . The nails are like pure red copper. *MMPS*: 即於五指出五師子. (T12:457b15-16) Then five lions appeared on five fingers.
56. 脚指端蠡文相如毘紐羯磨天諸畫之印. (648c10) The patterns of conch shells on the tips of the toes are like the seals drawn by the god Viśvakarman.	Cf. *CMJ*: 於脚指端, 亦有千輻輪相. (T15:255b28) On the tips of toes there also are marks of wheels with one thousand spokes. Cf. *ZSJ*: 十五者指紋如畫雜色莊嚴. (T15:276b19-20) Fifteenth is that the fingerprints are like pictures decorated with various colors. Cf. *DZL*: 是輪相從無量劫智慧生. 以是故毘首羯磨不能化作. (T25:90b6-7) This mark of wheel arises from the wisdom accumulated for immeasurable eons. Therefore it cannot be fashioned even by Viśvakarman.
57. 足下平滿不容一毛. (648c11) The soles of the feet are so flat that they do not admit even a single hair [underneath].	*DZL*: 一者足下安平立相. 足下一切著地間無所受. 不容一針. (T25:90a27-29) The first is the mark of the flat soles of the feet. The whole soles touch the ground and do not admit anything between [the soles and the ground], even a single needle.

58. 足下千輻輪相. 轂輞具足. 魚鱗相次, 金剛杵相. (648c11-12) The wheel with a thousand spokes on the soles of the feet are complete with a hub and a hoop. Adamantine cudgels follow one after another like scales of fish (?).	*DZL*: 二者足下二輪相. 千輻輞轂三事具足. (T25:90a29-b1) The second is the mark of the two wheels on the soles of the feet. A thousand spokes, a hoop, and a hub: these three items are complete.
如是衆相名爲圓光. 圍繞佛頸. 上亦一尋下亦一尋. . . . 佛在世時. 世尊行時. 此光照地. 前一由旬純黃金色. 後一由旬純黃金色. 左一由旬純黃金色. 右一由旬純黃金色. 有人近佛左右行者. 其人臭穢皆悉不現. 人遠望之同爲金色. 佛坐樹下此光赫奕. 如衆金華散祇樹間. 有人諦觀佛項光者. 前行看者見佛在前. 從後看者見佛在後. 左邊看之見佛在左. 右邊看之見佛在右. 八方人来遥見項光. 各作是言. 瞿曇沙門在金山中. 遊行自在来向我所. 如是衆生各各異見. 此名項光. (659c2-20) Such marks are called the halo surrounding the Buddha's neck (?). One *xun* upwards and downwards. . . .When the Buddha was alive, when the Blessed One walked, the light illuminated the ground. One *yojana* ahead became the color of pure gold; one *yojana* behind became the color of pure gold; one *yojana* to the left became the color of pure gold; one *yojana* to the right became the color of pure gold. If people approached the Buddha and walked beside him, all the impurities of these persons became unmanifest. If one looked at them from afar, one saw them also gold in color. When the Buddha was seated under a tree, this light was most resplendent as if golden flowers were being scattered among the trees of the Jetavana forest.	*DZL*: 十四者金色相. 問曰何等金色. 答曰. 若鐵在金邊則不現. 今現在金比佛在時金則不現. . . . 十五者丈光相. 四邊皆有一丈光. 佛在是光中端嚴第一. (T25:90b26-c9) The fourteenth is the mark of gold color. Question: What is the gold color like? Answer: If iron is placed alongside gold, [the iron is overshadowed and] is unmanifest. The gold in the present days is unmanifest compared with the gold when the Buddha was alive. . . The fifteenth is the mark of the light of one *zhang*. [The Buddha] has the light of one *zhang* on all four sides. The Buddha is in the light and is most magnificent.

If one observed the light from the Buddha's neck, the one who went in front and looked at him saw the Buddha in front. One who looked at him from backward saw him behind. One who looked at him from the left saw him to the left. One who looked at him from the right saw him to the right. People from the eight directions came and saw the light from the neck of the Blessed One from afar. Each of them said: "The *śramaṇa* Gautama is in a golden mountain. He roams freely and approaches me." Thus sentient beings saw [the Buddha] differently. This is called the light from the neck.	

There are of course numerous texts that contain lists of the Buddha's bodily marks, so my search of the sources is by no means comprehensive. Moreover, the thirty-two major and eighty minor bodily marks themselves are ubiquitous in Buddhist texts. Therefore, unless there are some distinctive expressions, it is not always easy to specify the sources. For this reason, sometimes the choice of the texts in the right-hand column of the tables may be arbitrary, and is possible that I have overlooked more relevant texts.

Even with this limitation in mind, however, I believe we can observe a few points safely from the above table. Namely, the close affinity between the *CMJ* and the *GSHJ* is obvious. The similarities between the *MMPS* and the *GSHJ* is less extensive, but still these two texts share some distinctive expressions, and thus the *MMPS* must have been one of the sources of the *GSHJ*. In the case of the *DZL*, the expressions shared by the *DZL* and the *GSHJ* are less distinctive, and therefore it may be difficult to assert that the *DZL* was indeed a source of the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, similarity in wording between the *DZL* and the *GSHJ* would be easily observable from the above table.

In what follows, let us observe these points a little more carefully.

(1) First, it is clear that the *CMJ* was very closely related to the *GSHJ*. If one looks at such items as 2, 14, 18, 22, 33, and 35, it would be easy to observe this point. Even considering that the overall topic (the Buddha's bodily marks) is a common one, this much

similarity cannot be coincidental.[12] Since it is not only in this context that the *CMJ* and the *GSHJ* show wide range of parallelism, these two texts must have been directly related. Namely, either one of them was referring to the other, or both of them came from the same geographical and textual milieu. We need to discuss which one was based on which, or which text represents the more original (= older) form of the tradition.

Since the *CMJ* itself is a problematic (possibly another "hybrid-apocryphal") text, this question is a little difficult. Although I cannot give a decisive answer, my tentative impression is that the *GSHJ* was based on the *CMJ* for the following reasons.

First, the list of the bodily marks in the *CMJ* (T15:255b6-c4) is a reasonably organized one. Unlike in the *GSHJ*, items are arranged from head to foot in a natural order. As far as this portion is concerned, no narrative elements are inserted, and the basic framework of visualization is well presented. On the other hand, in the case of the *GSHJ*, the list is chaotic. Moreover, so many narrative elements are inserted in the descriptions of the bodily marks that the overall structure of visualization is obscured. In particular, as we have seen, the descriptions of the bodily marks in Chapter 3 of the *GSHJ* end in the middle of the list, and therefore, one cannot complete the visualization process following the descriptions in Chapter 3. I even get the impression that the *CMJ* may have been a meditative text per se that conveys the original form of visualization, and that the *GSHJ* may have been primarily a narrative text cast in the framework of visualization tradition as represented by the *CMJ*.

Second, I would like to note that two of the strange items of the *GSHJ* have corresponding elements in the section on the analysis of one's own body into component elements in the *CMJ* (no.3, "the skin of the head"; no.45, "white bones like crystal"). Although these items look strange in the list of the Buddha's bodily marks, they are natural in the context of meditative analysis of one's own body. I consider it likely that these items

12. The close similarity between the *GSHJ* and the *CMJ* in this regard has been already noted by Tōdō 1960b, 405.

were introduced into the context of the Buddha's bodily marks from the context of meditative analysis of one's own body.

Although the second point here may not sound too convincing, one should note that we can observe similar phenomena between the *GSHJ* and the *ZCMF* (no.4, "head bone"; no.5, "brain"). Here again, in the *ZCMF*, these items appear in the section on the meditative analysis of body. This type of "meditative dissection" is a common method of Buddhist meditation (*DN*, 2:293-94 [no.22]; *MN*, 1:57 [no.10]; ibid. 3:90 [no.119]),[13] and in that context, "head bone" and "brain" are perfectly natural. Especially, in the case of the "brain," judging from the common occurrences of "veins" and the number "fourteen," it seems likely that these texts were indeed connected.

Therefore, I suspect that the unusually large number of the bodily marks in the *GSHJ* was partly because the *GSHJ* introduced items from some other context. We shall see further examples of such addition in the subsequent observations. Accordingly, though this point is still not decisive, I think it more likely that both *CMJ* and the *ZCMF* preceded the *GSHJ*.

(2) The second point this table suggests to us is that Kumārajīva's *DZL* was also connected to the *GSHJ*. The *DZL* is a mainstream Buddhist text, and its descriptions of the Buddha's bodily marks are more standard than those in the *CMJ*. Therefore, it is harder to strictly establish the specific relationship between the *DZL* and the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, many items in the *DZL* and the *GSHJ* seem to agree relatively well. As a matter of fact, the list of the *XJ*, the chanting manual apparently based on the *GSHJ*, agrees more closely with the list of the *DZL* (see Appendix 4), which fact I am not sure how to explain. Nevertheless, even between the *GSHJ* and the *DZL*, if we observe such items as 9 and 20, it would be difficult to say that the similarities between these two texts were coincidental. We should also note that items from 52 to 55 all have corresponding elements in the *DZL*. In the *DZL*, however, these elements all appear in the descriptions of a single item "the

13. "Meditative dissection" will be discussed again in Section III.1.

mark of the high insteps" 足趺高滿相. Therefore, the irregular number of marks listed in the *GSHJ* may well have been partially due to a splitting up of items of the *DZL*.

Judging from the examples discussed in the previous chapter, it is almost certain that the author(s) of the *GSHJ* were familiar with the texts translated by Kumārajīva.[14] The following passages will also illustrate the close relation between the *GSHJ* and the *DZL* concerning this topic:

> 諸相師言. 地天太子實有三十二大人相. 若在家者當作轉輪王. 若出家者當成佛. (*DZL*, T25:90a25-27)
>
> All the physiognomists said: "The prince of heaven and earth indeed has the thirty-two marks of a great person. If he remains as a householder, he will become a universal monarch. If he becomes a monk, he will attain the buddhahood.
>
> 阿私陀仙見三十二相，即爲我說. 地天太子成佛無疑. (*GSHJ*, T15:662a8-9)
>
> The Sage Asita looked at the thirty-two bodily marks and said to me: "The prince of heaven and earth will attain the buddhahood; there is no doubt about it."
>
> 見三十二相炳然如畫. 惟於白毛其心不了. 相師即言. 地天太子，其餘衆相同金輪王. 唯此白毛流出衆光非我所明. (*GSHJ*, T15:649c5-8)
>
> [The physiognomists] saw the thirty-two marks clear like a picture. Only on the white tuft (between the brows) they were uncertain. The physiognomists said: "The other marks of the prince of heaven and earth are the same as those of a golden universal king. Only this white tuft pouring out rays of light we do not understand."[15]

The occurrence of the peculiar term "the prince of heaven and earth" in both texts

---

14. See also Fujita Kōtatsu 1981, 695, which points out that the ten epithets of the Buddha given in the *GSHJ* agrees with those given in Kumārajīva's translations and not with those in Buddhabhadra's translations.

15. Cf. "Though [the practitioner] sees the Buddha's body, [his] mind is not clear about the bodily marks. In twenty-one days he sees them clearly" 雖見佛身於衆相好心不明了. 於三七日後乃了了見. (*GWSJ* T12:345b1-2)

would not be coincidental. It is thus likely that the *DZL* was indeed linked to the *GSHJ*.

In this case, there is little problem about the priority. Even though it is a little questionable whether we can legitimately treat the *DZL* as an Indian text, this is certainly a mainstream Buddhist text directly tied to the *Prajñāpāramitā* corpus (especially to the *Dapin*), and most of the contents must have been from Indian traditions.[16] Moreover, the *DZL* has a well-organized list of thirty-two major and eighty minor marks directly based on the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. Therefore, if there was direct influence between the *GSHJ* and the *DZL*, the direction must have been from the latter to the former. The opposite direction is extremely unlikely. I believe, therefore, that the *DZL* was one of the sources of the *GSHJ* in this regard.

(3) Although the number is limited, the few distinctive expressions shared by the *MMPS* and the *GSHJ* are very noteworthy. Since they are important, let us quote them again here. The first example (no.16) is as follows:

> 如來師子欠相. 佛張口時如師子王口. 方正等. 口兩吻邊流出三光. 其光金色. 過踰前光百千萬倍. (*GSHJ*, T15:656c10-12)
>
> The mark of the lion-like yawn of the Tathāgata. When the Buddha stretches the mouth, it is a true square like the mouth of a lion king. Three rays of light flow out from around the two corners of the mouth. The light surpasses the previous light in its golden color by one billion times.
>
> 是則能師子吼. 眞師子王晨朝出穴頻申欠呿. 四向顧望發聲震吼. (*MMPS*, T12:522b26-27)
>
> He can roar as a lion. A real lion king comes out of a cave in the early morning, frowns, sighs, and yawns. He looks around, utters a snarl, and roars.

16. One should note, for example, that there are many parallel passages between the *DZL* and the *AMV*.

"Lion's yawn" is an unusual item as the Buddha's bodily mark.[17] Although *siṃhavijṛmbhita*, which literally means "lion's yawn" and is usually translated as 師子奮迅, "lion[like] rampancy," in Chinese, is a common term as the name of a *samādhi* (see the *MVy*, no.533), this is not a bodily mark. I think it is likely that this expression was introduced from some other context, and the above passage from the *MMPS* is a likely candidate. Here, "lion's yawn" is associated with "lion's roar," a common expression applied to the eloquent preaching of Buddhist teachings. The context is natural in the *MMPS*. It would be reasonable to suspect that this item might have been taken from this passage of the *MMPS*.

The next items to compare are as follows (no.44):

> 如來諸骨支節, 槃龍相結其間密緻. (*GSHJ*, T15:648b28-29)
>
> The joint-bones of the Tathāgata are intertwined [like] coiled *nāgas* without gaps.
>
> 一切凡夫身中諸節節不相到. 人中力士節頭相到. 鉢健提身諸節相接. 那羅延身節頭相拘. 十住菩薩諸節骨解盤龍相結. 是故菩薩其力最大. (*MMPS*, T12:429b16-19)
>
> In the bodies of all common beings, the joint-bones do not reach each other. [In the case of] powerful persons among human beings, the tips of the joint-bones touch each other. [In] the body of Prakṛti,[18] the joint-bones are in direct contact. [In] the body of Nārāyana, the tips of the joint-bones are hooked together. The joint-bones of a bodhisattva of the tenth stage are intertwined [like] coiled *nāgas*. For this reason, the power of the

---

17. Of course I cannot assert that this item never appears as a bodily mark in any Buddhist text. Nevertheless, it is at least not a common item.

18. This reconstruction is uncertain. *Prakṛti* is the primordial substance from which the cosmos evolves in the Sāṃkhya philosophy. Prakṛtī is also the name of a woman who tried to seduce Ānanda (see *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, s.v., "Prakṛti"). I am, however, not aware of an example in which this word is used as the name of a powerful person.

The *Hon bongo* 翻梵語 (T54:994b5 [No.2130]) comments that the full spelling of this word is *bolisi jiangti* 鉢利私建提 and it translates as "power" (*li* 力). The latter "translation" is probably a conjecture from the context, and the "full spelling" is not clear to me either.

In any case, this must be the name of a powerful deity.

bodhisattva is the greatest.

In the first place, the emphasis on bones in the *GSHJ* looks a little strange as items of the Buddha's bodily marks. Although bones are not entirely absent in the list of bodily marks of mainstream Buddhist texts (see, for example, the *DZL* corresponding to no.45 of Table 7), in the list of the *GSHJ*, bones are mentioned several times. How can "bones" appear repeatedly in the list of items that are supposed to magnify the beauty of the Buddha? First of all, how can one "see" the Buddha's bones?

On the other hand, the context of the *MMPS* is very natural and makes perfect sense. A bodhisattva of the tenth stage is more powerful than anybody else because his joint bones are more closely connected than any other beings. Judging from the close similarity between the underlined parts of the two texts also, it is very likely that this expression of the *GSHJ* was taken from the *MMPS*.

The expression "coiled *nāga*" appears several times in the *GSHJ*.[19] Although this expression appears in Chinese versions of Indian texts,[20] we may perhaps take into consideration that such paintings were popular in Central Asia.

For example, see the following painting from Qizil, in which knotted snakes appear on the chest of Garuḍa (c.650 C.E.):

---

19. E.g., "These rays are mutually crossed-up, like [two] big *nāga* kings are coiling the bodies and facing each other" 此諸光明互相交絡. 如大龍王蟠身相向. (T15:690a16-17).

20. See Okada 1991b, 622. Also the *AMV*, ""Grammarians say: Placing the insteps on the thighs in the way *nāgas* are coiling, one sits upright and meditates. That is why this is called the "cross-legged posture" 聲論者曰. 以兩足趺加致兩髀, 如龍盤結端坐思惟. 是故名爲結跏趺坐. (T27:204b29-c1).

94. Garuḍa. Kyzyl.

Figure 1
(After Simone Gaulier, Robert Jera-Bezard, and Monique Maillard 1976, 2: p.48; plate 94)

The following is a painting from Bezeklik from approximately the ninth-tenth century. In this picture, Avalokiteśvara is seated on a lotus throne that grows from the hourglass-shaped Sumeru Mountain, around which two nāgas are entangled:

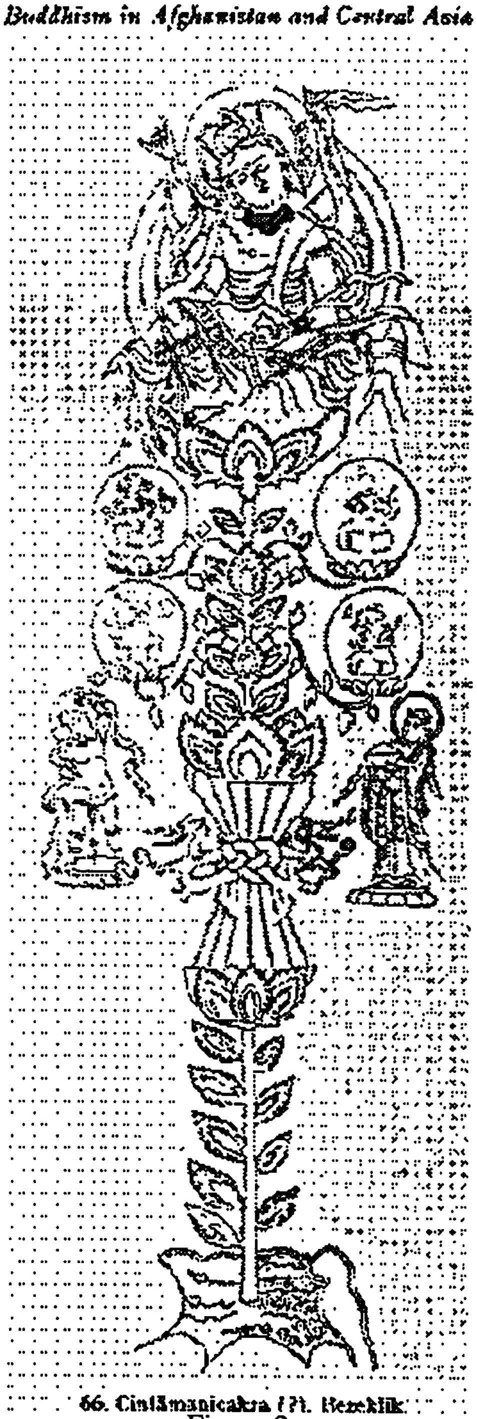


Figure 2
(After ibid., 1: p.29; plate 66)

Although both of these paintings are later than the *GSHJ*, probably it is not too far from the truth if we assume that the expression "coiled *nāga*" in the *GSHJ* presupposed basically the same imagery.

Somewhat similar motifs also existed in Greek and Chinese cultures, both of which are attested in Central Asia. On the Greek side, we should consider the well-known imagery of the caduceus carried by Hermes. The following is a piece of woolen tapestry from Loulan dated to the third-fourth century C.E.:

Figure 3
(After Chh. Haesner 1987, p.105, figure 1)

On the other hand, the following painting from Turfan (Khocho; after the mid-seventh century) is interpreted as the depiction of the two deities Fuxi 伏羲 (male) and Nüwa 女媧 (female) from ancient Chinese legends:

Figure 4
(Huang Wenbi [1957]1994, 87-90; plate 61)

Thus,"coiled snakes (or *nāga*s)" is a common imagery seen across cultures, and therefore we cannot use this motif to connect the *GSHJ* to some particular cultural background. Nevertheless, I think it possible that the description of the *GSHJ* presupposed this type of pictorial imagery popular in Central Asia.

Coming back to the *GSHJ* and the *MMPS*, let us examine one more example (no.55):

赤銅瓜相, 於其爪端有五師子口. (648c8-9)

The mark of the nails like red copper on whose tips there are five lion's mouths.

善男子. 我於爾時爲欲降伏護財象故. 即入慈定舒手示之. 即於五指出五師子. 是象見已其心怖畏尋即失糞. 擧身投地敬禮我足. 善男子. 我於爾時手五指頭實無師子. 乃是修善根力故令彼調伏. (*MMPS*,T12:457b14-19)[21]

O son of a good family, since at that time I wished to subdue Dhanapāla elephant then, I entered the *samādhi* of kindness, opened my hand and showed it. Immediately five lions appeared on the five fingers. When the elephant had seen them, his mind was scared, and he released excrement. He [further] threw his whole body to the ground and worshiped my feet. O son of good family, at that time, there were in fact no lions on my five fingers. It was [merely conjured up] to tame him by the power of merits [I had] practiced [before].

"The nails like red copper" is a common item in the list of the Buddha's bodily marks. It is not a problem. We have to ask, however, why there are "five lions' mouths" on the tips of his nails. This is not a usual way of describing the nails of the Buddha.

On the other hand, in the *MMPS*, this passage appears in the section on *maitrī*, "kindness," as one of the four *apramāṇa*s, "boundlessness." When Ajātaśatru, who was instigated by Devadatta to harm the Buddha, released a maddened elephant, the Buddha appeased the violent elephant without using any force. This is a famous story seen in many Buddhist texts,[22] but in the version of the *MMPS*, the Buddha subdues the elephant by showing five lions on his fingers. Again, the context is perfectly natural, and we can understand the significance of the five lions easily.

Therefore, I believe it natural to consider that this "five lions" motif was introduced from the *MMPS* to the *GSHJ*.

---

21. Cf. *AMV*, T27:429a17.

22. For the references, see *Indo Bukkyō koyū meishi jiten*, s.v., "Dhanapāla."

Concluding Remarks

As I have repeatedly stated, I do not doubt that the basic framework of the *guanfo* visualization existed in India. Nevertheless, it does not mean that every detail of the descriptions of the visualization methods in the *GSHJ* was of Indian origin. On the contrary, I strongly suspect that these peculiar descriptions of the Buddha's bodily marks were "hodge-podge" of the passages taken from several Chinese Buddhist texts and from various different contexts. Thus, here we can observe one of the typical examples to illustrate the nature of "hybrid-apocryphal" texts. Namely, the core motifs of these chapters (the Buddha's bodily marks; visualization of the Buddha) are taken from Indian traditions, but concrete expressions are taken from Chinese Buddhist sources. We shall encounter this pattern repeatedly in the subsequent chapters.

<u>Notes to the Tables</u>

[1] "The powerful men" refers to Mallas residing in Kuśinagara. See *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辞典 s.v. *"rikishi"* (p.1418c) Cf. *MMPS*, T12:457b19-29; *AMV*, T27:156a10-b5; 956b16-19; Kawamura Kōshō 1975, 346-47.

[2] This refers to the legend of the "Buddha Image Cave." We shall come back to this point later.

[3] The referent is not very clear. Perhaps this is a conflation of T15:681c8ff and 686a26ff. Cf. The *XYJ*, T4:360c14ff.

[4] Niti 尼提 appears to be an abbreviation of Nijiantuo Ruotizi 尼犍陀若提子 Nirgrantha Jñātiputra (namely Mahāvīra), but here it seems to be used as a common noun meaning "heretics." Cf. *Bukkyōgo daijiten* s.v. "Nikenda" (p.1051c).

[5] Cf. 25 of the left column.

[6] This section includes descriptions of hells.

[7] *Daren xiang* 大人相, "the marks of a great person," is a standard translation of the Sanskrit term *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*. Note that it is a little illogical to say "the marks of a great person" only here, even though all the items of the list are "the marks of a great person."

[8] In the text, 額廣平正 is repeated, but this is probably a mistake.

[9] Note that the *MVy* nos.332-35 are all on the brows.

[10] The expression "eyes like those of an ox king" appears in the explanation of "eyelashes" in Chapter 3. Therefore, it will be possible to link these items, even though "eyes" and "eyelashes" are not the same thing.

[11] Cf. 31-33 of the left column.

[12] One of the *anuvyañjanas* in the *MVy*. No.327 is also on the nose.

[13] I follow one of the variants given in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

[14] I follow one of the variants given in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

[15] Literally, the second character 鬚 means "whiskers," but in this context I take the two characters 髭鬚 as a whole to mean "moustache."

[16] Text has the same character with the 月 radical. The meaning is the same. See *Kadokawa shinjigen* p.173c. Hereafter, I emend this character to 齶 silently.

[17] This item does not seem to have a directly corresponding portion, although it should be compared with no.12 of the right column.

[18] The meaning is not very clear. I read 唇上 as 上唇. Cf. item 13 below.

[19] *Botoumo* 鉢頭摩 would be a transcription of Sanskrit *padma* "lotus."

[20] The character 者 is a part of the "framework" (自有. . . 者, "Naturally there are people who . . . "). I ignore this character in the translation.

[21] According to Okada (1991, 618), 畫 corresponds to Sanskrit *lekha*, "line." The meaning of this character in the *GSHJ* is not entirely clear, but I tentatively adopt the translation "line."

[22] I ignore 相者 in translation. These two characters are part of the "framework."

[23] *Youtanbo* 優曇鉢 is usually a transcription of *uḍumbara*, "fig." *Youtanbo hua* 優曇鉢華, however, is a little problematic. Usually this is used as an example of something extremely hard to see. Nobody can know what the color of the stem of an *uḍumbara* flower (*youtanbo huajing se* 優曇鉢華莖色) is like. "Like the color of the stem of an *uḍumbara* flower" does not seem to be a very effective way to explain the color of the Buddha's gum. Nevertheless, similar similes appear several times below. This fact suggests that the compiler(s) of the *GSHJ* did not have a clear idea about what *uḍumbara* was. This is another indication of the Chinese origin of the *GSHJ*.

[24] "Three marks" seems to refer to the three points like the *Siddhamātrikā* character *i*. See T15:659b9-10. 節, lit. "section," would refer to the three horizontal lines often seen on the neck of Buddhist statues, both in India and East Asia.

[25] The meaning of this character is the same as 盆 (*Dai kanwa jiten* 7:999a).

[26] Cf. no.34 of the left column.

[27] 德字 corresponds to Sanskrit *śrīvatsa* (*Bonwa daijiten*, s.v. "*śrīvatsa*"; Okada Yukihiro, 1991, 619), which is "a triangular mark or curl of hair on the breast of a deity" (*Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions*, s.v., "*śrīvatsa*."). Cf. *MVy* no.348, *śrīvatsasvastikanandyāvartalalitapāṇi-pāda*.

[28] Cf. no.44 of the left column.

[29] 膺 means "chest" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 9:371b). 咽膺 as a whole may mean "neck and chest," but how it resembles the eye of a *garuḍa* bird is not very clear to me. See also next note.

[30] See Tsukinowa 1971, 74.

[31] Cf. no.2 of the right column.

[32] Repetitive. See no.4.1.1ff. of the right column.

[33] Repetitive. See no.4 of the right column.

[34] 面門, lit. "gate of the face," seems to refer to the mouth. Cf. *GSHJ* (T15:656c): "The Tathāgata's nose is superb like the beak of a parrot. Therefore I pay homage to that which is on the face" 如來鼻高脩而且直當于面門. 如來鼻端如鷹王嘴. 鼻孔流光上下灌注 On the other hand, in a similar expression in the *Sengqie luocha suoji lun* 僧伽羅刹所集經 (T4:127a5; b22 [No.194]), 面門 seems to refer to the face itself. See Table 7, item 14. See also Tsukinowa 1971, 73; Matsumoto 1994, 227ff.

35 Repetitive. See no.14 of the right column.

36 缺盆 means "a hollow of the shoulder bone" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 9:3d). 缺盆骨 as a whole would mean "a shoulder bone."

37 Text has 跓 "stop one's step" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 10:908b), but it does not make sense in this context. I follow the variant shown in note 11 of T15:648 and read as 拄 "to support" (*Kadokawa Shinjigen* 408c).

38 The text has the same character with the 月 radical. This does not change the meaning. See *Dai kanwa jiten* 9:359c. Similarly below.

39 Exactly the same expression appears in Dharmakema's Chinese version of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 金光明經 T16:339b12. This item corresponds to no.24 of the right column.

40 For 婉轉 *Kadokawa shinjigen* (p.259) gives three meanings: (1) to entangle, (2) smoothly beautiful, (3) winding. In this particular case, "to entangle" seems to make the most sense. This expression, however, appears frequently in the *Xianghao jing* 相好經, which will be discussed later, where "to entangle" does not seem to make sense. In general, 婉轉 seems to be an expression to show the way something is winding smoothly and elegantly. I translate it as "smoothly," although I admit that this translation is rather loose.

41 節 "joint" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 8:817a).

42 槃 and 盤 are interchangeable (*Dai kanwa jiten* 6:492c), and the latter means "to coil up" (ibid., 8:138b). 槃龍 means "a coiled *nāga*" (ibid.), but in this context it seems to be a figurative expression to show a closely attached state of things.

43 曼 "to envelop" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 5:989a), but it may be better to read it as 縵 "silk without decoration" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 8:1158c) according to the variants (T15:648, note 13). I am not sure how to analyze the word 合曼/縵掌相, but it seems to refer to the same thing as 網曼/縵 (T15:648b23), which should mean "web." The Sanskrit equivalent *jālāvanaddhahastapāda* literally means "endowed with hands and feet stretched with netting."

44 Text has a slightly different form , which I cannot find in dictionaries. Probably it is a variant form of 斂 "retract" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 5:557b). Hereafter I convert this character to the standard form without note.

45 Y anfutan 閻浮檀 is a transcription of Jambūnada, the name of a river, and Yaufutan *jing* 閻浮檀金 is gold dust taken from the riverbed of the Jambūnada. See Tsukinowa 1971, 59; 147.

46 *MVy* nos. 312-313 are also on the lines of the palms.

47 *Ūrdhvagaroma*, "bodily hairs growing upward."

48 *Tian jiebei* 天劫貝. *Jiebei* 劫貝 is a transliteration of *karpāsa*, which means "cotton (tree)." See *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辞典 (Nakamura) s.v. "*kōbai*" ; *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Mochizuki) s.v. "*kōbai*."

49 Although the character 相 appears twice, these two phrases are treated as a single item by the

GSHJ. The full quotation of the text is: 自有衆生樂觀如來胸德字萬印相,三摩尼光相者. Note that 自有衆生樂觀, "Naturally there are people who wishes to visualize, "and, "people who" appear only before and after the two phrases.

50 Repetitive. See no. 14 of the right column.

51 This item corresponds to no.36 of the left column.

52 *Pilengqie baozhu* 毘楞伽寶珠 is a transcription of (*Śakra-*)*abhilagnaratna*, "a jewel worn by Indra." See Tsukinowa 1971, 147; *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* s.v. "*śakrābhilagna.*"

53 The *MVy,* no.306 has *pradakṣināvartanābhi*, "navel turning clockwise." Here the similarity between the Chinese *qi ru pilengqie baozhu* 臍如毘楞伽寶珠, "the navel like a Śakrābhilagna jewel," and the Sanskrit *pradakṣināvartanābhi* is only that both of them refer to the navel. I do not mean that *pilengqie baozhu* 毘楞伽寶珠, "Śakrabhilagna jewel corresponds to *pradakṣiṇāvarta* "turning clockwise." The *MVy* no.305 is *gambhīranābhi* "deep navel."

54 Text has 助, but it is probably a mistake.

55 *Susaṃhitagātra*, "Well-linked limbs." The correspondence to the Chinese is very loose. See also the *Vibhāṣā* T27:204b29. Cf. no.37 of the left column.

56 鉤鎖骨 "hooked joint bones." Cf. *Dai kanwa jiten* 11:608a. For 鎖, the text of the *Taishō* canon gives a variant form. See *Dai kanwa jiten* 11:618b.

57 *Yini* 伊尼 corresponds to *aiṇeya*, "black antelope." See *Bukkyō daijiten*, s.v., "*inien sen sō*" (1:168b-c). Therefore, strictly speaking, "*Aiṇeya* deer" is a little illogical, but here I translate the Chinese literally.

58 Cf. no.38 of the left column.

59 The text of the Taishō canon gives a slightly different form, but I believe that is a variant form of 鑫.

60 Transcription of Viśvakarman, name of an artist god serving Indra. See *Bukkyō daijiten* s.v."Bishu katsuma" (5:4308b-9a).

61 The same expression appears in Dharmakṣema's version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* 金光明經 T16:339b5.

62 *Xun* corresponds to Sanskrit *vyāma.*

63 This passage appears in the portion corresponding to no.4, not no.1. Nevertheless, I quote it here because it uses the expression "clenched fist." See the table in the appendix.

64 抓 means "to scratch, pinch" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 5:134a-b). A Dunhuang manuscript of the *GSHJ* (S.4615;*Dunhuang dazangjing* 敦煌大藏經 59:194a11) has a variant form of 觚, "cornered cup," (*Dai kanwa jiten* 10:376d-77a). In either case, the meaning is not very clear. My translation is a mere conjecture.

65 This is in the context of visual analysis of one's own body.

66 This is in the context of visual analysis of one's own body.

67 Cf. *GSHJ* T15:648c26-27.

68 This is in the context of visual analysis of one's own body.

69 The difference between "white crystal" (*GSHJ*) and "white beryl" (*ZCMF*) does not seem very important. They are both white jewels, and it is doubtful if the authors of these documents had a clear idea of the exact nature of these precious stones.

70 Text gives a variant form. See *Kadokawa shinjigen*, p.703a.

71 Text 湇, but I follow the reading in the Sung, Yuan, and Ming versions quoted in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

72 The *GWSJ* may be later than the *GSHJ*, so it is questionable if it could be the source of the *GSHJ*. Perhaps we have to consider the opposite direction; namely here the *GWSJ* may have been based on the *GSHJ*.

73 I follow the variant given in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

74 I follow the variant given in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

75 According to Pratapaditya Pal, this is a common way of expressing the nose of a gods and kings in general iconographic texts (1984, 150). I owe the reference to this work to Professor Stanley Abe.

76 This passage is pointed out by Tsukinowa (1971, 73).

77 This text was translated during the Sui 隋 period, so it is an unlikely source of the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, considering the peculiarity of this item, I list the passage here. The expression 如鑄金鋌 (I follow the variant given in a footnote of the Taishō canon), "like a cast golden stick," also appears in the same text (T3:693c4).

78 This is a description of a real lion. A bodhisattva called "Lion's Roar" is being compared to a lion.

79 This is a visualization of the practitioner's own body.

80 This text is a sixth century translation, which is later than the *GSHJ*. So this is an unlikely source of the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, I quote it here for the importance of this expression. This passage is discussed in Matsumoto 1994, 239.

81 The text has 盿, which is probably a mistake.

82 蟠 and 蟠 are equivalent in the sense of "to roll around" or "to crouch." See *Kadokawa shinjigen*, p.693a.

83 This is a meditation of one's own body.

84 From the context, this 指 must be "toe," not "finger."

3. The Buddha Image Cave

There was a mysterious cave at Nagarahāra (near present-day Jelālābād, Afghanistan), in which a resplendent image of the Buddha appeared on the back wall. Thus the cave was called the "Buddha Image Cave" (Foying ku 佛影窟).[1] This was a well-

---

1. Soper (1949a, 278) translates the character *ying* 影 as "shadow." Édouard Chavannes 1970, 428; and Coomaraswamy 1935, 37-38 also translate this character as "*ombre*." This interpretation seems to be supported by the passage from the Rudrāyaṇāvadāna of the *Divyāvadāna* quoted below. In this passage, albeit in a different context, we can attest the motif of the Buddha leaving his image/shadow in a Sanskrit text. In this story, King Bimbisāra ordered painters to paint an image of the Buddha as a gift for King Rudrāyaṇa. The painters, however, were overwhelmed by the magnificent appearance of the Buddha and could not do their job. Thus the Buddha said as follows (*Divyāvadāna*, E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, eds., 547.15-20; this portion roughly corresponds to the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, T23:874a26-b7, though there are differences in many details.):

> Mahārāja khedam āpatsyante na śakyante Tathāgatasya nimittam udgrahītum / api tu paṭakam ānaya / tena paṭaka ānītaḥ / tatra Bhagavatā chāyā utsṛṣṭā uktāś ca / raṅgaiḥ pūrayata tasyādhastāc charaṇagamanaśikṣāpadāni likhitavyāni anulomapratilomadvādaśāṅgaḥ pratītyasamutpādo likhitavyo gāthādvayaṃ ca likhitavyaṃ
>
> "O Great King, [the painters] will be exhausted and will not be able to grasp the features of the Tathāgata. Rather, bring a piece of cloth." Thus a piece of cloth was brought [there]. There the Blessed One left a *chāyā* and they [=the painters] were told: fill it with colors, under it, the precepts of taking the refuges are to be written, the dependent origination consisting of the twelve links is to be written forward and backward,# and the two verses are to be written.##
>
> #Cf. Section III.1 of this dissertation.
> ##I have referred to and partly made use of the translation by Gustav Roth (1987, 296-97). This passage is also discussed in Coomaraswamy [1935] 1979, 6-7.

Here the image the Buddha leaves on a piece of cloth is called *chāyā*. Since this word is usually defined as "shadow," in spite of the difference in the contexts, it is possible that the Sanskrit word corresponding to the Chinese *ying* was *chāyā*.

We should, however, also refer to an important note by Coomaraswamy (1935, p.38, n.1). Discussing the records of this cave by Chinese pilgrims, Coomaraswamy points out the following:

> Note that the word translated as "shadow" here [*ying*] signifies "figure," "phantom," copy," rather than "shadow" in its proper sense; cf. *chāyā* as a synonym of *savarṇā* ["a look-alike"] concerning Saraṇyu in the *Veda*; at the same time, the notion of "shelter" (cf. *chāyā* = *śarman* in the *Ṛg Veda*) cannot be entirely excluded.

In this regard, we should also note that, according to *Kadokawa Shinjigen*, 319th ed., p.346a-b, the most basic meaning of the Chinese character *ying* is "light" rather than "shadow." In this context it would mean "image." Obviously, one cannot see a "shadow" in a dark cave; it must be a brilliant "image." Therefore, I would like to translate this character as "image."

In a passage from the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya I shall quote later (p.274), we can find a story of the Buddha leaving his "image" on a pond. There, the Sanskrit word corresponding to "image" is *pratimā*. Since, however, this part of the Sanskrit text is a reconstruction by the editor, we cannot put full reliance on it.

known pilgrimage spot and was one of the destinations of the renowned Chinese pilgrims, Faxian 法顯 (335?-421?), Daorong 道榮 (fifth century), and Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-664). In China, Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416) yearned for the cave and made an imitation on his residential Mount Lu (Lushan) 廬山.[2]

Still now there are ruins of many Buddhist caves and stūpas around Jelālābād, and Alfred Foucher (1925, 278) considered the Buddha Image Cave to be located on the cliffs up to the cut of Siah-sang ("Black Stone") to the south of the village of Chahār Bāgh.[3] There are still caves in those cliffs, but the conglomerate cliffs are very easily eroded, and so it is hopeless to determine the exact location of the cave now. See also Higuchi 1952, 100; and Mizuno Seiichi 1971, 60.

2. See Foying ming 佛影銘 by Huiyuan (T52:197c-98b), and the Foying ming bing xu 佛影銘并序 by Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (T52:199b-c), both included in the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (No. 2103). See Tsukamoto Zenryū 1962, 75-78; Zürcher 1972, 224-25. See also Section I.1 of this dissertation.

3. Mizuno 1967, 31 considers Chahār Bāgh to be the site of the old Nagarahāra. See figure 1.

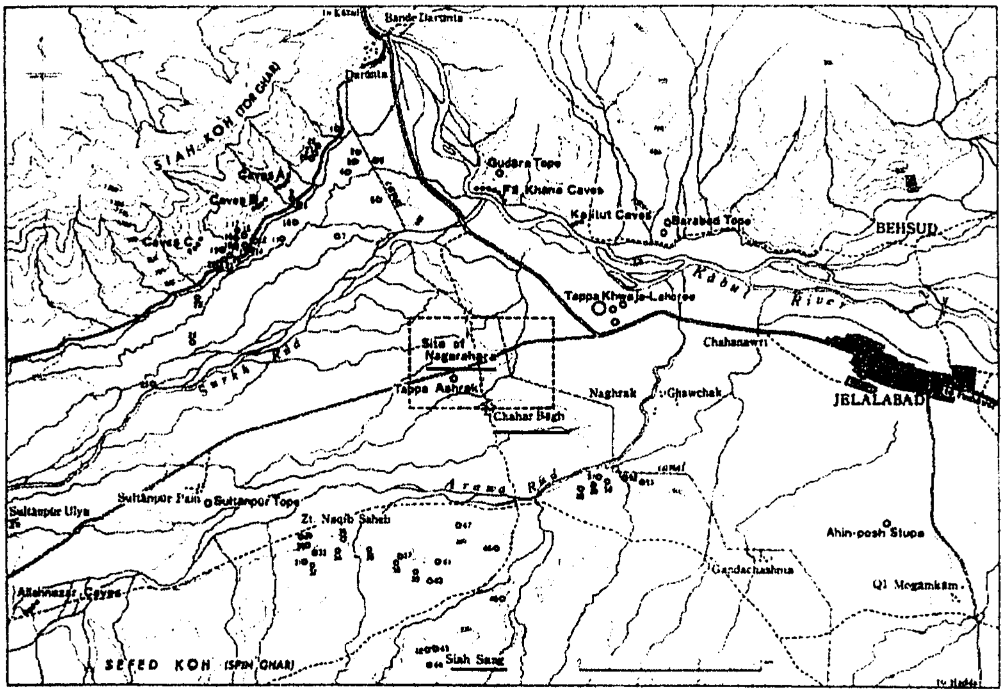


Fig. 24. ジェラーラーバード遺跡分布図 Archaeological Map of Jelālābād

Figure 1
(After Mizuno 1971, p.58, figure 24[4]; underline added by Yamabe)

Chapter 6 of the *GSHJ*, "The visualization of the four types of deportment [of the Buddha]" (*Guan siweiyi pin* 觀四威儀品), contains a long story about how the Buddha left his image in this cave and gives a detailed description of the cave itself. In the story, other pilgrimage spots in northwest India are also mentioned. For these reasons, Ono ([1923]1977, 77-114) and Soper (1949a, 279) suggested a Gandhāran origin for this sūtra, and their arguments have been very influential among subsequent scholars (Sueki 1992, 141-43; Ōminami 1995, 92-94; Miyaji [n.d.]1992a, 404; 406; [1988-89]1992, 454; Myōjin 1994, 70-73). Recently, Kuwayama (1990, 85-90) again discussed this story extensively and concluded that the portion must have been interpolated by the translator Buddhabhadra.[5]

---

4. This map is reproduced in Kuwayama 1990, 70.

5. These arguments were surveyed in Introduction and Section I.3. See also Section I.1.

Tsukinowa (1971, 69-72) challenges this prevalent opinion. He maintains that if this sūtra was indeed from Gandhāra, it should encourage pilgrimages to the actual site and not just visualization. He (p.72) points out what he considers to be strange transcriptions found in this portion of the *GSHJ* (21. Anasi *shanyan* 阿那斯山巖; 22. Fuba futi 弗巴浮提; 23. *tian xutuo wei* 天須陀味)[6] and thinks that the sūtra merely made use of the topic of the Buddha Image Cave that was already well-known in China from the time of Huiyuan.

His arguments about the transcriptions are not entirely convincing,[7] but his suspicion as a whole deserves due attention. Let us therefore re-examine the description of the Buddha Image Cave in the *GSHJ* carefully in this chapter.

a. The Buddha Image Cave in the *GSHJ*

Since the relevant portion of the sūtra is rather lengthy, I summarize the story and translate only the particularly significant portions.[8]

> 佛告阿難. 云何如來到那乾訶羅國古仙山薝蔔華林[9], 毒龍池側青蓮華泉北, 羅刹穴中阿那斯山巖南. 爾時彼穴有五羅刹. 化作女龍與毒龍通. 龍復降雹羅刹亂行, 飢饉疾疫已歷四年. (T15:679b7-11)

> The Buddha spoke to Ānanda: "[I will tell you] how the Tathāgata reached the *campaka* woods (*tanpuhua lin* 薝蔔華林) on the mountain of old sages in the state of Nagarahāra [and went] into the cave of *rākṣasī*s (*luocha* 羅刹

6. These numbers correspond to the ones in Section II.1, Table 1 of this dissertation.

7. For a more detailed discussion of these expressions, see Section II.1 of this dissertation.

8. A similar selective translation into French is given in Przyluski 1914, 565-68. A full Japanese translation of the story is found in Kuwayama 1990, 77-84. This story will be discussed again in Section III.4 of this dissertation.

9. Cf. 佛影今在西那伽訶羅國南山古仙石室中. (Foying ming by Huiyuan, T52:197c8-9).

)[10] on the south of the cliff of the Anāśin(?)[11] mountain (Anasi *shanyan* 阿那斯山巖), which is to the north of a blue lotus spring by the pond of venomous nāgas. At that time there were five *rākṣasīs* in the cave.[12] They transformed themselves into female nāgas and had intercourse with venomous nāgas. The venomous nāgas caused hail to fall and the *rākṣasīs* indulged in debaucheries. [As a result] famine and epidemics [became widespread], and four years had already passed [this way].

Distressed, the king of Nagarahāra, Puṣpabhūti, on the advice of a wise Brahmana, decided to invite Śākyamuni Buddha to quell the evil *rākṣasīs* and the venomous nāgas. The Buddha accepted the invitation and flew to Nagarahāra accompanied by his major disciples.

The nāgas and *rākṣasīs*, showing their most hideous forms, confronted the Buddha.

> 時金剛神手把大杵化身無數杵頭火燃如旋火輪．輪輪相次從空中下．火焰熱熾猶如融銅．燒悪龍身．龍王驚怖，無走遁處走入佛影．佛影清涼如甘露灑．[13] (T15:680a5-9)
>
> Then Vajrapāṇi held a great cudgel in his hand. On the tips of the cudgels [held by] innumerable emanation bodies [of Varjapāṇi], fire burned like wheels of fire. Wheels, whose flames are vehement like melted copper, went down one after another from the sky and burnt the body of the nāga. Being terrified, and finding nowhere to escape, the nāga ran into the Buddha's shadow. The Buddha's shadow was pure and cool like a shower of *amṛta*.

Further, the Buddha showed the scene of a Garuḍa trying to eat the nāga,

---

10. From the subsequent part, it becomes clear that they are female.

11. Concerning this Sanskrit reconstruction, see Przyluski 1914, p.565, n.1.

12. Note that they later offered this cave to the Buddha, where he left his image.

13. Cf. 四面火起，無有去處．唯舎利弗邊涼冷無火．即時屈伏，五體投地，求哀脱命．辱心已生，火即還滅． (*XYJ*, T4:420c11-13)

Fire arose on the four sides, and [*Raudrākṣa] had no place to go. Only around Śāriputra, it was cool without fire. He instantly surrendered, prostrated with his whole body, and begged for his life. When the sense of shame came up [in *Raudrākṣa], the fire ceased.

frightening the nāga once again.[14] After that, listening to the Buddha's preaching and receiving the precepts, the nāga king made a vow not to harm people any more.

Thereupon, the nāga king asked the Buddha to stay there forever so that he does not give rise to any evil thoughts. The nāga king donated the cave of the *rākṣasī*s for the Buddha to stay in, which the Buddha entered. When he put his sitting mat in the cave, the rock mountain temporarily became (a mountain of) seven jewels. The *rākṣasī*s and the nāga king made five caves for the four great disciples[15] and Ānanda.[16] Then, while seated in the cave, the Buddha revealed his images not only in the city of Nagarahāra but also at Gṛdhrakūṭa, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, and everywhere else.

> 爾時世尊，還攝神足從石窟出．與諸比丘遊履，先世爲菩薩時，兩兒布施處，投身餓虎處，以頭布施處，剜身千燈處，挑目布施處，割肉代鴿處．如是諸處龍皆隨從．(T15:681a18-21)
>
> Then, the Blessed One stopped displaying his miraculous powers and went out of the cave. With monks, [he] toured the places where in his former lives as a bodhisattva, he donated his two children, threw himself [down] for hungry tigers, donated his own head, scooped out [holes] on his body and lit one thousand lamps, plucked out his eyes and donated [them], and cut off his own flesh to save a dove. The nāga followed [the Buddha] to all of these places.

---

14. Cf. 佛復化作金翅鳥王，龍便突走．(*Pusa benxing jing* 菩薩本行經, T3:116b24-25 [No.155]).

Further, the Buddha magically created a Garuḍa king, and the nāga dashed away.

In the *GSHJ*, it is a little unnatural to frighten the nāga again after he was already defeated. This is perhaps because the story in the *GSHJ* was a composite story based on elements from various sources.

15. This might refer to Mahā-Kāśyapa, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, Śāripitra, and Mahā-Kātyāyana mentioned in the *GSHJ* (T15:679c2-9). Cf. that Mahā-Kāśyapa, Śāripitra, Mahā-Maudgalyāyana, and Aniruddha are mentioned in the Apalāla-subjugation legend in the *Pusa benxing jing*(T3:116a26-27).

16. Cf. 影窟左右多諸石室．皆是如來諸弟子入定之處．(*Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, T51:879a519-20).

On both sides of the [Buddha] Image Cave, there are many caves. All of them are the places where disciples of the Tathāgata entered samādhi.

窟北一里有目連窟．(*Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記, T51:1022a3-4 [No.2092])

One *li* to the north of the cave, there was a cave of Maudgalyāyana.

是時龍王聞佛還國啼哭雨淚白言世尊．請佛常住．云何捨我．我不見佛．當作惡事墜墮惡道．爾時世尊安慰龍王．我受汝請坐汝窟中．經千五百歲．(T15:681a21-25)

At that time, the nāga king heard that the Buddha was going back to his homeland, he rained tears in crying and said to the Buddha: "O Buddha, please stay [here] forever! Why do you abandon me? [If] I do not see the Buddha, I shall do evil things and fall into bad destinies." Then the Blessed One consoled the nāga king [and said]: "I grant your request and shall sit in your cave for a thousand and five hundred years."

Thereupon, the nāga king respectfully invited the Buddha back into the cave. Then:

釋迦文佛踊身入石．猶如明鏡人見面像，諸龍皆見佛在石内映現於外．爾時諸龍合掌歡喜．不出其池常見佛日．(T15:681a27-b1)

Śākyamuni Buddha jumped into the rock. Just like a clear mirror in which one sees one's face, the nāgas all saw the Buddha staying in the rock and projecting [an image] outside. At that time, the nāgas held their hands in the *añjalī* position in joy, [because] they could always see the sun[light] of the Buddha without going out of their pond.[17]

爾時世尊，結加趺坐在石壁内．衆生見時，遠望則見近則不現．諸天百千供養佛影．影亦說法 . . .(T15:681b2-3)

At that time, the Bhagavat was seated in the full-lotus posture in the wall of the cave. When people looked, they saw [the Buddha] from afar but not from nearby. Hundreds or thousands of gods served the image of the Buddha, and the image also preached...

若欲知佛坐者，當觀佛影．觀佛影者先觀佛像作丈六想結加趺坐．敷草爲座．請像令坐見坐了了．(ibid., b15-17)

If one wishes to know the seated Buddha, one should visualize the image of the Buddha. In order to visualize the image of the Buddha, one should first look at a statue of the Buddha and make a vision of [the Buddha's body] of one *zhang* six *chi* tall seated in the full-lotus posture on a grass seat. Entreat the [image of the] statue to be seated and see the seated [Buddha] clearly.

復當作想作一石窟．高一丈八尺，深二十四步，清白石想．此想成已，見坐佛像住虛空中足下雨花．(T15:681b17-19)

---

17. This line clearly indicates that the cave was believed to be near the pond by the author(s) of the *GSHJ*. We shall come back to this point later.

One should further visualize a rock cave one *zhang* eight *chi* high and twenty-four steps deep [made of] pure white rocks. Having made this vision, one sees the statue of the seated Buddha staying in the sky with flowers raining under his feet.

復見行想入石窟中. 入已復令石窟作七寶山想. 此想成已, 復見佛像踊入石壁. 石壁無礙猶如明鏡. 此想成已如前還想三十二相. 相相觀之極令明了. (T15:681b19-23)

Further, one sees a vision [of the Buddha's statue] walking into the rock cave. [Having seen the Buddha's statue] entering [the cave], one further turns the rock cave into the image of a mountain of seven jewels. Having made this image, one further sees the Buddha's statue jumping into the rock wall. The wall is smooth like a clear mirror. Having made this vision, one again visualizes the thirty-two bodily marks as before; visualizes each mark until it becomes extremely clear.

此想成已, 見諸化佛, 坐大寶花結加趺坐, 放身光明普照一切. 一一坐佛身毛孔中, 雨阿僧祇諸七寶幢, 一一幢頭百千寶幡. 幡極小者, 縱廣正等如須彌山. (T15:681b23-26)

Having made these visions, one sees various emanation Buddhas seated on big jewel flowers in the full-lotus posture emitting rays of light from the body and illuminating everything. [From?] within the pores of the bodies of the seated Buddhas rain uncountable banners of seven jewels, on each of which there are hundreds of thousands of jewel streamers. The smallest of these streamers is exactly the size of Mount Sumeru.

此寶幡中, 復有無數百千化佛. 一一化佛, 踊身皆入此石窟中佛影臍裏. (T15:681b26-28)

In these jewel streamers, there are also uncountable hundreds of thousands of emanation Buddhas. Each emanation Buddha jumps into the navel of the image of the [Śākyamuni] Buddha in the cave.

After this, the familiar stock phrase follows ("If one visualizes this way, it is correct visualization," etc.).[18] The *GSHJ* says that if a person cannot get visions, he or she should enter a stūpa, observe a seated statue, and repent his or her sins. By doing so, when Maitreya emerges in the world, this person can witness Maitreya seated under the Nāgapuṣpa tree and realize the three types of awakening as he wishes.

18. See Section III.2 of this dissertation.

b. Background: Nāga-Subjugation Legends and Caves with the Buddha's Images

The presence of nāga-subjugation legends in (northwest) India is well-attested in literary sources. See, for example, the following passages:

> yadā Bhagavān parinirvāṇakālasamaye 'palālanāgaṃ vinīya kumbhakārīṃ caṇḍālīṃ Gopālīṃ ca teṣāṃ Mathurām anuprāptaḥ. (*Aśokāvadāna*, Mukhopadhyaya ed., 2.1-2; *Divyāvadāna*, E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, eds., 348.20-22)
>
> It is said that when the Blessed One, around the time of his *parinirvāṇa*, had converted the nāga Apalāla, the potter, the outcaste woman, and Gopālī, he reached the city of Mathurā.[19] (translation by Strong [(1983)1989, 174]; emphasis added)[20]

The following passage from the *DZL* mentions several major elements found in the story of the *GSHJ* (north[west] India, nāga, *rākṣasī*, cave, and the Buddha's image).

> 有時暫來北天竺月氏國，降阿波羅龍王. 又至月氏國西，降女羅刹. 佛在彼石窟中一宿，于今佛影猶在. 有人就内看之則不見，出孔遥觀光相如佛. (*DZL*, T25:126b27-c1)
>
> Once [the Buddha] temporarily visited the state of Yuezhi in north India and subdued the Nāga King Apalāla.[21] [The Buddha] also went to the west of the state of Yuezhi and subjugated *rākṣasīs*. The Buddha stayed overnight

---

19. The story of the conversion of Apalāla, which was originally situated at Mathurā, seems to have been transported to northwest India. See Lamotte [1944]1981, p.188, n.1; and Przyluski 1914, p.512, n.1; p.558, n.1; p.559, n.1.

20. This corresponds to the following line in the *ST* (this portion of the *ST* is an incorporation of the *Aśokāvadāna*; corresponding passages appear also at T50:102b13-16; T50:135b17-19):

> 佛臨般涅槃時，降伏阿波羅龍王，陶師，旃荼羅，瞿波梨龍，詣摩偸羅國. (*ST*, T2:165b21-25; translated in Przyluski 1914, 558).
>
> Just before his *parinirvāṇa*, the Buddha pacified the nāga King Apalāla, the potter, the outcaste, and nāga Gopāla and reached the city of Mathurā.

21. The *Buddhacarita* 21.34 briefly states that the Buddha pacified Apalāla in Gandhāra.

in their cave, and now an image of the Buddha still exists there. If one looks at it inside, one does not see [the image]. If one goes out of the cave and looks [inside] from afar, the [projected] image of light looks like the Buddha.[22]

A more detailed version of these stories is found in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya.[23] For the latter part of the relevant portion, we have a Sanskrit text. Unfortunately, however, the Gilgit manuscript on which the published Sanskrit text was based does not seem to have been in very good condition (and/or the text was edited improperly), and thus the published text has many textual problems. For this reason, I quote the Chinese version (*Genben Shuoyiqie youbu pi'naye Yaoshi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶藥事, T24:39c-42a [No.1448]) in the main text and the Sanskrit text in footnotes.

When the time of nirvāṇa had approached, the Buddha decided to go to northwest India with his guardian Vajrapāṇi to convert many people. He first pacified several yakṣas and visited the palace of Apalāla nāga king. Upon seeing the Buddha entering his palace, Apalāla got furious and attacked the Buddha. His attack, however, had no affect on the Buddha.

> 爾時藥叉受如來教, 以金剛杵擊破山峰. 其山既倒壓半龍池. 是時龍王憂愁怕懼. 即欲逃鼠. (T24:40b21-23)

> At that time, receiving the instruction of the Tathāgata, the yakṣa [Vajrapāṇi] crashed the peak of the mountain with his adamantine cudgel (vajra).[24] The mountain collapsed and filled half of the pond of the nāga. Then the nāga king was horrified and tried to escape.

> 爾時世尊入火界定. 令其十方悉皆火聚. 是時龍王逃走無路, 唯世尊足立之處, 寂

22. French translation is found in Lamotte [1944]1981, 546-48. Various versions of these stories are compared in detail in ibid., 548-54, n.1. See also ibid., p.188, n.1. See also Hori [1912]1971, 210-12); and Hirakawa 1989, 304-5.

23. See also Przyluski (1914, 507-19) for a French translation of the relevant portion of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* from Chinese (T24:39c-42a [No.1448]).

24. A similar expression is found in the *Pusa benxing jing* 菩薩本行經 (T3:116b26-27 [No.155]).

靜清涼．是時龍王詣世尊所．頂禮雙足．(T24:40b23-26).

Then the Blessed One entered the samādhi of the fire element and filled the ten directions with flames. At that point, the nāga king had no way to escape. Only in the place where the Blessed One stood it was quiet and cool. So the nāga king approached the Blessed One and prostrated at his feet.

Thus having pacified Apalāla, the Buddha journeyed on and converted various beings.[25] Then:

於彼城側有一大池．阿濕縛迦，及布捺婆素，於此池中，俱受龍身．十二年後即便出現．心懷瞋怒，而自念言．世尊不爲我等說法．而令我等．今隨惡趣受此龍身．我等應毀壞彼教．(T24:41a14-18)

By the city [of Nandivardhana], there was a great pond, in which Aśvaka and Punarvaska were born as nāgas. After twelve years they emerged and thought, with anger in their minds: "The Blessed One did not teach the Dharma to us. Thus he let us fall into a bad destiny and be born as nāgas. We shall destroy his teachings."[26]

爾時世尊便作是念．此二毒龍有大威力．我滅度後，決定必能壞我法教而作灰塵．作是念已，便往池所，告二龍曰．有足經我爲汝說，令汝等知．(T24:41a19-22)

At that time, the Blessed One thought as follows: "These two venomous nāgas have great powers. After I enter nirvāṇa, they will certainly be able to destroy my teachings and turn them into ashes." Having thought thus, he went to the pond and said to the two nāgas: "I shall explain *The Sūtra for*

---

25. The converted beings include a potter (*kumbhakāra*), *nāgapālaka*, and seven sons of *mātaṅga* (=*caṇḍāra*; *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, Bagchi ed., p.9). They to be the referents of the passage from the *Aśokāvadāna* quoted above (p.272). Note that the*nāgapālakā* seems to correspond to *gopāla* in the other stories, but in Yijing's Chinese version, this word is interpreted in its literal sense (cowherd), and not as the name of a nāga.

26. [tatrĀśvakaPunarvasukau] nāgayonāv upapannau / dvādaśānāṃ varṣāṇām [atyayāt kṣubdhau] / tāv evam āhatuḥ / nāvayor Bhagavatā dharmo deśito yenāvāṃ vinipatitau nāgayo[nau yātau / kathaṃ vayam asya deśanāṃ jñāsyāmaḥ# / (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*, 9.14-16)

Note that the number is switched from dual to plural.

There, Aśvaka and Punarvaska were born as nāgas. After twelve years, they got distressed and said: "The Blessed One did not teach the Dharma to us, and that is why we fell down and were born as nāgas. How shall we know his teaching?"

the [Four]-Legged[27] for you and make you understand it."[28]

二龍白曰．我等龍身豈能解了．作是語已，便即没水．復作念言．世尊爲我說法，而我亦不能知解．<u>爾時世尊於其池所，便留其影</u>．龍見佛影，數數出現．常謂世尊猶住於此．(T24:41a22-26)

The two nāgas[, however,] said: "Being nāgas, how can we understand it?" Having said thus, they plunged into water. They further thought: "The Blessed One has taught the Dharma to us, but we still cannot understand it." At that time, <u>the Blessed One left his image on the pond</u>. The nāgas saw the Buddha's image and came up frequently. They always thought that the Blessed One still resided there.[29]

復於其處，調伏二夜叉女．一名那利迦，二名那荼達耶．爾時世尊至軍底城中有女藥叉，名曰軍底．常住此城心懷暴惡．而無畏難．(T24:41a26-29)

At that place, he pacified two *yakṣiṇīs*, *Nālikā and *Naḍodayā.[30] Then, the

---

27. The corresponding Sanskrit is *Catuṣpadiko dharmaparyāya*. Perhaps this refers to such a verse as found in the Mahīśāsakavinaya (*Mishasebu hexi Wubu lü*) 彌沙塞部和醯五部律, T22:103b2-3 (No.1421).

28. Bhagavata etad abhavat / tayor mahā]nubhāvaḥ / sthānam etad vidyate yat parinirvṛtasya me śāsanaṃ bhasmakariṣyata iti viditvā yenĀśvakaPunarvasukayor bhavanaṃ tenopasaṃkrāntaḥ / upasaṃkramy[ṬśvakaPunarvasukābhyāṃ *Catuṣpadiko dharmaparyāyo* deśitaḥ / etasya] vyākhyāṃ jñāsyatha / (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*, 9.16-19)

The following thought occurred to the Blessed One: "These two [nāgas] have great powers. It is possible that they will render my teaching into ashes when I enter the nirvāṇa." Knowing thus, he approached the abode of Aśvaka and Punarvasuka. Having approached, he taught the teaching entitled *The Four-Legged*, [saying:] "You will understand the explanation of that [teaching].

29. ke vayaṃ saddharmasya jñātāra iti viditvā tatraiva nimagnau / tayor etad abhavat / deśito 'smākaṃ Bhagavatā dharmaḥ / asmābhis tu na vijñāta i[ti / <u>Bhagavatā tasminn eva pradeśe pratimaikā</u> dattā / AśvakaPunarvasukau tatra] punar nimajjataḥ / <u>adyāpi Bhagavāṃs tiṣṭatīti tasminn eva pradeśe</u> / (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*, 9.19-23)

[The nāgas, however, thought: "Being nāgas,] how can we understand the true teaching?" Knowing thus, they plunged into the [water]. They thought as follows: "The Dharma has been taught by the Blessed One to us. We, however, did not understand it." <u>The Blessed One left a image of his at that</u> place. Aśvaka and Punarvaska again plunged there, thinking: "<u>The Blessed One stays there even now</u>."

30. Bhagavatā Nālī Udaryā ca <u>yakṣiṇī</u> vinītā / Kuntīnagaram anuprāptaḥ / Kuntīnagare [Kuntī yakṣiṇī iti khyātā krodhānvitā caṇḍā ca prativasati /] (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*, 9.23-24)

The Blessed One [further] tamed the <u>*yakṣiṇī*s</u> Nālī and Udaryā. [Then] he reached the City of Kuntī. In the City of Kuntī, an angry and fierce <u>*yakṣiṇī*</u> called Kuntī resided.

> Blessed One entered the city of Kuntī. A *yakṣiṇī*, Kuntī by name, who was fierce in mind, and who had no fear, always resided in this city.

This *yakṣiṇī* Kuntī is also converted by the Buddha. Buddha then gives prophecies about King Kaniṣka and Upagupta. In the prophecy about Upagupta, the following passage appears:

> 傳我法者，此爲最後．於那吒婆吒寺内，有窟長十八肘，廣十二肘，高七肘．由彼説法化，得證阿羅漢者，各一籌長可四指，擲著窟中．是時近密而取滅度．彼諸門人，即便取籌，積集一處，而用闍毘．(T24:41c29-42a4)[31]

> [Upagupta] will be the last in the transmission of my Dharma. In the Naṭabhaṭika[32] monastery, there will be a cave eighteen cubits long, twelve cubits wide, and seven cubits high. Each one of those who have attained arhatship by his teachings will throw a stick of approximately four fingers' length into the cave. Then Upagupta will enter the nirvāṇa. His disciples will take the sticks, pile them up at one place, and use them for cremating him.

Though the details do not agree, many elements in the stories in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* sound familiar to us who have seen the nāga-subjugation story in the *GSHJ*.

In addition to these literary sources, the aquatic scene at Haḍḍa reproduced below is "interpreted as a scene of submission and conversion of a nāga-king to Buddhism"

For the names of two *yakṣiṇīs*, the Chinese transcriptions do not exactly correspond to the forms retained in the Sanskrit text. I have referred to Lamotte [1944]1981, 554 for reconstructing the forms corresponding to the Chinese transcription.

31. Upaguptaḥ paścimako bhaviṣyati [avavādakānām / vṛkṣa]vāṭikāyāṃ guhā bhaviṣyati / dairdhyeṇāṣṭādaṣahastā / vistāreṇa dvādaśa / ucchrāyeṇa sapta / ye ye tasyāvavāde arhattvaṃ sākṣātkariṣyanti te te caturaṅgulamātrāṃ kaṭikāṃ tasyām guhāyāṃ prakṣepsyante / [yadā sā guhā pūrṇā] bhaviṣyati arhatkaṭikābhis tadā Upaguptaḥ parinirvāsyati / parinirvṛtaṃ cainaṃ tābhir evārhatkaṭikābhiḥ sametya te dhmāpayiṣyanti / (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*, 11.19-23)

Upagupta will be the last master [in the Dharma transmission]. In the garden of trees, there will be a cave. It will be eighteen cubits long, twelve cubits wide, and seven cubits high. All of those who will have attained the arhatship by his teaching will throw a stick of four fingers long into the cave. When the cave is filled with the sticks [thrown by the arhats], Upagupta will enter the nirvāṇa. The [arhats] will gather and cremate Upagupta who has entered the nirvāṇa with those arhat's sticks.

Note that a similar passage appears in the *Aśokāvadāna* also (Mukhopadhyaya ed., 2.7-11; *Divyavadāna*, 349.2-6), just after the portion quoted above (p.271)

32. This name is attested at the Sanskrit text, 11.15.

(Gaulier, Jera-Bezard, and Maillard 1976, 2:37). Since Haḍḍa is very close to Nagarahāra, where the Buddha Image Cave was located (see the map below), this work also demonstrates the existence of a nāga-subjugation myth in this region.

97. Aquatic scene Haḍḍa.

Figure 2
(After Gaulier, Jera-Bezard, and Maillard 1976, 2: figure 97)[33]

For the locations of Nagarahāra and Haḍḍa, see the map below:

---

33. Other pictures of the same niche are found in Higuchi 1986, figures 103, 127, 128. See also ibid., p.173.

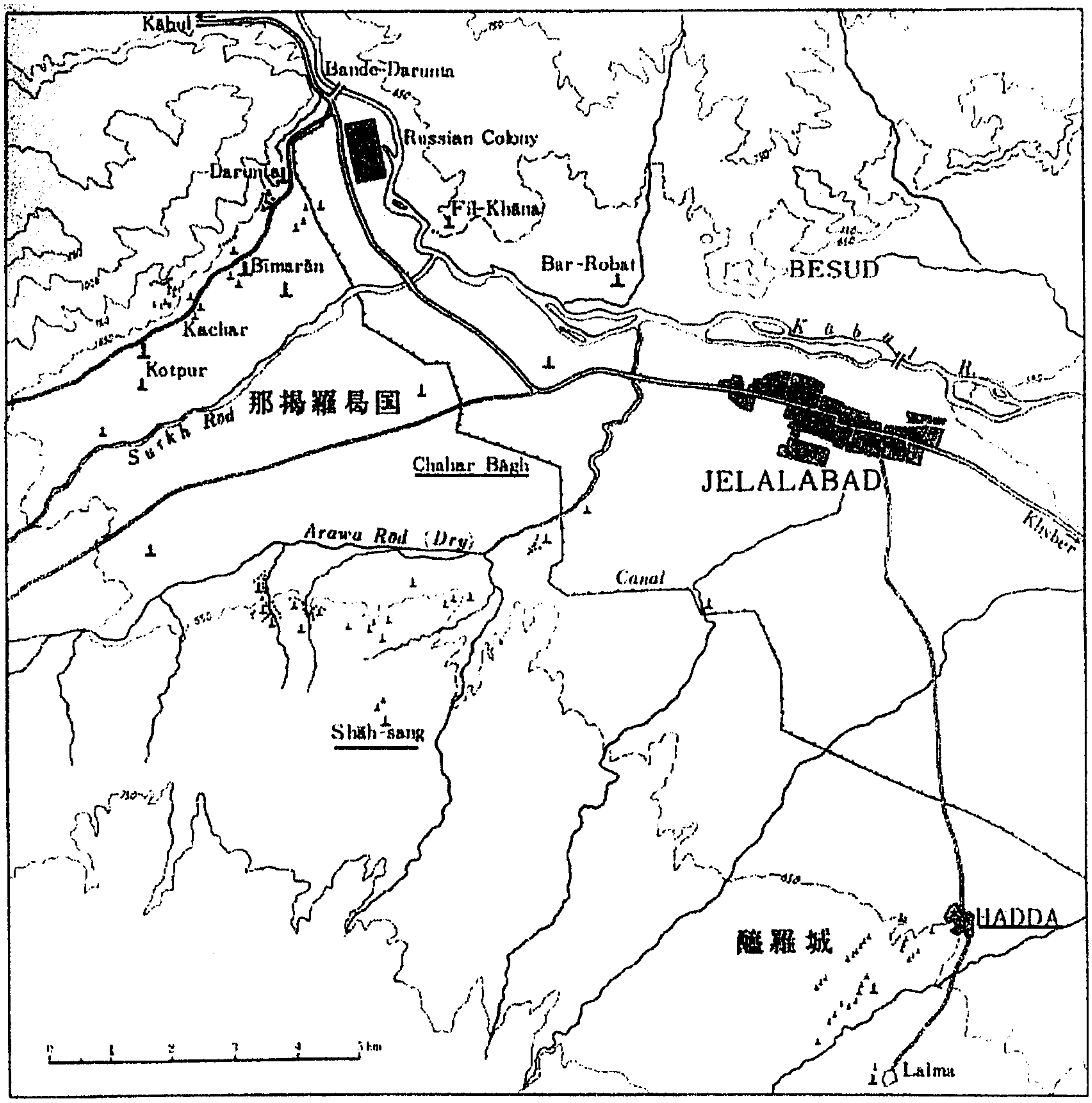


Fig. 20 ジェラーラーバード遺跡図 Map of Archaeological Sites, Jelālābād

Figure 3
(After Mizuno 1967, p.33, figure 20; underlines added by Yamabe)

There are also several reliefs that are interpreted as the scene of the subjugation of Apalāla. See Foucher 1905, 544-53; Ono [1923]1977, 73-74. Further, the image of the Buddha sitting in a cave is widely attested in Gandhāra and Qizil ("Indra's Visit" motif; Soper 1949a, 259; Miyaji 1992, 435-42). The *YL* also frequently mentions a "cave." It is certain that the cave imagery was widespread in northwest India and Central Asia.

Also, we should note that the Buddha Image Cave at Nagarahāra was not the only cave where the "shadow/image" of the Buddha was believed to have been left. Hendrik Kern ([1898]1989, 90) points out that "in many places believers were shown some cavern where the Buddha or Bodhisattva had left his shadow; e. g. near Kauśāmbī,[34] Gayā,[35] Nagara." The relief reproduced below is suspected to represent one of those caves (possibly that of Bodhgayā; see Coomaraswamy 1935, 37-38):

34. *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, T51:898b3-9 (No.2097).

35. *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳, T51:863a29-b2 (No.2085); James Legge [1886]1991, 87-88; *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, T51:915a14-b3 (No.2087).

2. — POTEAU 6. LA GROTTE DE L'OMBRE DU BOUDDHA (?).

Figure 4
(After Coomaraswamy 1935, plate 47)

Considering these points, there seems to be nothing wrong with the story in the *GSHJ*. Moreover, as we have seen (p.266), Tsukinowa's suspicion on this point is not based on very strong reasons. This section of the *GSHJ* indeed seems to support the "Gandhāra Theory."

The widespread popularity of the cave motif, however, makes an alternative

interpretation possible. Judging from the close ties between Central Asia and northwest India, the "Buddha Image Cave" itself was probably well-known in Central Asia. As we shall see below, there are also records left by Chinese pilgrims on the "Buddha Image Cave." It is therefore not surprising if Central Asian people were familiar with this apparently very popular pilgrimage site. It is, however, another matter if they had a first-hand knowledge of the site. As the following examination shows, actually there are reasons that make us seriously doubtful about the author(s) of the *GSHJ* had direct access to this spot.

c. Descriptions of the Cave

If we examine this section of the *GSHJ* carefully, we notice that there are suspicious points. First, the descriptions of the cave the *GSHJ* gives seem to contradict the testimony of Chinese pilgrims. Let us discuss this point first.

Faxian 法顯, who visited the site in 402,[36] says concerning the cave as follows (*Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳, T51:859a3-6 [No.2085]):[37]

> 那竭城南半由延有石室, 摶[38]山西南向, 佛留影. 此中去十餘歩觀之如佛眞形, 金色相好光明炳著. 轉近轉微髣髴如有.諸方國王遣工畫師模[39]寫莫能及. 彼國傳云. 千佛盡當於此留影.
>
> Half a *yojana* south of the city of Nagara[hāra], there is a rock cave on the side of a mountain facing the south-west, where the Buddha has left his

36. See Nagasawa Kazutoshi 1996, 191.

37. In translating this passage, I referred to and partly made use of the translation by James Legge ([1886]1965, 39) and by Nagasawa 1996, 38-40.

38. The text has *bo* 博, but I emended it as above following Nagasawa 1996, 37; p.41, n.10.

39. The text has *mo* 摹, which is a variant form of *mo* 模. Since the footnote of the Taishō canon gives the more standard *mo* 模 as a variant, I use this character in my quotation.

image. Going into it ten-odd steps and looking at it,[40] it is like the Buddha's true image, [with his] golden bodily marks and brilliant rays of light. The more one approaches, however, the fainter it becomes, and [finally] it gets very obscure and hardly visible. Kings of various states sent artists and have them copy it, but no [artist] was able do that. People in that state say that the thousand Buddhas [of this kalpa] will leave their images here.

Daorong's 道榮 report (fifth century)[41] is very similar (incorporated in the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 together with the *Huisheng xingji* 惠生行記 and the *Songyun jiaji* 宋雲家記[42] at T51:1021c18-22a4 [No.2092]):[43]

> 道榮傳云. 至那迦羅訶[44]國. . . . 至瞿波羅窟[45]見佛影. 入山窟十五歩. 西面向戸[46], 遥望則衆相炳然, 近看瞑然不見. 以手摩之唯有石壁, 漸漸却行始見其相. 容顔挺特, 世所希有. 窟前有方石, 石上有佛跡. 窟西南百步有佛浣衣處. 窟北一里有目連窟.

> The record of Daorong say: I reached the state of Nagarahāra. . . . Going to the cave of Gopāla [nāga], I saw the image of the Buddha [when] I entered the mountain cave, whose gate faced the west, [and I advanced] fifteen

---

40. Perhaps *cizhong* 此中 should be read with the previous sentence, and this line should be read as: "Looking at it from ten-odd steps away . . . ." I am not sure on this point,but the rendering above seems to be more consonant with the following report of Daorong.

41. Concerning Daorong, see Chavannes 1970, pp.383-84, n.4.

42. See Nagasawa [1968]1983, 467.

43. See also Samuel Beal [1884]1981,1:cvii-cviii; and Édouard Chavannes 1970, 428-29.

44. The text has *a* 阿, but I follow the variant shown in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

45. The text has Juluoluolu 瞿羅羅鹿, but this is obviously corrupt. I suggest the reading above. See Beal [1884]1981, 1: p.cvii, n.68; Chavannes 1970, p.428, n.8.

46. This phrase seems corrupt, as pointed out by Chavannes (1970, p.428, n.10) and Nagasawa (1996, p.41, n.11). The text has *simian xianghu* 四面向戸,but as Chavannes notes, this phrase should be compared with *menxiang xikai* 門向西開 in the *Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* (quoted below). Therefore, at least the first character should be emended into *xi* 西. Based on a variant text and some conjecture, Chavannes suggests the following emendation: *jian foyingku xixianghu rushan shiwubu* 見佛影窟, 西向戸, 入山十五歩. This seems to be a little too much of conjecture to me, so I base my understanding on the text indicated above.

steps. When I looked at [the image] from afar,[47] various [bodily] marks were clear[ly seen], but when I approached and looked at it, it became obscure and invisible. I rubbed it with my hands, but there was only a rock wall. Only when I retreated little by little, I saw the marks. The face was distinguished and rare in the world. There was a square rock in front of the cave, on which there were [foot]prints of the Buddha. One hundred steps to the southwest of the cave, there was a place where the Buddha washed his robe. One *li* to the north of the cave, there was a cave of Maudgalyāyana.

On the other hand, Xuanzang (seventh century) reports on the same cave as follows (*Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, T51:878c21-79a20 [No.2087]):[48]

城西南二十餘里至小石嶺. 有伽藍. . . . 伽藍西南深澗峭[49]絶, 瀑布飛流懸崖壁立. 東崖石壁有大洞穴. 瞿波羅龍之所居也. 門徑挟小窟穴冥闇. 崖石津滴磎徑餘流.

Twenty *li* to the southwest of the city, one reaches a small rock mountain, [on which] there is a monastery. . . . To the south-west of the monastery is a deep and steep valley. A cataract is leaping down and perpendicular cliffs are standing like walls. On the eastern cliff, there is a huge cave, where Gopāla nāga resided. The entrance passage is narrow and the inside dark. Water is dripping down from the rocks and makes small streams on the path.[50]

昔有佛影煥若眞容, 相好具足儼然如在. 近代已來人不遍覩, 縱有所見髣髴而已. 至誠祈請有冥感者, 乃暫明視尚不能久.

In the past, the image of the Buddha was brilliant as if the true figure [of the Buddha himself] were there solemnly with his full bodily marks. Since recent times, however, people do not always see [the image]; even if one sees something, it is only faint. If one prays ardently and if one's wish is granted, one can see the image clearly for a while; even in that case it cannot last very long.

---

47. Beal ([1994]1981, cvii) translates this phrase as "for a long time (*or*, at a long distance)." I think the latter is more appropriate.

48. See also Samuel Beal [1884]1981, 93-95; Mizutani Shinjō [1971]1986, 51-52.

49. The text of the *Taishō* canon has 陗, which is a variant form of this character. See *Kadokawa Shinjigen* (319th ed.), p.304.

50. I am not sure about the meaning of the last phrase. Beal ([1884]1981, 93): "the precipitous rock causes the water to find its way in various rivulets into this cavern." Mizutani ([1971]1986, 51):崖の石には水がしたたり, 細い道に流れを造っている.

昔如來在世之時，此龍爲牧牛之士供王乳酪．進奉失宜既獲譴責．心懷恚恨，即以金錢買華供養受記窣堵婆，願爲悪龍破國害王．即趣石壁投身而死．遂居此窟爲大龍王．便欲出穴成本悪願．

While the Tathāgata was alive, this nāga was a cowherd and served milk and curds to the king. His demeanor, however, was not appropriate, and he was reprimanded. Holding a grudge in his mind, he bought flowers with money and offered them to the stūpa that commemorates the prediction [of the buddhahood of Śākyamuni by Dīpankara Buddha]. Thereby he wished that he would become an evil nāga and harm the state and the king. Then he went to the cliff, threw himself [down], and died. He consequently became a great nāga king residing in this cave. He was about to come out of the cave and accomplish his original evil wish.

適起此心，如來已鑒．愍此國人爲龍所害，運神通力自中印度至．龍見如來毒心遂止，受不殺戒，願護正法．因請如來常居此窟．諸聖弟子恒受我供．如來告曰．吾将寂滅爲汝留影．遣五羅漢常受汝供．正法隠没其事無替．汝若毒心奮怒，當觀吾留影．以慈善故毒心當止．此賢劫中當來世尊，亦悲愍汝皆留影像．

As soon as he gave rise to this thought, the Tathāgata already noticed it. Pitying the people of this state for being harmed by the nāga, he came from Central India using his miraculous power. When the nāga saw the Tathāgata, [the nāga's] harmful thought ceased. [The nāga, then,] received the precept of not killing and wished to protect the True Dharma. Thus he requested that the Tathāgata stay in the cave forever and that the noble disciples always receive his offerings. The Tathāgata said: "I am about to enter nirvāṇa, but I shall leave my image for you. I shall further send five arhats who will always receive your offerings. Even if the True Dharma is eclipsed, this matter will not change. If you have evil thoughts and become furious, you should look at the image I leave [for you]. Because of the merciful [appearance of the image], your evil thoughts will cease. The future Tathāgatas in this Bhadrakalpa will also pity you and all leave their images [for you].

影窟門外有二方石．其一石上有如來足蹈之迹．輪相微現光明時燭．影窟左右多諸石室．皆是如來諸弟子入定之處．

Outside of the gate of the [Buddha] Image Cave, there are two square stones. On one of them, there are footprints of the Tathāgata. The marks of [Dharma] Wheels are faintly visible, and rays of light come out from time to time. On both sides of the [Buddha] Image Cave, there are many caves. All of them are the places where disciples of the Tathāgata entered samādhi.

Further, in his biography (*Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳), the

cave is described as follows (T50:229c10-30a17):[51]

又聞燈光城西南二十餘里有瞿波羅龍王所住之窟. 如來昔日降伏此龍. 因留影在中 . . . . 窟在石澗東壁, 門向西開. 窺之窈冥一無所覩. 老人云. 師直入觸東壁訖却行五十歩許. 正東而觀影在其處. 法師入信足而前可五十歩, 果觸東壁訖却立. 至誠而禮百餘拝, 一無所見.

[Xuanzang] also heard that twenty-odd *li* to the southwest of the city of Dīpavatī (Nagarahāra),[52] there is a cave in which Gopāla nāga king resided. In the past the Tathāgata pacified this nāga and thus left his image there. . . . The cave was on the eastern cliff of a rocky valley, whose gate opened to the west. When [Xuanzang] peeped into [the cave], it was dark and nothing was seen. The old man [who guided Xuanzang] said: "Master, please go straight in. When you touch the eastern wall, please go back about fifty steps. Then you look straight to the east, and the image will be there." The master entered [the cave] and proceeded about fifty steps in strides. Then he touched the east wall as was told, retreated and stood. [There] he prostrated himself about a hundred times most earnestly, but he did not see anything.△

自責障累悲號懊惚. 更至心禮誦勝鬘等諸經讚佛偈頌. 隨讃隨禮, 復百餘拝, 見東壁現如鉢許大光倏[53]而還滅. 悲喜更禮, 復有槃許大光現, 現已還滅.

He blamed [his own] accumulated obstructions, cried and mourned. He prostrated and chanted various sūtras, such as the *Śrīmālādevī*, and hymns to the Buddha even more earnestly. He chanted and prostrated for another one hundred times or so. [Then] he saw a light on the eastern wall as big as a bowl, but it disappeared after a while. Half pleased and half disappointed, he further prostrated. [Then] a light appeared again, [this time] as big as a tray, but soon disappeared.

益增感慕, 自誓若不見世尊影, 終不移此地. 如是更二百餘拝, 遂一窟大明見如來影皎然在壁. 如開雲霧, 忽覩金山.

Feeling an even stronger yearning, he vowed to himself: "If I cannot see the image of the Blessed One, I will never leave this place." Thus he continued to prostrate for approximately two hundred times, then at last the light filled the whole cave, and he saw a brilliant image of the Tathāgata on the wall. It was as if cloud and mist were blown away, and [one] suddenly saw a golden mountain.

---

51. A Japanese translation is found at Nagasawa Kazutoshi 1985, 55-57.

52. See Nagasawa 1985, 55.

53. This is a variant form of the character in the Taishō canon. See *Dai kanwa jiten* (revised ed.), 1:825c. The original character is not available in my font sets.

妙相熙融神姿晃昱瞻仰慶躍不知所譬. 佛身及袈裟並赤黃色. 自膝已上相好極明, 華座已下稍似微昧. 膝左右及背後菩薩聖僧等影亦皆具有.

The noble appearance was radiant and the divine figure resplendent. When he looked up, he was filled with joy and excitement which were incomparable to anything else. The Buddha's body and robe were both reddish yellow. The bodily marks above the knees were extremely clear, but below the lotus seat [the image] was a little obscure. On both sides of the knees and behind [him] there were complete images of bodhisattvas and noble monks.

見已遥命門外六人, 将火入燒香. 比火至欻然佛影還隱. 急令絶火更請方乃重現. 六人中五人得見. 一人竟無所覩. 如是可半食頃了了明見, 得申禮讚供散華香訖光滅. 爾乃辭出. 所送婆羅門歡喜歎未曾有, 云非師志誠願力之厚無致此也.

Having seen them, he ordered from afar the six people outside the gate to enter with fire and offer incense. When this fire approached, suddenly the image of the Buddha disappeared. He had the fire put out in a hurry and further summoned [the Buddha], then [the image] reappeared. Five out of the six people could see, but one finally could not see anything. Thus, [the image] was clearly visible for a while. When they finished chanting hymns and offering petals and incense, the light disappeared, and they came out. The Brahman who took him here rejoiced and praised this rare incident, saying: "Without the strong power of the master's earnest vow, this would never have been possible."

From these descriptions, apparently the sunlight reflected by something outside the cave came in and projected a Buddha-like image only at certain periods of the day. Since one of the followers of Xuanzang could not see the Buddha image till the end, psychological factors may have been also important. In other words, since this was a natural phenomenon, some ambiguous image would have been projected on the wall, and if the person had a strong expectation of seeing the Buddha there, it would have appeared as the Buddha. Apparently the surrounding conditions that brought about this miraculous image had changed from the time of Faxian and Daorong (fifth century) to the time of Xuanzang (seventh century), because what was easily seen at the time of Faxian and Daorong had become very difficult to see at the time of Xuanzang. Even so, the basic settings (the size and the location of the cave, etc.) could not have changed in two hundred years or so. Therefore, a comparison between the *GSHJ* and the detailed records kept by

Xuanzang (and his followers) must also be meaningful. Then, we notice a few problems.

First, the *GSHJ* says that the cave was situated "to the north of a blue lotus spring by the pond of venomous nāgas," but it is evident from Xuanzang's records that the cave was facing a deep valley, not a spring or a pond. The author(s) of the *GSHJ* seem to have had a very pastoral type of scenery as the setting of this story, but this is very different from the impression we get from Xuanzang's records.

There are also some suspicions about the size of the cave. Judging from Xuanzang's testimony ("The entrance passage was narrow and the inside dark."), it is difficult to imagine that the cave was one *zhang* eight *chi* high (about 5.6 meters). I would rather suspect that this was a mere conjecture derived from the legendary height of the Buddha (one *zhang* six *chi*).

In addition, if we believe the *Daciensi Sanzang Fashi zhuan*, the cave was about fifty steps long.[54] It is therefore impossible that it was only twenty-four steps long as the *GSHJ* states. Since, however, I am not sure about the reading of the *Faxian zhuan*,[55] this point is not decisive.

Further, in the *GSHJ*, the cave is greatly idealized (e.g., "[made of] pure white rocks," "the wall is smooth like a clear mirror"), which does not sound very real, particularly in the face of the records of Daorong ("I rubbed it with my hands, but there was only a rock wall"). Even though the *GSHJ* itself makes it clear that this is not a realistic description of the actual cave ("the rock mountain temporarily became [a mountain of] seven jewels"), I still doubt if such an description was possible for somebody who has seen the site itself.

There is even some disagreement about the details of the image itself between the *GSHJ* and Xuanzang ("a grass seat" and "a lotus seat"; "emanation Buddhas" and

---

54. I have some hesitation on this point. "Fifty steps" seems a little too far away to see the details of the projected image clearly. Perhaps *wushi* 五十 in the *Daciensi Sanzang Fashi zhuan* is a mistake of *shiwu* 十五, but this reading is not supported by any edition of the text.

55. See n.40.

"bodhisattvas and noble monks").[56]

Among these, the most important point is the first one, and so let us examine this point more carefully. When the *GSHJ* says that the cave was situated "to the north of a blue lotus spring by the pond of venomous nāgas," logically this could also mean that the cave was hundreds of miles to the north of the nāgas' pond. If that interpretation is possible, it may not necessarily contradict Xuanzang's records. However, since the *GSHJ* also says that the nāgas were happy because "they could always see the sun[light] of the Buddha without going out of their pond." Clearly the author(s) of the *GSHJ* must have presupposed that the nāga's pond was nearby the cave. If so, it becomes very difficult to reconcile the descriptions in the *GSHJ* with the record of Xuanzang.

How can we explain such a contradiction? It is of course difficult to give a definite answer to this question, but when I compare the descriptions in the *DZL* and the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* with those in the *GSHJ*, a suspicion comes up to my mind. Let us first compare the *GSHJ* and the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*.

Table 1

GSHJ (T15)	*Bhaiṣajyavastu* (T24)
(1) 云何如來到那乾訶羅國古仙山薝葡華林. . . (679b7-8)	爾時世尊復至仙人住處. (40b4)
[I will tell you] how the Tathāgata reached the *campaka* woods on the mountain of old sages in the state of Nagarahāra . . .	Then the Blessed One further reached the place where sages resided.
(2) 時金剛神手把大杵化身無數杵頭火燃如旋火輪. 輪輪相次從空中下. 火焔熱熾猶如融銅. 燒悪龍身. 龍王驚怖. 無走遁處走入佛影. 佛影清涼如甘露灑. (680a5-9)	爾時藥叉受如來教, 以金剛杵擊破山峰. 其山既倒壓半龍池. 是時龍王憂愁怕懼. 即欲逃竄. 爾時世尊入火界定. 令其十方悉皆火聚. 是時龍王逃走無路, 唯世尊足立之處. 寂靜清涼. 是時龍王詣世尊所, 頂禮雙足. (40b21-26)

56. Regarding this point, it should also be taken into account that the same image could have looked differently influenced by subjective elements. See p.285. Also, since the *GSHJ* is a visualization text, the descriptions may not be strictly true to the original image.

Then Vajrapāṇi held a great cudgel in his hand. On the tips of the cudgels [held by] innumerable emanation bodies [of Varjapāṇi], fire burned like wheels of fire. Wheels, whose flames are vehement like melted copper, came down one after another from the sky and burnt the body of the nāga. Being terrified, and finding nowhere to escape, the nāga ran into the Buddha's shadow. The Buddha's shadow was pure and cool like a shower of *amṛta*.	At that time, receiving the instruction of the Tathāgata, the yakṣa [Vajrapāṇi] crashed the peak of the mountain with his adamantine cudgel (vajra). The mountain collapsed and filled half of the pond of the nāga. Then the nāga king was horrified and tried to escape. Then the Blessed One entered the samādhi of the fire element and filled the ten directions with flames. At that point, the nāga king had no way to escape. Only the place the Blessed One stood was quiet and cool. So the nāga king approached the Blessed One and prostrated himself at his feet.
(3) 自有衆生樂觀如來於那乾訶羅降伏諸龍留影時. (647c23-24) 釋迦文佛踊身入石. 猶如明鏡人見面像, 諸龍皆見佛在石内映現於外. 爾時諸龍合掌歡喜. 不出其池常見佛日. (681a27-b1)	爾時世尊於其池所, 便留其影. 龍見佛影數數出現. 常謂世尊猶住於此. (41a24-26)
There are people who would like to visualize how the Tathāgata pacified nāgas and left his image. Śākyamuni Buddha jumped into the rock. Just like a clear mirror in which one sees one's face, the nāgas all saw the Buddha remaining in the rock and projecting [an image] outside. At that time, the nāgas held their hands in the *añjalī* position in joy, [because] they could always see the sun[light] of the Buddha without going out of their pond.	At that time, the Blessed One left his image on the pond. The nāgas saw the Buddha's image and came up frequently. They always thought that the Blessed One still stayed there.
(4) 請佛常住. 云何捨我. 我不見佛. 當作悪事墜墮悪道. (681c22-23)	世尊不爲我等説法, 而令我等, 今墮悪趣受此龍身. (41a16-17)
"O Buddha, please stay [here] forever! Why do you abandon me? [If] I do not see the Buddha, I shall do evil things and fall into bad destinies."	The Blessed One did not teach the Dharma to us. Thus he let us fall into a bad destiny and be born as nāgas.
(5) 復當作想作一石窟. 高一丈八尺, 深二十四歩. (681b17-18)	有窟長十八肘, 廣十二肘, 高七肘. (42a1)
One should further visualize a rock cave one *zhang* eight *chi* high and twenty-four steps deep [made of] pure white rocks.	there will be a cave eighteen cubits long, twelve cubits wide, and seven cubits high.

We notice that there are a few similar elements shared by these two texts. We should note, however, that in the *GSHJ*, all these elements belong to a single story, but in

the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, they belong to separate stories.

Among these, since item (1) does not seem too significant,[57] let us first examine item (2). The legend of the subjugation of Apalāla nāga was, as we have seen, definitely a popular story in this area that was already known to Aśvaghoṣa (see n.21). We can confirm from both the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* and Xuanzang that Apalāla was believed to have been pacified by Vajrapāni. The scene of this story, however, is Uḍḍiyāna, and no record associates Apalāla with the Buddha Image Cave. See the map below for the locations of Uḍḍiyāna and Nagarahāra.

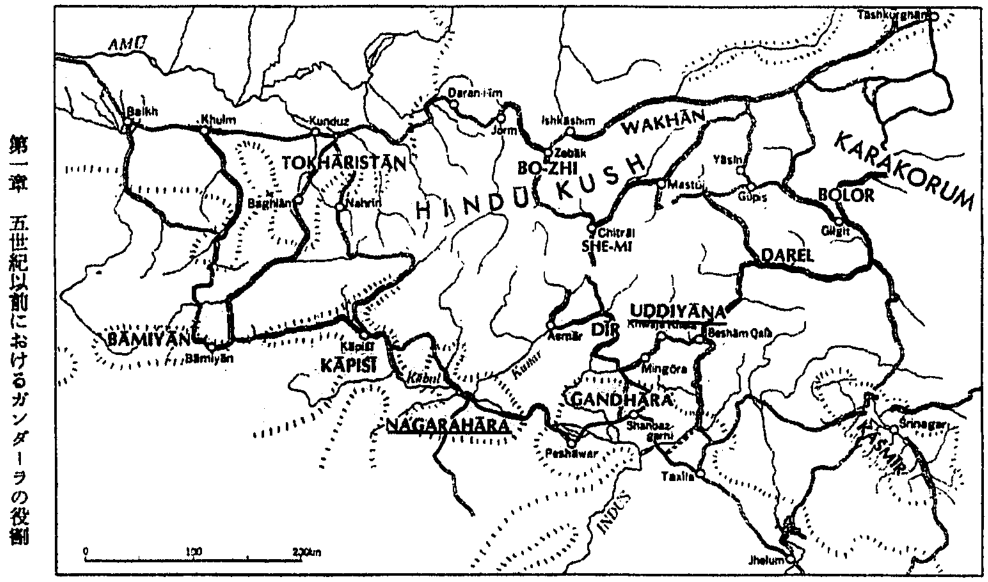


圖23 4－5世紀における佛僧往來ルート（黒線部分）

Figure 5
(After Kuwayama 1990, p.61, figure 23; underlines added by Yamabe)

On the other hand, the original resident of the Buddha Image Cave is said to have

57. Cf. 佛影今在那伽訶羅國南山古仙石室中. (Foying ming by Huiyuan, T52:197c8-9)

The image of the Buddha now rests in a stone chamber of old sages in the southern mountain of the state of Nagarahāra.

been either *rākṣāṣīs* (*DZL*) or Gopāla nāga (Daorong, Xuanzang).[58] In neither of these stories we can confirm the role of Vajrapāni. Further, the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* does not mention the Buddha Image Cave at all but contains another nāga-subjugation legend associated with the Buddha's "image," in this case left on a pond (item [3]).[59] Here again, the two nāgas are converted peacefully without being beaten by Vajrapāni.[60]

Further, let us note that in item (4), we can observe the motif of nāgas falling into bad destinies due to no contact with the Buddha in both texts.

The description of the size of a cave (item [5]) appears in the story of Upagupta in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. This has nothing to do with nāga-subjugation, and so there is no evidence that this description was in any way linked to the similar description in the *GSHJ*.[61] Nevertheless, this passage appears a little after the story of the Buddha's image left on the pond, and thus its location in the text roughly corresponds to that of the similar description in the *GSHJ*.

My suspicion is that perhaps the author(s) of the *GSHJ* picked up several elements found in a series of separate stories and put them into a single story. In this connection, we should recall that the Buddha Image Cave itself is not mentioned at all in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. Several *rākṣaṣīs* and the Buddha's image do appear, but neither of them is associated with the Cave. Perhaps this has something to do with the relatively late date of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. As we have seen in Xuanzang's records, the image in the Cave had

---

58. The name of Gopāla nāga appears already in the *Aśokāvadāna*, but not in association with the Buddha Image Cave. The story of the subjugation of Gopāla nāga also appears as the Gopālanāgadamanāvadāna, the fifty-sixth story of the *Avadānakalpalatā* by a eleventh-century Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra. There the story is located at a stone mountain in the suburbs of the city Hiṅgumardana, which Soper suspects to have been a corruption of Nandivardhana. See Soper 1949a, pp.278-79, n.65.

59. This story has been also noted by Soper (1949a, 278-79)

60. In the Gopālanāgadamanāvadāna of the *Avadānakalpalatā*, there is some confrontation between the Gopāla and the Buddha. but here again Vajrapāni does not play any role in the confrontation. Further, we should note that this is a very late source, and so we cannot put too much stress on this work for the present purpose.

61. A corresponding passage appears in the *Ayuwang zhuan*, T50:120b2; *Ayuwang jing*, T50:161a18-19.

become very hard to see by the early seventh century, so it would be possible that people soon lost interest in the story about the origin of the Buddha Image Cave.[62] The story of the Buddha's leaving an image survived somehow, but it was transported to a different place and situation.[63]

The last point is of course merely a conjecture, but, I think it quite possible that the version of the nāga-subjugation legend found in the *GSHJ* was the result of conflation of several originally different stories. Let us note here that the legends recorded in the *DZL* and in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* probably came from basically the same Sarvāstivāda lineage,[64] but the *DZL* must represent a much earlier phase. Since, as we have seen, the *DZL* seems to have been closely related to the *GSHJ*, it is quite possible that the legends that the author(s) of the *GSHJ* were familiar with was closer to the version recorded in the *DZL*.

In any case, the *DZL* says that the subjugation of Apalāla took place in the state of Yuezhi, and that the pacification of *rākṣasīs*, to whom the Cave originally belonged, was carried out in the west of Yuezhi. Therefore, if the author(s) of the *GSHJ* here again combined the originally separate nāga-subjugation myth, in which the nāga resided in a pond, and *rākṣasī*-subjugation myth, in which the *rākṣasīs* resided in a cave, they could have easily reached their version of the story in which the cave and the pond are located side by side, and their residents copulate with each other.

Obviously all these stories are fictions, and as we have seen, different names are associated with the same site, and the same event can be linked to different sites. Therefore, even if the hypothesis above has some plausibility, still one might think that somebody in India could have made up the hybrid story as seen in the *GSHJ*. The obvious difficulty,

---

62. Dutt considers the Gilgit manuscripts to be from the fifth or sixth century ([1939]1984, ii), but more recent studies indicate that the portions of the Gilgit manuscripts written in Proto-Śāradā script are not older than the seventh century. See Oskar von Hinüber 1983, 61; Matsumura Hisashi 1994, 76. I thank Professor Enomoto Fumio for the references to these articles. It was also in the seventh centy that Yijing obtained the Sanskrit text of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*.

63. Soper 1949a, pp.278-29, n.65 expresses a somewhat similar suspicion. See also n.58.

64. The *DZL* is considered to have been very closely tied to the Sarvāstivāda tradition. See Lamotte 1970, xiv-xxxii.

however, is that in actuality the cave was not by the pond, and so it would be very unlikely that anybody who had seen the site would devise a story as found in the *GSHJ*. Some residents might have believed that the cave originally belonged to *rākṣasīs*, others might have associated it with Gopāla nāga, but no local resident would have said that the cave was by nāgas' pond. Such an operation would have been possible only to somebody who was familiar with the stories but had not seen the actual site.

Thus, it is difficult to believe that the relevant portion of the *GSHJ* was written by somebody who had a first-hand knowledge of the site. Rather, it seems to me, some people who had heard about the site and the stories surrounding it made up their own version of the story without seeing the actual site. Thus, contrary to the prevalent opinions, I believe this portion of the *GSHJ* should be used as counter-evidence to the theory of a Gandhāran origin of the *GSHJ*.

At the same time, we should note that at the time of the composition of the *GSHJ*, only outlines of these stories were translated into Chinese, and the full version of the series of stories found in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* had not been translated until the eighth century. The author(s) of the *GSHJ* do not appear to have seen the actual Buddha Image Cave, but they seem to have been well familiar with the stories surrounding this cave. Actually, without knowing the Indian nāga-subjugation myths, it would have been difficult to devise the story in the *GSHJ*. Therefore, this sūtra must have been composed somewhere outside of the Gandhāra area but where Indian traditions not yet translated into Chinese were accessible. If one merely looks at the evidence presented in this chapter, it might also be possible to suspect that some other area of India (e.g., the Gangetic plain) was the place of its composition. In the face of the linguistic problems we discussed in Section II.1 of this dissertation, however, it is difficult to believe that this sūtra was composed in India. Rather, Central Asia would be a strong candidate for its place of origin.

d) The Pilgrimage Sites

Another reason this chapter of the *GSHJ* is linked to Gandhāra is that several Jātaka stories that are associated with northwest India are mentioned in this chapter. As Ono points out ([1923]1977, 60-69; 114), some of these sites are mentioned in Faxian's 法顯 travel record, the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (hereafter *Faxian zhuan*), which was composed by 416.[65] According to this record, all these sites existed around the Gandhāra area, and so Ono believes that the agreements between the *Faxian zhuan* and the *GSHJ* support his Gandhāra theory ([1923]1977, 114). The same evidence, however, could work to the other direction as well. In the following table, let us compare the sites mentioned in the *GSHJ* with the records by Faxian and Daorong. I have also indicated the numbers of the corresponding stories in the *XYJ*.

Table 2

GSHJ (T15:681a19-21)	*Faxian zhuan* (T51)	The Record of Daorong (T51)	*XYJ* (T4)
兩兒布施處		入烏場國.... 鞞羅施兒之所. (1019c18-20a1)	--[1]
The place [where the Bodhisattva] donated his two children.		I entered the state of Uḍḍiyāna. . . . The place where the Viśvantara[2] donated his children.	
投身餓虎處	復東行二日至投身餵虎處. 此二處亦起大塔. 皆衆寶校[3]飾. (858b8-9)	如來苦行投身餓虎之處. (1020b7)	No.2
The place [where the Bodhisattva] threw himself [down] for starving tigers.	Going eastward for two days [from Takṣaśirā], I reached the place [where the Bodhisattva] threw his body and fed starving tigers. At these two places[4] great stūpas are erected and are decorated with various jewels.	The place where the Tathāgata practiced austerity and threw himself [down] for starving tigers.	

65. See Sakaino [1935]1972, 518; and Nagasawa 1996, 181.

以頭布施處 The place [where the Bodhisattva] donated his head.	有國名竺剎尸羅. 竺剎尸羅漢言截頭也. 佛爲菩薩時, 於此處以頭施人. 故因以爲名. (858b6-8) There is a state called Takṣaśirā. Takṣaśirā in Chinese means cutting a head. When the Buddha was a bodhisattva, he donated his head here. Therefore [this place] is so called.	如來捨頭施人處. 亦有塔寺. (1021a10) Where the Tathāgata donated his head, there is also a temple with a stūpa.	No.31
剜身千燈處 The place [where the Bodhisattva] scooped out [holes] on his body and lit one thousand lamps.			No.1
挑目布施處 The place [where the Bodhisattva] plucked out his eyes and donated [them].	到揵陀衞國. . . . . 佛爲菩薩時, 亦於此國以眼施人. 其處亦起大塔金銀校[5]飾. (858b3-5) I reached Gandhāra. . . . When the Buddha was a Bodhisattva, here also he donated his eyes. Here also a great stūpa has been erected and is decorated with gold and silver.	如來 挑[6]眼施人處. 亦有塔寺. (1021a22-23) There is another temple at the place where the Tathāgata plucked out his eyes and donated them.	No.32
割肉代鴿處	南下到宿呵多國. . . . 昔天帝釋試菩薩化作鷹鴿割肉貿鴿處. <u>佛既成道與諸弟子遊行, 語云此本是吾割肉貿鴿處</u>. 國人由是得知, 於此處起塔挍飾. (858a28-b3)	如來爲尸毘王救鴿之處. (1021c15)	No.1

The place [where the Bodhisattva] cut off his own flesh to save a dove.	I went southward and reached the state of Swat. This is the place where Indra tried the Bodhisattva by magically creating a hawk and a dove, and where [the Bodhisattva] cut off his flesh to ransom the dove. After the Awakening of the Buddha, he visited the place with his disciples and said that it was the place he cut off his flesh to ransom the dove.[7] Thereby the local people learned [the significance of the place] and erected and decorated a stūpa there.	The place where the Tathāgata became King Śivi and saved a dove.	

There is no doubt that these Jātaka sites were identified with the places in northwest India by local people. We should note, however, that these sites and the associated stories seem to have been well known in Central Asia. For example, there is a version of the "starving tigress" story in Chinese (*Pusa tousheng yi ehu qita yinyuan jing* 菩薩投身飴餓虎起塔因緣經, T3:424b-28a [No.172]) that locates the stūpa to commemorate this event in the Gandhāra area.[66] This sūtra was translated by a monk from Turfan, Fasheng 法盛, who went to a "foreign country," *waiguo* 外國 (probably India) and composed a record of four fascicles (*GSZ*, T50:337b1-4).[67] Further according to the *GSZ* (T50:337a25-b1), Daopu 道

66. The sūtra says that the Buddha preached this in the Vaiśramaṇapala (Pisamenboluo dacheng) 毘沙門波羅大城 in the state of Gandhāra (Gantuoyue guo) 乾陀越國 (T3:424b8-9). Towards the end, it is stated that the king [of the state] who was among the audience built a great stūpa there to commemorate the Bodhisattva's heroic deed (T3:428a3-4). It is clear that the text is referring to the same stūpa that is reported by Faxian (p.293). See Chavannes 1970, p.411-12, n.3.

67. The record of four fascicles is not extant. The translation of the *Pusa tousheng yi ehu qita yinyuan jing* was first attributed to Fasheng by the *KSL* (T55:522a22-b12) compiled in 730C.E. This attribution,however, is based on the postscript to the text in which the author mentions himself as Fasheng (T3:428a6), so it is reliable. See Tokiwa [1938]1973, 919.

Furthermore, this text shows some similarities with the same story in the *XYJ*. For example, both of them mention that the people who found the Bodhisattva dead "beat themselves" (*zipu*) 自撲 (T3:427b5; T4:353a8; though we cannot discuss this point in detail in this dissertation, this expression is significant); both texts narrate that people put the remains of the Bodhisattva in a jewel casket and erected a

普, another monk from Turfan and an apparent contemporary of Fasheng, visited the "Buddha's bowl," the four (great) stūpas, (a replica of?) the Bodhi Tree, and footprints (of the Buddha). Since the record of the *GSZ* suggests that he died during the reign of Emperor Taizu 太祖 (Wendi 文帝) of the Sung dynasty (424-52 C.E.), he must have completed his travel in the first half of the fifth century. Further, it is also significant that the *XYJ*, which was translated into Chinese in the Turfan area in the first half of the fifth century,[68] contains almost all of the relevant stories.

Thus it is not unreasonable to assume that these Indian pilgrimage sites were well-known in Turfan, and even in China proper by the mid-fifth century. The mention of the pilgrimage sites in the *GSHJ* does not automatically indicate a Gandhāran origin for it.

Concluding Remarks

Everything taken together, it is difficult for me to believe that the Buddha Image Cave portion of the *GSHJ*, which led many scholars to believe that this sūtra was from Gandhāra, was written by somebody who had a first-hand knowledge of the site. This observation thus makes it unlikely that the *GSHJ* was composed in Gandhāra or that the Buddha Image Cave portion was inserted by Buddhabhadra himself. Since Buddhabhadra was probably from the area around Nagarahāra,[69] he must have had accurate knowledge of

---

stūpa on that (T3:427c11-12; T4:353b6-7); and the identifications of the figures to the persons in the period of the Buddha are also somewhat similar (T3:427c16-23; T4:353b8-16). Since it is clear that the *XYJ* was translated in Turfan, and since Fasheng himself was from Turfan, it is not unreasonable to assume that the *Pusa tousheng yi ehu qita yinyuan jing* had ties to the same area.

68. See Section I.2.

69. See Section I.1 of this dissertation.

the site. I believe, therefore, that until some strong counter-evidence is found, we should not assume Buddhabhadra's involvement in the formation or transmission of the *GSHJ*. The *GSHJ* should rather be treated as a purely apocryphal work.

[1] A corresponding story does not appear in the *XYJ*, but the Viśvantarajātaka is a well-known story that appear in many (including Chinese) sources.

[2] See Nagasawa [1971]1982, p.197, n.18.

[3] The text has *jiao* 挍, but I follow Nagasawa 1996, 30.

[4] The other place of the two is Takṣaśirā, where the Buddha was believed to have cut his own head in one of his previous life. See the next row.

[5] The text has *jiao* 挍, but I follow Nagasawa 1996, 30.

[6] Text *tao* 桃, "peach," which must be a mistake.

[7] This line reminds us of the similar passage from the *GSHJ* (see p.268). There seems to have been a legend in India that the Buddha toured in northwest India and showed the scenes of Jātaka stories to his disciples. This point required further research.

Section III

INDIAN/CENTRAL ASIAN ELEMENTS

1. The *"Yogalehrbuch"*

In the foregoing chapters, we have discussed various Chinese elements found in the *GSHJ*. As Tsukinowa has claimed, there are indeed many unusual expressions that are very unlikely to have been translated from an Indian original. Rather, the author(s) of the *GSHJ* seem(s) to have referred to pre-existing Chinese Buddhist texts (some of which are themselves apocryphal) and adopted many expressions in a clumsy way. The language of the *GSHJ* betrays clear traces of Chinese hands. Linguistically it is very hard to believe that there was an original written in an Indic language from which the *GSHJ* was translated.

Our examination of the content has also led us to the same conclusion. The list of the Buddha's bodily marks, which is related to the central topic of the *GSHJ* (i.e., the visualization of the Buddha), is disorderly in the extreme. Such a list cannot be traced back to Indian traditions and seems to have been created by picking up elements from various Chinese Buddhist scriptures and elaborating them according to the author(s)' own imagination. Again, this point strongly suggests that the text of the *GSHJ* was written in Chinese in a Chinese cultural area.

Further, when we examined the detailed descriptions of the Buddha Image Cave (in Nagarahāra) in the *GSHJ*, we found that in fact these descriptions contradict the records in more reliable Chinese sources. The existence of the detailed descriptions of the Buddha Image Cave was one of the reasons scholars advocated the Gandhāran origin of the sūtra. This argument cannot be sustained now. I strongly suspect that these descriptions were written by somebody who did not see the Cave himself but relied solely on secondary sources.

Therefore, I believe, it is clear now that the *GSHJ* is a Chinese apocryphal text.

There was no original text that came from Gandhāra or anywhere else in India. This text must have been written by a Chinese author (or authors).

Nevertheless, if one jumps to the conclusion that the *GSHJ* was a purely Chinese production, the matter is not so simple. The *GSHJ* also contains distinctively non-Chinese elements, and one such example is its close relationship with the anonymous Sanskrit meditation manual, the "*Yogalehrbuch*" (*YL*), found in Qizil and Shorchuq. As we have discussed in earlier parts of this dissertation,[1] the *YL* shares many similar elements with the *GSHJ* and other Chinese meditation texts. Since the *YL* has not been translated into Chinese,[2] the content must not have been accessible to ordinary Chinese people. Therefore, if the *GSHJ* was a Chinese composition, these similarities are striking. This point certainly deserves our attention.

The *YL* is a very helpful text for our purpose, (1) because it is a Sanskrit text, (2) because it has not been translated into Chinese, (3) and because its presence in Central Asia is beyond doubt due to the discoveries of manuscripts of the text in Central Asia. Therefore, the *YL* can be a valuable anchorage for identifying the geographical origin of the *GSHJ* and other relevant Chinese meditation texts. Though we have already observed a few examples of the similarities between the *YL* and Chinese meditation texts, these

---

*This chapter has been published as Yamabe 1999. I thank the people who helped the publication of this article. In particular, my thanks go to Harada Wasō for drawing my attention to many passages from Buddhist esoteric texts I quoted in this chapter. My thanks are also due to Profs. Miyaji Akira 宮治昭 and Einō Shingo 永ノ尾信悟 for their helpful advice and information. Profs. Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt and Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明 have and provided me with their pictures permitted their use. Mr. Inoue Nobuo 井上信生, Ms. Nagao Kayoko 長尾佳代子, and Rev. Katsumoto Karen 勝本華蓮 have assisted me in locating the necessary materials.

1. See Introduction and Section I.2.

2. Strictly speaking, we cannot rule out the possibility that the *YL* was translated into Chinese at one point, but that now the translation is lost. However, to the best of my knowledge, there is at least no positive evidence that proves the existence of such a translation.

similarities need to be examined more extensively. This is the task of the present chapter.

Ruegg (1967, 162) has observed in his helpful introduction to the *YL* that "the 'Qïzïl text' [Ruegg's appellation for the *YL*] contains besides a couple of interesting passages which prefigure, though rather distantly, ideas that came to be closely associated with the Vajrayāna." Although Ruegg's attention seems to be focused on Tibetan Vajrayāna in this regard, it is noteworthy that similar esoteric-seeming images are found in the relevant Chinese meditation texts as well. Though the dating of the *YL* itself is not definite, the Chinese texts are clearly from the fifth century. Thus they can be valuable sources in investigating the early history of esoteric Buddhism as well. A full investigation on this point exceeds the scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless, in order to draw the attention of specialists of esoteric Buddhism to these texts, I shall mention a few possible esoteric connections in passing in the following discussions.[3]

For the purpose of this chapter, it is more convenient to discuss together the relevant Chinese texts (the *GSHJ*, the *CMJ*, the *ZCMF*, and the *WCYF*), which are closely inter-related in any case (see Section I.2). For this reason, in what follows, I shall organize the discussion not according to the texts but according to the significant visual images.

a. Mystical Consecration

In the *GSHJ* we find scenes of mysterious consecration in which sprinkled

3. The *GSHJ* is sometimes mentioned briefly in studies of early esoteric Buddhism. See Hirakawa 1979, 337-38; Matsunaga Yūkei 1980, 118; Tsukamoto Keishō, Matsunaga Yūkei, and Isoda Hirofumi 1989, 30-31; and Yoritomi Motohiro 1990, 67-78. However, these studies usually discuss only the theories of the Buddhas in the four directions (see the passage quoted on p.341) and/or the general method of the visualization of the Buddha. The mysterious visionary images that are going to be discussed in this chapter seem to have been hardly noticed by specialists of esoteric Buddhism. Further, the *YL* and the other Chinese meditation texts also seem to have slipped their attention.

"medicine" enters and fills the body of the meditator as follows:

> 照頂之時，如人執瓶灌藥入頂. 其状色貌猶如醍醐. 從頂入已貫徹表裏. 爾時行者心身安穩. (T15:664b26-28)

> When the light illuminates the heads [of the *arhat*s,] it is as if a person holding a pot sprinkled medicine, and as if [the medicine] entered the head. The appearance and color of the [medicine] is like that of exquisite curd. [The medicine] enters the head and penetrates inside and outside [the body]. At that time the mind and the body of the meditator become peaceful.

> 復當起心作一藥想. 先作身想. 身想既成, 開頂令空. 作梵王想, 作帝釋想, 作諸天手持寶瓶想, 持藥灌想. 藥入頂時, 遍入四體及諸脈中. (T15:664c9-11)

> Further, the meditator should create the image of medicine in his mind. First he visualizes the body. Having made the image of the body, he opens the head and makes it empty. Then he makes the images of a Brahmā King, Indra, and various deities holding jewel jars. [The meditator further] visualizes that they are holding and sprinkling medicine. When the medicine enters the head, it pervades the whole body[4] and all the vessels.

In the *CMJ* also, we can find a similar scene:

> 復當勸進釋梵護世諸天, 使持金瓶盛天藥. 釋提桓因在左, 護世諸天在右, 持天藥灌頂, 擧身盈滿. (T15:251c11-14)

> You should also summon Indra (釋), Brahmā (梵), and the guardians of the world (護世諸天 *lokapāla*) and have [Brahmā?] hold a golden jar of nectar (天藥 *amṛta*?). With Śakra Devendra (釋提桓因) to the left, guardians of the world to the right,[5] [Brahmā?] sprinkles the nectar he holds over the head [of the meditator; then the nectar] fills the whole body.

---

4. Literally, "four limbs."

5. Brahmā and Indra are often paired as guardians of the Buddha in Indian art from the Kushan to the Gupta periods. In such cases, Brahmā regularly holds a jar. See Miyaji [n.d.]1992b, 213-17.
According to *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions*, s.v., "*kamaṇḍalu*" (water-jar), "*k[amaṇḍalu]* is thought of as filled with *amṛta* or with (sacred) water from the Ganges, often also with gems (this esp. in Buddhism). It symbolizes 'the receptacle of knowledge.'"

These passages should be compared with the following lines of the *YL*:[6]

Brahmaiś ca gaganam āpūrṇaṃ karakahastaiḥ nānāvarṇarasasekai[ḥ sa]tvāṃ (siṃcya)[m]ānāṃ paśyati / (137.5-6)

He sees the sky filled with Brahmās holding pots in their hands and sentient beings being (sprinkled) with the essences of various colors.

(si)ṃ(h)ā(sanādhirū)[dhā]ḥ Bhagavaṃto dharmaṃ deśayanti Brahmā ca bhṛṃgāram ādāyāgrataḥ sthito bodhisatvaṃ kathayati [nya] . . . jayati / bodhau ca praṇidhānaṃ karoti / tac codakaṃ vāyunā kṣiptam anaṃteṣu lokadhātuṣu satvān siṃ[ca](ti/) (142.1-5).

. . . the Blessed Ones, seated on lion's seats, teach the dharma. Brahmā, taking a consecration vase and standing in front [of the bodhisattva], speaks to the bodhisattva. . . . he makes a vow for the [supreme] enlightenment (*bodhau ca praṇidhānaṃ karoti*). That water scattered by wind is sprinkled on all the sentient beings in the boundless world-realms.

tato 'bhiṣekaḥ ra(tnapravāhaḥ pra)vilīya mūrdhnā pravi(śyāśra)yaṃ pūrayati prīṇayati ca . . . (154.9-10)

Then consecration. (A stream of jewels,) being dissolved, having entered the head, fills and comforts (the body).

In the *GSHJ*, even the sentient beings in the hells are consecrated:

有白色光明, 照諸地獄及獄卒身 . . . 坐蓮華林以水澆灌諸罪人頂, 令心熱惱暫得清涼. (*GSHJ*, T15:652a10-16)

There are white rays of light illuminating various hells and the bodies of the guardians of the hells . . . Being seated in woods with lotus flowers, [the bodhisattva] sprinkles water on the heads of the sinners and

6. Quotations from the "*Yogalehrbuch*" (*YL*) are from the edition found in Schlingloff 1964a. See the Conventions at the beginning of this dissertation.

cools down [their] mental anguish for a while.[7]

So are they in the *YL*:

> punaḥ sa puru(ṣa) . . . [t] . . . mūrdhany utsṛjati sa tasya karuṇ(ā) . . . [sa]rvāṃś ca satvāṃ nārakāṃ paśyati / puṣparasadhārābhiḥ siṃcyamānān / (140.12-14)

> Further that man . . . emits at the head . . . He, [out of?] his compassion . . . sees all the sentient beings in the hells who are being sprinkled with showers of the essence of flowers.

In the *ZCMF*, the meditator is consecrated by Buddhas themselves:

> 想一一佛, 捉澡罐水, 以灌其頂. (T15:337a20-21)

> Imagine that each Buddha takes a ladle of water and pours it onto the head.

> 佛以澡罐水, 灌比丘頂. 天神現夢, 説已清淨. (T15: 337b19-20)

> The Buddha pours a ladle of water onto the monk's head. A deity appears in a dream and says: "You have already been purified."

These two lines appear in the context of repentance. As is clearly shown in the latter line, here the *abhiṣeka* from the Buddha is a visual indication of the purification of the meditator.[8]

Further, there is a scene of *abhiṣeka* by the past seven Buddhas:

---

7. Cf. the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* (*Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變眞言經, T20:244a21-22).

8. I discuss this point in more detail in Yamabe n.d.

即見釋迦牟尼佛, 以澡罐水, 灌其頂上. 餘六佛亦爾. (*ZCMF*, T15:340a2-3)

Immediately [the meditator] sees Śākyamuni Buddha pour a ladle of water onto the head, and the other six Buddhas do likewise.

In this case, this vision leads the meditator into the stage of *srotāpanna*, the first supramundane attainment of the *śrāvaka*s.

In the *abhiṣeka* scenes in the *GSHJ*, the *CMJ*, and the *YL*, we have seen that the poured liquid enters the head and fills and comforts the body. Since the *ZCMF* is a text that explains how to cure the diseases caused by meditation, this sort of "medicinal" effect of *abhiṣeka* is much emphasized. See the following example:

一梵王手持梵瓶, 與諸梵衆至行者前. . . . 有一童子, 隨梵王後, 從初蓮華出. 其身白色, 如白玉人. 手執白瓶, 瓶内醍醐. 梵王髻上如意珠中, 出衆色藥, 置醍醐中, 童子灌之. 從頂而入. . . . 如是漸漸遍滿半身. 滿半身已, 復滿全身. (T15:334b19-29)

A Brahmā king holds a Brahmā's jar in his hand and appears with his retinue in front of the meditator. . . . A boy appears from the first lotus flower following the Brahmā king. The skin color [of the boy] is white, and [he looks] like a crystal man. [The boy] holds a white jar, in which there is exquisite cream. Putting the colorful medicine that emerges from the wish-granting jewel on the top-knot of the Brahmā king into the cream, the boy pours it. [Then, the cream mixed with medicine] enters the head. . . . Thus it gradually fills half the body. Having filled half the body, it fills the whole body.

The following examples are not *abhiṣeka* proper but rather look like mere magico-medical treatments of sickness. Nevertheless, we can probably consider them as extensions of the same motif.

復當想一摩醯首羅, 乘金色牛, 持寶瓶水, 至行者前. 水中衆藥. 藥名破毒, 令行者服. 復持一珠, 名旃陀羅摩尼宗言月精置其頂上. 流出諸藥, 灌耳灌眼灌鼻. 但一見已, 即得除差. (*ZCMF*, T15:338c24-28)

Then one should imagine that a Maheśvara, riding a golden ox and holding a jewel-jar of water, appears in front of the meditator. There are many medicines in the water. [Maheśvara] makes the meditator take the medicine called "breaking poison." [Maheśvara] further holds a jewel called *candramaṇi*[9] (in [the language] of Song, it means "the essence of the moon") and puts it on the head [of the meditator]. Medicines flow out and pour [into] the ears, the eyes, and the nose. [If one] merely sees it once, [the disease] can be cured.

若言我見身大水滿其中出之水成大池，教以酥灌頂令入身中．若言我以酥灌頂便身廣大，教諦觀之．(*WCYF*, T15:328a18-21)

If [the meditator] says: "My body is filled with much water, which comes out and forms a great pond"; then [the master] teaches [the meditator to imagine] that ghee is poured onto his head and enters his body.

If [the meditator] says: "When ghee was poured onto my head, my body grew large"; then [the master] teaches [the meditator] to observe it clearly.[10]

---

9. Judging from the following gloss, clearly *zhantuoluo* 旃陀羅 is intended to mean "moon" (Skt. *candra*). *Zhantuoluo* 旃陀羅, however, is usually a transcription of *caṇḍāla*, the name of Indian outcast people. This is another indication that the person who "translated" the *ZCMF* was not familiar with Sanskrit.

10. This type of instruction ("If the meditator sees X, then the master should teach Y") is frequently encountered in the *WCYF*. The reader might be interested to see that a similar pattern is found in a full-fledged esoteric text, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha* (Horiuchi Kannin ed., 51.23-34; Lokesh Chandra ed., 120.17-20; corresponding to the *Yiqie rulai zhenshi shedacheng xianzheng sanmei dajiaowang jing* 一切如來眞實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經, T18:405b1-9 [No.882]):

> tataḥ samāveśyaivaṃ vadet / "*[te cakṣuḥpathe]* kīdṛśo 'vabhāsaḥ? tad yathā vadati tathā siddhir" iti / "tad yadi śvetālokaṃ paśyet tasyottamasiddhijñānaṃ śikṣayet / atha pītaṃ paśyet tasyārthotpattijñānaṃ śikṣayet / atha raktaṃ paśyet tato 'nurāgaṇajñānaṃ śikṣayet / atha kṛṣṇaṃ paśyet tato 'bhicārukajñānaṃ** śikṣayet / atha vicitraṃ paśyet tataḥ sarvasiddhijñānaṃ śikṣayed" iti jñātvā, yathāvan mukhabandhaṃ muktvā, yathābhājanatayā jñānāny utpādayet / mudrājñānaṃ ca śikṣayet /
>
> *Reconstructed by Chandra. Horiuchi gives the following reconstruction based on the Tibetan version: *tvaccakṣuṣpathi* (or *-chakṣurgocare*) or *tvallocanagocare* (or *-pathi*).
> **Chandra ed., *-cāraka-*,
>
> Then, instructing [the disciple, the master] should say as follows: "What type of light do you see? According to the response, the appropriate type of *siddhi* [will be taught]." If [the disciple] sees white light, [the master] should teach him the wisdom of the highest *siddhi*. If [the disciple] sees yellow light,

Ruegg (1967, 162) notes that the scenes of *abhiṣeka* in the *YL* "anticipate a process familiar especially in the Tāntrik literature." In this connection, see the following description of *abhiṣeka* that takes place during the meditation on Vajrasattva in Tibetan Vajrayāna (John Powers 1995, 264):

> One now visualizes a stream of ambrosia . . . issuing from the central syllables of the mantra, entering through a hole visualized at the top of one's head, and flowing downward through the body. As it descends, it displaces all of one's negative emotions, bad karmas, and mental afflictions, which are visualized as a dark, vicious substance that is expelled through the lower extremities, the pores of the skin, the palms of the hands, and the soles of the feet. In this way, all of one's negativities are replaced by the healing ambrosia, which permeates one's whole body and suffuses it with a sense of well-being.

Note especially that the underlined elements are found also in the meditation texts quoted above. There seem to have been some connections between the *YL* and Chinese meditation texts on the one hand and Tibetan Vajrayāna on the other regarding this matter.

The motif of consecration bestowed by heavenly beings is attested in Indian esoteric texts.[11] See the following example from Bodhiruci's Chinese translation of the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* (*Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羂索神變真言經, T20:245c13-14 [No.1092]), a well-known esoteric text:

> [the master] should teach him the wisdom of the realization of purposes. If [the disciple] sees red light, [the master] should teach him the wisdom of affection. If [the disciple] sees black light, [the master] should teach him the wisdom of magical power. If [the master] sees various colors, [the master] should teach him the wisdom of the universal *siddhi*. Knowing thus, releasing the blindfold [of the disciple] properly, [the master] should incite wisdom [in the disciple] according to the [disciple's] potentiality. [The master] should also teach the wisdom of *mudrā*.

11. See also Michel Strickmann 1990, 85 for examples of *abhiṣeka*s found in fifth-century Chinese translations of Mahāyāna sūtras. I thank Professor Ronald Davidson for the reference.

此印三昧持結之者，則同十方一切如來手授灌頂．又同[12]觀世音菩薩手授灌頂．

Making this *mudrā* in samādhi is equal to being consecrated by all the Tathāgatas in the ten directions and by Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva with their own hands.

A similar idea is found in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha* (Horiuchi Kannin ed., 2:27.37-28.5; Lokesh Chandra ed., 115.19-21;[13] corresponding to the *Yiqie rulai zhenshi shedacheng xianzheng sanmei dajiaowang jing* 一切如來眞實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經 T18:402c15-17 [No.882]), which is one of the representative esoteric texts:

badhvā buddhamahāmudrām Amitāyusamo [sic] bhavet /
vajrapadmam samādhāya Lokeśvarasamo bhavet //
buddhābhiṣekāṃ badhvā vai Sugataiḥ so 'bhiṣicyate /

Making the great *mudrā* of Buddha [Amitāyus?], one would become equal to Amitāyus.
Meditating on a *vajra* in a lotus, one would become equal to Lokeśvara.
Making [the *mudrā* of] consecration by the Buddhas, the [meditator] is consecrated by Sugatas.

Further, Sakurai Munenobu (1996, 88-92; 105-11) reports that the visualization of *abhiṣeka* by heavenly beings (*sonkaku* 尊格, *devatā*) is often described in late Indian esoteric texts (after the eighth century), such as the *Saṃkṣiptābhiṣekavidhi* (*A Concise Method of Consecration*) of Vāgīśvarakīrti. According to him, during the initiation rituals of the *Saṃkṣiptābhiṣekavidhi*, the master and the disciple visualize each other as a deity and

12. The text has 問, but I follow the variant given in a footnote of the Taishō canon.

13. I do not note minor differences between the two versions and silently follow the readings that I consider to be better. Similarly below.

conceive that a deity is consecrated by another deity.

Therefore, it is likely that the traditions of mystical consecration found in Central Asia, China, and Tibet are all derived from India. However, I have not yet been successful in locating Indian texts that describe the consecration water (or *amṛta*) permeating the body.

At this juncture, let us also examine some relevant works of art. We may be able to find the ultimate source of the image of a meditator consecrated by Brahmā and Indra (pp.303-304 of this chapter) in the image of the new-born Śākyamuni consecrated by the same deities. The following is a Gandhāran relief that is considered to depict this scene (second to third century):

Figure 1
(After Miyaji [n.d.]1992b, p.218, figure 92)

One of the underlying motifs of the *YL* seems to have been that the meditator should experience by himself what the Buddha and bodhisattvas are believed to have experienced.[14] Thus, in the passages quoted above from the *YL* and Chinese meditation

14. For example, in Buddhist *avadāna* and sūtra literature, when the Buddha smiles, rays come out of his mouth and go upward to the heavens and downward to the hells. In the *YL*, various streams come out of the body of the meditator and go upward and downward in a similar fashion. See Schlingloff 1964, 37-38. See also Hiraoka Satoshi 1998.

texts, it appears to me that the meditator is seeking to be consecrated by Brahmā and Indra, as was the Buddha himself just after his birth. In other words, the legendary scene of *abhiṣeka* by heavenly beings seems to have been internalized and reinterpreted as a scene one can experience in one's own meditation.

A visual representation of such a reinterpretation seems to be found in the following painting at Baixihar Cave 3 (in the Turfan area; mid-ninth to twelfth century):

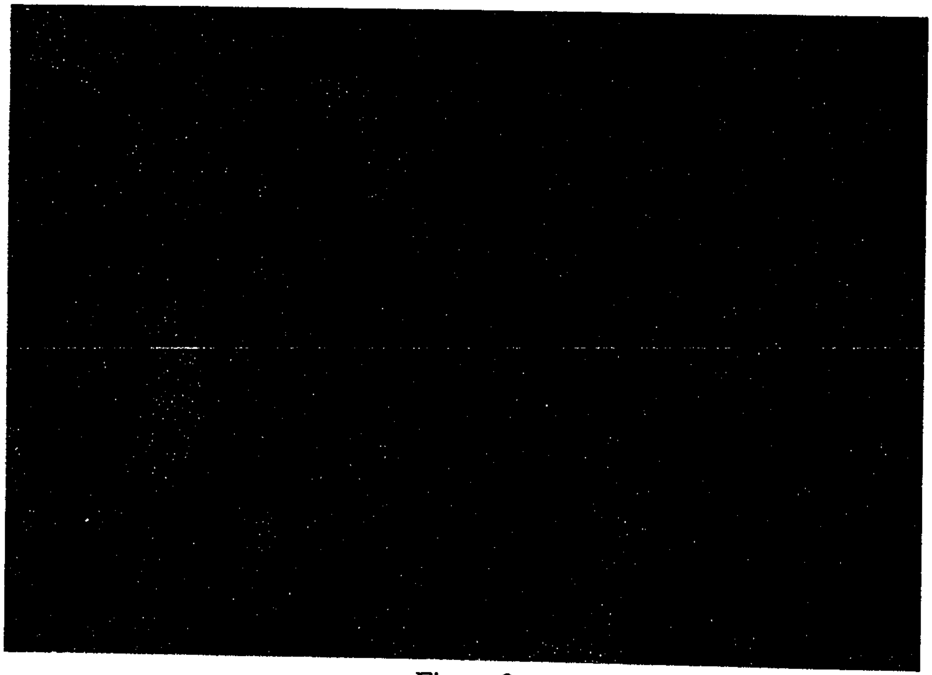


Figure 2
(Photo taken by Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt)[15]

In other words, in the *YL*, the meditator seems to be trying to identify himself with the Buddha and bodhisattvas, as practitioners do in Buddhist esoteric traditions. See, for example, the *Guanzizai dabei chengjiu yuqie lianhuabu niansong famen* 觀自在大悲成就瑜伽蓮華部念誦法門, T20:2b28 (No.1030) and the *Sheng Guanzizai pusa xin zhenyan yuqie guanxing yigui* 聖觀自在菩薩心眞言瑜伽觀行儀軌, T20:6a16-17 (No.1031).

15. I thank Professor Steinhardt for her permission to use her picture here. Cf. the same picture published in Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu Bowuguan 1990, figure 126 and in Zhongguo Bihua 1990, p.171, figure 172.

This painting clearly depicts a consecration by superhuman beings. A thin squatting person wearing only a loincloth is being consecrated by what appears to be a standing bodhisattva (or a deity?) in front of the seated Buddha. Beside the standing bodhisattva, another bodhisattva is kneeling down with his hands in the *añjalī* position.[16]

This painting is dated to a period between the mid-ninth and the twelfth century (Uighur period),[17] much later than the period we are primarily concerned with (fifth century), and so we cannot treat it as contemporary evidence. Nevertheless, this painting clearly demonstrates the presence of the idea of *abhiṣeka* given directly by the Buddha and bodhisattvas (or deities) in the Turfan area.

The origin of mystical consecration must have been in India (especially in the esoteric traditions), and the relevant Chinese meditation texts seem to reflect early stages of the esotericization of Indian Buddhism on this matter. Nevertheless, as we shall discuss in more detail later (p.351), we have to ask how the authors of these Chinese texts acquired information about recent developments in Indian Buddhism. In this regard, it would not be meaningless to note that this image is attested in Central Asia from both a literary source (the *YL*) and visual evidence (the mural painting at Baixihar, Turfan), even if both sources are later than the fifth century.

---

16. For a more detailed discussion of this painting, see Yamabe n.d.

17. See Zhongguo Bihua 1990, table of contents (unpaginated).

b. Various Images Concerning Milk

In the *YL*, we find the following peculiar scene:

> tato 'sya karuṇārtasya bhruvor madhye kṛṣṇataptaṃ piṭaka(m utpadyate /) . . . mūrdhno niḥsṛtā strī kṣīradhārābhiḥ śarīraṃ a(vasiṃcati) [y]āvad vedanopaśāmyati
>
> tasmāc char(ī)[rā]t kṣīradhārābhiḥ sarvasatvasamudraḥ plāvyate / (*tato naśyamānāṃ* sarvasat)[v](ā)[n](āṃ) [ś](ā)r[ī]ramānasaduḥkhāṃ paśyati / (135.10-136.2)

> Then in the middle of the brows of the [meditator, who is] excited by compassion, a black and heated boil (grows) . . . . A woman coming out of [his] head sprinkles showers of milk on [his] body until [his] sensation becomes tranquil.
>
> The sea of all sentient beings is flooded with the showers of milk from his body. (Then) he sees the physical and mental sufferings (of all sentient beings disappearing).

We can find similar imagery of milk appeasing pain in the following passage of the *GSHJ*:

> 是諸菩薩亦入勝意慈心三昧. 各以右手將左指頭, 爪端生乳灑滅猛火. 猛火滅已即得清涼. 自然飽滿身心踊悦. 發菩提心. 因是心故捨餓鬼苦. (T15:653a13-16)

> Then these bodhisattvas enter the samādhi of compassion of the superior intention (*adhyāśaya*?). Each of them holds the tip of a finger of his left [hand] with his right hand; [then] the tip of the nail sprinkles milk and extinguishes the violent fire.[18] When the violent fire is extinguished,

---

18. Cf. the following passage from the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* (*Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing*, T20:281c13-17):

> 悉地王像頭上, 放七色光普照一切. 右旋三匝還入額耳. 是光入時壇地振動, 無畏手指雨出甘露. 羂索手三叉戟手放大火光. 手中蓮花而自動搖. 二足指中流出白乳.

> The top of the statue of [Amogha]siddhirāja [on the *maṇḍala*] emits rays of seven colors and illuminates everything. [The rays] revolve clockwise three times, return and enter the forehead and ears [of the statue]. When the rays

[the *pretas*] get cooled down. They are naturally satisfied, and their body and mind are pleased. They make their resolution for [the supreme] awakening, and owing to this resolution they abandon the sufferings of [the realm of] *pretas*.[19]

Note that the underlined elements are shared with the *YL*. Since the milk imagery in such a context is quite characteristic, these agreements seem to be significant.

Let us turn to a similar but slightly different motif. According to the *GSHJ*, Prince Gautama mysteriously emits rays of light, which look like streams of milk, in the following way:

諸天復見太子眉間有百千光, 譬如乳河周流一切. 於乳河中有化菩薩, 乘化蓮華, 皆共讚歎出家功德. 一一化菩薩, 眉間乳河流出, 光明亦復如是. (T15:650b4-7)

Various gods also see hundreds of thousands of rays projecting from the middle of the Prince's brows and flowing everywhere just like streams of milk. In the streams of milk, emanation bodhisattvas ride on emanation lotuses and praise the merits of renunciation in unison. From the middle of the brows of each emanation bodhisattva, streams of milk flow out; so do rays of light.

In the *YL*, streams of milk literally come out of the middle of the brows:

ta[t]o (bhrumadhyā)dhar nimnapradeśāt kṣīrapravāho nirgatya pṛthivīmaṇḍalaṃ bhitvāpāyagatānāṃ satvānāṃ sarvaduḥkho[paśa]maṃ kṛtvā yā(vad vāyumaṇḍalaṃ bhitvā parivartya nābhyāṃ praviśya) mūrdh(n)ā (n)i(rgatya yāvad a)ghaniṣṭhāṃ gatvā parivartya kāmarūpārūpyāvacaradevaparivṛto mūrdhnā praviśati / (132.3-6)

---

enter [the statue], the ground on which the *maṇḍala* is set up quakes. The fingers of the hand in the *abhaya-mudrā* pour out *amṛta*. The hand holding the rope and the hand holding the trident emit great fiery rays. The lotus flower in [another] hand sways by itself, and white milk flows out of two toes.

19. Lambert Schmithausen (1986, 215) reports that there is a similar idea in the *Kathāvatthu*, which attributes the benefit gained by the *pretas* to their own joyful consent or to rejoicing at the donor's merit.

Then from the sunken point under (the middle of the brows) a stream of milk comes out; it breaks through the disk of the earth, assuages all the sufferings of sentient beings in the evil states, breaks through even (the disk of the wind [*vāyumaṇḍala*], comes back, enters) the navel, (comes out) of the head, goes (as far as) the *akaniṣṭha* heaven, comes back, and enters the head, surrounded by gods belonging to [the realms of] desire, forms, and formlessness.

Further, there are passages about milk streams feeding *preta*s in the *GSHJ*, the *CMJ*, and the *WCYF*. Though there is no exactly corresponding passage in the *YL*, this motif should probably be regarded as a development of the motif of milk assuaging pain, which is found in the *YL*.

見諸餓鬼，刺身出血化作乳想，供給餓鬼令得飽滿．既飽滿已爲其說法．讃佛讃法讃比丘僧．作是讃已益更憂悲心無暫捨．如是慈心極令通利．事事廣說如慈三昧．如是慈心名習慈者．(*GSHJ*, T15:674c14-19)

When the meditator sees *preta*s, he thrusts [a sword] into [his] body, sheds blood, and imagines that [the blood] turns into milk.[20] He offers [the milk] to the *preta*s and satisfies them. When they have been satisfied, he preaches to them and praises the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. Having said these praises, he does not abandon increased sadness and compassion even for a moment. Thus the [meditator] makes his friendly feeling extremely keen. [For the other three items: 悲 *karuṇā*, 喜 *muditā*, 捨 *upekṣā*], the details should be known as in the case of the samādhi of friendliness (慈 *maitrī*). If a person [cherishes] such a friendly feeling, he is called a practitioner of friendliness.

一一臥佛出大光明，亦如上說．右脇復出萬億乳河流注于下．渧渧化成百千化花．花有化佛臥蓮花上．各以右手灑甘露雨，令一切衆皆得服食．餓鬼衆生見此相時自然飽滿．(*GSHJ*, T15:681c23-27)

Each reclining Buddha emits great rays of light as described above. His right side releases ten thousand *koṭi*s of milk streams pouring down. Each drop is transformed into one hundred thousand emanation flowers. The flowers have emanation Buddhas, who are lying on lotus flowers. Each [of the Buddhas] sprinkles rain of *amṛta* with his right hand and

20. For other examples of the stories of blood miraculously turned into milk, see the *XYJ* (T4:360a17); the *Fenbie gongde lun* 分別功德論 (T25:33a19); *DZL* (T25:749b18-19); *WCYF* (T15:326c29-27a3).

enables all [sentient] beings to take it. When sentient beings [in the state of] *preta* see this scene, they are naturally satisfied.

復當更觀己身一切毛孔. 以慈心故, 血變成乳. 從毛孔出, 在地如池, 衆乳盈滿. 復見衆多餓鬼, 至此池上. 以宿罪故, 不得乳飲. . . . 以行者慈心故, 即得飽滿. (*CMJ*, T15:261a21-b2)

Further, [the meditator] should visualize all the pores on his body. Due to [his having a] friendly feeling, the blood changes into milk and comes out of the pores. The milk rests on the ground like a pond filled with much milk. Then he sees many *preta*s coming to the pond. Due to their former sins, [however, the *preta*s] cannot drink the milk. . . . By means of the meditator's friendliness, [the *preta*s] can be satisfied.

若言我見自身乳出流下, 在地衆生見之不能得食由罪重故, 教以慈心觀. (*WCYF*, T15:328b7-9)

If [the meditator] says: "I see milk coming out of my own body and flowing down. The sentient beings on the ground see it but cannot take it because[their] sins are grave"; [then the master] teaches the meditation on friendly mind [to the meditator].

Incidentally, in the *ZCMF*, we find the image of a milk-pond expressed in the following way:

然後想一乳池. 有白蓮花, 在乳池中生.(T15: 333c12)

Thereafter [the meditator] imagines a milk-pond, in which white lotus flowers grow.

In the *YL* the scale is much bigger:

tasyaivaṃ maitrāśayasya hṛ(day)advāram apāvriyate ta[tr]ā[ṃ]taḥ kṣīrasamudraṃ saṃbhavati / (123.18-19)

Thus the door of the heart of the man of friendly intention is opened. Within it arises a milk-sea.

Milk is a prominent image in Indian religious literature, and the "ocean of milk" imagery is found in various sources.[21] It is likely that these motifs also had their ultimate sources in India.

c. Friendliness

Many of the passages about milk saving afflicted sentient beings quoted above appear in the context of friendliness. Concerning friendliness, we can find the following passage in the *CMJ*:

> 普見一切四生衆生, 飢火所逼, 一切來乞. 見已歡喜, 生憐愍心即起慈心. 見此乞者, 如己父母受大苦惱, 我今云何當救拔之. 作是念已, . . . 見諸餓鬼, 饑身四匝. (T15:260c22-261a12)

> [The meditator] sees everywhere all the sentient beings of the four birth-types afflicted by the fire of hunger coming to beg. Having seen them and having rejoiced, he produces a compassionate feeling and immediately gives rise to a friendly feeling. Seeing these begging people, [he feels] as if his own parents were experiencing great suffering [and thinks]: "How should I save them now?" Thus having thought, . . . [The meditator] sees

21. Consider, for example, the famous Hindu myth of churning the ocean of milk (see, e.g., Zimmer [1946]1955, 105). Also, the ocean of milk was one of the ten dreams the mother of Mahāvīra had when she conceived him (Padmanabh S. Jaini 1979, 6-7; I owe the reference to Ms. Elissa Cohen).

For examples of milk imagery in esoteric Buddhism, see the *Guanzizai dabei chengjiu yuqie lianhuabu niansong famen* 觀自在大悲成就瑜伽蓮華部念誦法門 (T20:3a11-13 [No.1030]); the *Jin'gang ding yuqie Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa xinxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經 (T20:75a17-19 [No.1056]); and *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, s.v., "*dōjōkan*" 道場觀 (4:3898b-3900a).

The *Amoghapāśakalparāja* (*Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing*, T20:252b6) mentions a *maṇi* from which white milk flows (I owe the reference to this passage to Harada Wasō).

See also n.18.

pretas surrounding [his] body in four lines.

Compare this with the following passage of the *YL*:

> puna(s ta)[s](y)ai(vaṃ bhavat)i [m](a)y(ā) [sa](r)vasatvā bhār(ai) . . . (pī)ḍitā mātṛbhūtāś cāṃtaḥkukṣigat(ā) . . . [n] . . . [ā]ra[ṃ] pīḍitāḥ [katha]ṃ . . . . e . . . . (satvā)n udvaheyam iti (123.16-18)

> Again, he (thinks thus): "By me all the sentient beings . . . afflicted . . . by burdens . . . as mothers in the womb(?) . . . afflicted. How . . . . should I lift up (the sentient beings)."

Although the painting at Dunhuang Mogao Cave 428 (latter sixth century) of the Cosmic Buddha Vairocana, reproduced below, is not directly comparable, it may be interesting to refer to it in this connection:

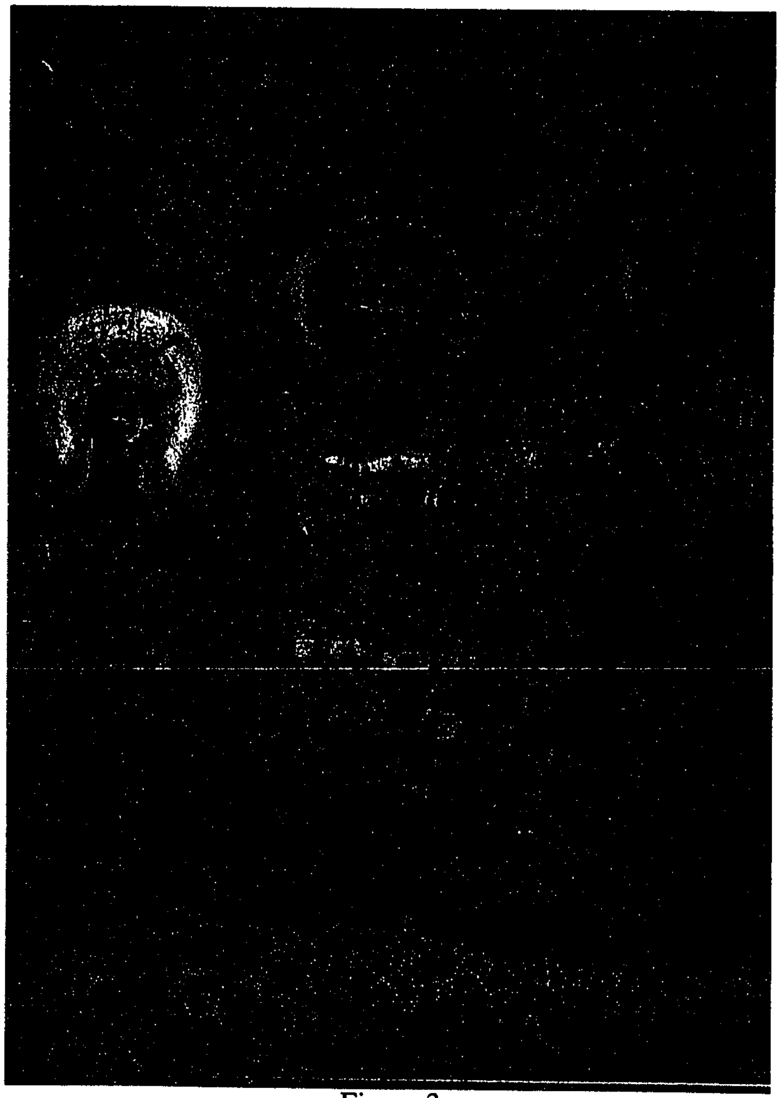


Figure 3
(After Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 1980, plate 162)

At the hem of the robe of this image of the Cosmic Buddha, people run around in the forest of swords in hell (see the explanation in ibid., p.251). Since there is a person apparently sitting in meditation in a forest (beside the begging bowl of the Buddha), it

would not be too far-fetched to associate this painting with meditative scenes.

Perhaps the meditator in the *YL* who is standing with his feet on the golden disk that we shall discuss later (see p.323 of this chapter; though the meaning of the passage in question is not entirely certain) is identifying himself with the Cosmic Buddha. If he is standing with his feet on the golden disk, the people afflicted in the hells would be somewhere around his calves. If that is the case, the scene in the *YL* quoted above might actually be close to the scene of this painting.

Alternatively, it may be also possible to associate the beings on the hem of the robe of the Cosmic Buddha with the afflicted beings approaching the meditator in the *CMJ* (p.317 above).[22]

In either case, possible links between the image of the Cosmic Buddha and meditative visions deserve more investigation.

d. The Buddha's Blessing

The Buddha appears to the meditator and gives his blessing in the *CMJ* in the following way. This type of scene is not uncommon in Buddhist texts, but as a vision seen by human meditators (i.e., not "celestial" bodhisattvas), it is still worth noticing:

> 自然得見如來眞影，以手摩頭讚言．法子，善哉善哉．汝今善觀諸佛空法．(T15:253c27-29)
>
> [The meditator] spontaneously sees the real image of the Buddha who touches [the meditator's] head with his hand and says in praise: "O dharma son, excellent! excellent! Now you see the empty nature of the

22. Cf. R. Jera-Bezard, and M. Maillard 1987, 153

Buddhas well."

In the *YL* the Buddha gives *vyākaraṇa* to the meditator in his vision in quite a similar way:

> tato 'sya bha[g](avāṃ pāṇi)[n](ā) mūrdhānaṃ parāmṛśati / kathayati ca putraka (bhavi)ṣyati tvam a[n]āgate 'dhva(ni sarvasatvavyādhīnām apa)hartā samyaksaṃbuddha iti / (147.3-4)
>
> Then the Blessed One touches the head of the [meditator] (with his hand) and says: "O son, in the future time you (will be) a remover (of the diseases of all the sentient beings), a fully awakened one."[23]

Subsequently the past six Buddhas also appear to the meditator in the *CMJ* (cf.p.306):

> 爾時復見釋迦牟尼佛影. 見釋迦牟尼佛影已, 復得見過去六佛影. 是時諸佛影, 如頗梨鏡, 明顯可觀. 各伸右手, 摩行者頂. 諸佛如來, 自說名字. 第一佛言. 我是毘婆尸. 第二佛言. 我是尸棄. 第三佛言. 我是毘舍. 第四佛言. 我是拘樓孫. 第五佛言. 我是迦那含牟尼. 第六佛言. 我是迦葉毘. 第七佛言. 我是釋迦牟尼佛. (T15:254a5-12)
>
> Then [the meditator] also sees the vision of Śākyamuni Buddha. Having seen the image of Śākyamuni Buddha, he can also see the images of the past six Buddhas. At that time the images of the Buddhas are clearly visible as if [seen in] a crystal mirror. Each of them extends his right hand and touches the head of the meditator (行者 *yogin*). The Buddha-Tathāgatas state their own names. The first Buddha says: "I am Vipaśyin." The second Buddha says: "I am Śikhin." The third Buddha says: "I am Viśva[bhū]." The fourth Buddha says: "I am Krakucchanda." The fifth Buddha says: "I am Kanakamuni." The sixth Buddha says: "I am Kāśyapa." The seventh Buddha says: "I am Śākyamuni."

The meditator of the *YL* is of course not so negligent as to miss the encounter with the past Buddhas:

---

23. Here again, similar scenes of blessing are also found in esoteric texts. See, for example, the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* (*Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing*, T20:252b10ff.).

pratilomaṃ Kāśyapādi Vipaśyiparyaṃtāṃ [b](uddhāṃ) sapa(riv)ārāṃ paśyati tatra cātmānam iva ku(śa)lamūlaṃ bhāvayaṃtaṃ paśyati / [t](e) ca Bhagavaṃta uparyupari dṛśyaṃte // (84.4-5)

[The meditator] sees (the Buddhas) from Kāśyapa to Vipaśyin with retinues in the reverse order. There he also sees himself cultivating merit. These Blessed Ones are seen one above the other.

e. Buddhas/Monks on Cosmic Trees

The imagery of a gigantic tree is a frequent motif in both the *GSHJ* and the *YL*. At one place in the *GSHJ*, *śrāvaka* monks are seen seated on such trees:

身諸毛孔猶如華樹, 一一華樹上至梵世. 諸華葉間, 有百千億聲聞比丘. 一一比丘著千納衣, 千納千色. 一一色中百千化佛, 皆純金色. (T15:663c16-19)

The pores of the body [of the emanation Buddha] are like flowering trees. Each flowering tree reaches upward toward the world of Brahmās. Among the flowers and leaves there are hundred thousand *koṭi*s of *śrāvaka* monks. Each monk wears one thousand monastic robes. The thousand robes are in a thousand colors, and in each color, there are a hundred thousand emanation Buddhas, all in a pure golden color.

At another place in the same text, the tree is rooted in the lower realm of the world and covers the whole world:

見白玉樹, 從下方出至娑婆界. 復更蓊蔚至三界頂 . . . 一一樹葉遍覆三界. (T15:657b25-28)

[The meditator] sees a crystal tree growing from below and reaching the Sahā world. The leafy [top of the tree] even reaches the summit of the Triple World...Each leaf covers the Triple World.

Yet another line of the *GSHJ* talks about a cosmic tree growing from the head of a dragon:

龍頂生樹至無色界. (T15:665a1)

> [From] the head of the dragon a tree reaching the formless world grows.

In the *YL*, Buddhas are seen seated on a huge tree growing from the head of a crystal man:

> [ta]t[o] mūrdhno [rat]n(amayo vṛkṣo) 'naṃtāṃ lokadhātūṃ spharitvā tiṣṭhati / tasmiṃ vṛ[k](ṣ)e ghanapa[t](r)aśākhāsu Buddhā dṛśyaṃte dharmaṃ deśayaṃtaḥ taṃmukhaniḥsṛtai [rat]na[p]u[ṣ]papadmavarṣair [n]ā[n](ā)varṇair loko (vyava)[k](ī)ry(a)te / vṛkṣamūlāni ca vaidūryābhāny antaḥsuṣirāṇi (*ca*)...y(o)gācārapādatalaiḥ kāṃcanacakre pratiṣṭhitāni dṛśyaṃte / (79.12-16)

> Then (a jewel tree) stands up from [the crystal man's] head filling the boundless realms of the world. On the leafy branches of that tree are seen Buddhas preaching the dharma. Colorful rains of jewels, flowers, and lotuses coming out of their [= the Buddhas'] mouths are scattered over the world. The hollow roots of the tree shining like *vaidūrya* are seen to be based on the golden disk together with (?) the soles of the feet of the *yogācāra*.

The ultimate source of the image of such a gigantic tree is probably found in the Indian idea of the cosmic tree as the *axis mundi* (cosmic pillar). It is particularly noteworthy that the Buddha himself is symbolically represented as a tree (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy [1935]1979, 7).[24]

---

24. Considering that the tree image was closely connected to the pillar image, the fact that the Buddha is symbolically represented as a fiery pillar (Coomaraswamy [1935]1979, 10) might be worth noting in comparison with the burning tree image found in the *GSHJ* and the *CMJ*. A more detailed discussion will be included in my dissertation (in preparation).

Note further that the spire of a stūpa was conceived of as the cosmic tree. See Adrian Snodgrass ([1985]1988, 327-28).

Unexpectedly, a painting directly comparable to the passages quoted above is contained in a Japanese collection of esoteric iconographies, the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔 (late twelfth to early thirteenth century):

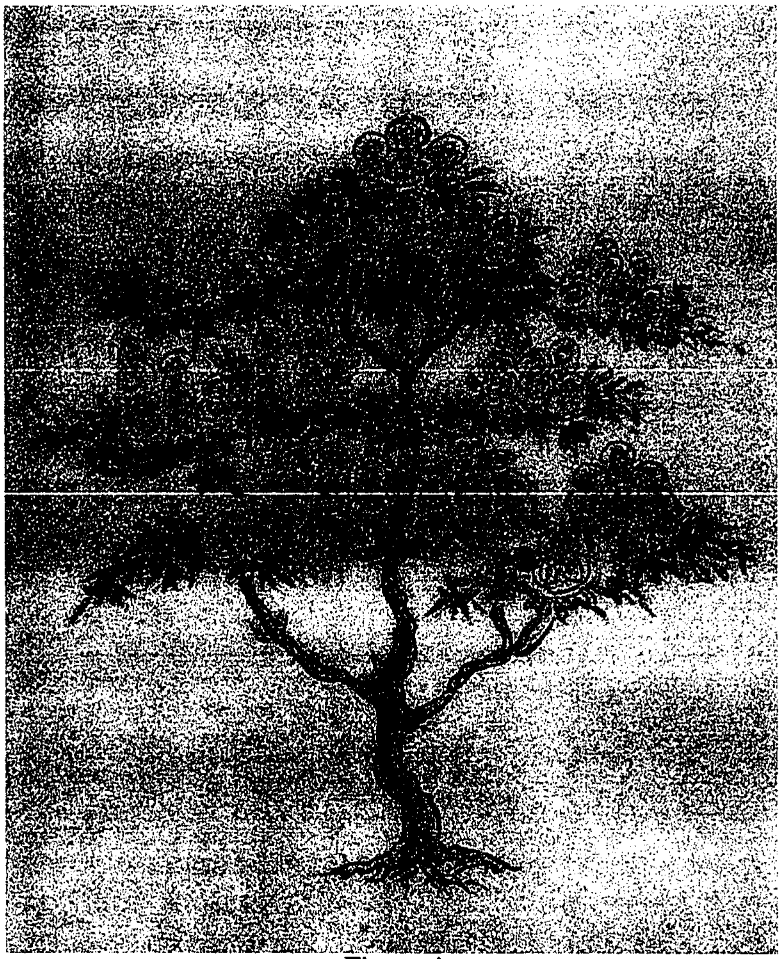


Figure 4
(After the *Kakuzenshō* 覺禪鈔, T *Zuzō* 4: plate 36 [between pp.464-65])[25]

25. Note that the page number refers to the consecutive pagination throughout the volume, not the pagination within the individual texts.

In the *Kakuzenshō*, this painting is entitled "Gojū nishin zō" 五十二身像 (Images of Fifty-Two Bodies [of Buddhas]) and is explained in the following way:

> 見唐傳記．有阿彌陀曼荼羅．天竺鷄頭摩寺有五通菩薩．現身往極樂問佛云，娑婆世界衆生念彌陀佛，無其所據如何．佛言，汝還娑婆，彼國可示現．於是菩薩速還本寺，其寺樹木葉上畫佛菩薩像．採集此樹葉數之有五十二體佛菩薩像．以之唐朝圖繪人以爲本尊云々． (T *Zuzō* 4:464b28-c5)
>
> In the *Tang Biographies*, [the following story] is found: There are mandalas of Amitābha. In Ketumatī monastery in India, there was a bodhisattva who had attained the five miraculous powers. He visited Sukhāvatī with his mortal body and asked [Amitābha] Buddha: "People in the Sahā World call Amitābha Buddha to mind, but there is no recourse What should they do?" [Amitābha] Buddha said: "Return to the Sahā [World], and in that world show [how Sukhāvatī looked]. Thereupon, the bodhisattva quickly returned to his own monastery and painted images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas on the leaves of a tree in the monastery. When people gathered the leaves of the tree and counted them, there were fifty-two images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. For this reason, painters during the Tang period [executed this image] as main images [for temples].

Here "the *Tang Biographies*" probably refers to the following passage from the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (in the biography of Huihai 慧海 [541-609]; T50:515c14-18 [No.2060]):

> 忽有齊州僧道詮，齎畫無量壽像來云．是天竺鷄頭摩寺五通菩薩，乘空往彼安樂世界圖寫尊儀．既冥會素情深懷禮懺．乃覩神光炤爍慶所希幸．於是模寫．
>
> Unexpectedly, a monk, Daoquan by name, from Qi Province [in the present-day Guangxi Province] came bringing an image of Amitāyus and said: "[Once] a bodhisattva at Ketumatī monastery in India, who had attained the five miraculous powers, flew in the sky to the Sukhāvatī world and painted the eminent appearance [of Amitāyus]. This is the painting." Since [this matter] coincided with [Huihai's] original wish, he cherished deep respect and repentance. Then he saw heavenly and brilliant light and celebrated [the acquisition of] what was wished for. Thereupon, he copied it.

Thus the *Kakuzenshō* and the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* clearly refer to the same basic story, and it is quite likely that the former was based on the latter. Nevertheless, the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* simply mentions a painting of Amitāyus, and the image of Buddhas/bodhisattvas on a tree does not appear at all. It is thus unclear to me what was the source of this strange image in the *Kakuzenshō*.

In any case, the explanation in the *Kakuzenshō* does not match the painting. In the painting, small Buddhas are literally perching on the tree; clearly they are not Buddhas painted on the leaves. Therefore, I suspect that this explanation was concocted after the original meaning of this unusual painting was forgotten. Though the source of the explanation in the *Kakuzenshō* is not clear, the image itself may well have been originally from China.[26] Perhaps this painting was originally meant to depict such visionary scenes as seen in the quoted passages above.

In this connection, let us note here that a somewhat similar motif is found in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism as well. This motif is called *tshogs śiṅ*, "assemblage tree," in which various Buddhas and deities are painted on a tree and Lamas above the tree. Below is one example (*tshogs śiṅ* of *bla ma mchod pa*):

26. Commenting on the *Kakuzenshō* and other similar texts, Charles D. Orzech (1996, 228-29) says that "although these manuals must be used with caution, they clearly reflect the overall structure and sequencing of rites known from T'ang dynasty sources" and notes as follows (ibid., p.229, n.52): "These commentaries purport [text "proport," but probably wrong] to be the oral traditions passed on from Chinese to Japanese initiates. While it is obvious this later material must be used judiciously, the conservative nature of the tradition, the clear continuity with T'ang ritual manuals . . . means that we can use this material with some confidence."

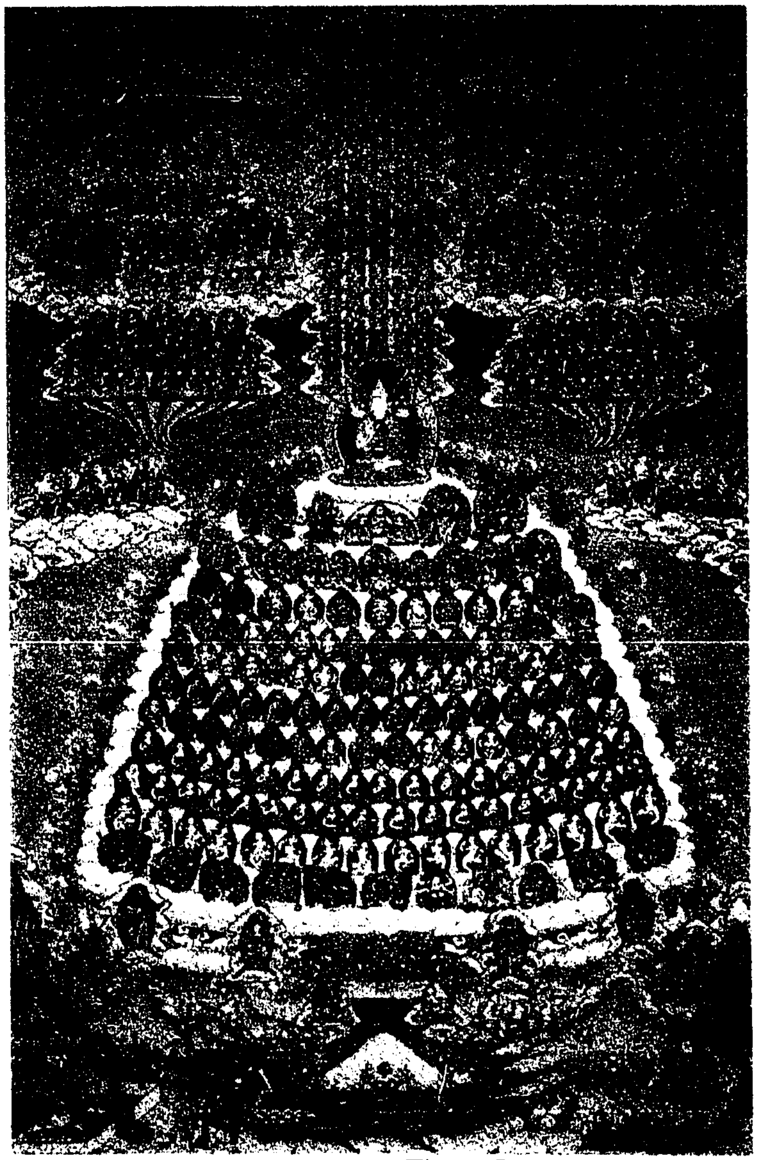


Figure 5
(After Tanaka Kimiaki 1993, p.182, figure 12)[27]

27. I thank Prof. Tanaka Kimiaki for kindly allowing me to use an image in his book and providing me with a color print of the original image. See also Tanaka 1998, 50-56.

Though the styles are different, these two paintings clearly share the same basic motif. In particular, it is worth noting that in the Tibetan painting, both Buddhas and Lamas are painted on or around the tree, and thus, in a way, the motifs found in the *GSHJ* and the *YL* are combined in a single painting. Whether this is a mere coincidence, or these two images were historically connected, I am not sure. This is another point that requires further research.[28]

---

28. A noteworthy passage in this connection appears in the *Skandapurāṇa* (Nag Publisher's second reprint edition [1984]) 6.250.14-17 (p.203, lines 19-22):

> ayaṃ bilvataruḥ śreṣṭhaḥ pavitraḥ pāpanāśanaḥ /
> tasya mūle sthitā devī Girijā nātra saṃśayaḥ /14/
> skandhe Dākṣāyaṇī devī śākhāsu ca Maheśvarī /
> patreṣu Pārvatī devī phale Kātyānyanī smṛtā /15/
> tvaci Gaurī samākhyātā Aparṇā madhyavalkale /
> puṣpe Durgā samākhyātā Umā śākhāṅgakeṣu ca /16/
> kaṇṭakeṣu ca sarveṣu koṭayo navasaṃkhyayā /
> śaktayaḥ prāṇirakṣārthaṃ saṃsthitā Girijājñayā /17 /
>
> This Bilva tree is the best that purifies and removes evils. At its root rests goddess Girijā. There is no doubt about it. (14)
> Goddess Dākṣāyaṇī is at the trunk, and Maheśvarī [=Durgā] on the branches. Goddess Pārvatī is among the leaves, and Kātyāyanī is in the fruit; so it is taught. (15)
> Gaurī is declared to be in the bark, and Aparṇā in the inner bark. Durgā is declared to be in the flower, and Umā among the twigs. (16)
> In all the thorns, nine *koṭi*s of *śakti*s reside to protect beings on the order of Girijā. (17)

There are also passages describing deities residing in various plants (*Padmapurāṇa*, Nag Publisher's reprint edition [1984],1.49.32cd-33ab; 6.23.36; 7.24.6-10;*Hiraṇyakeśigṛhyaśeṣasūtra*, 1.1.9: 4.20; *Viṣṇudharma*, Appendix A. p.221, 1.6-7). I thank Professor Einō Shingo for kindly referring me to these passages and sending me their transcriptions upon my request.

Obviously much more research is needed in order to establish any historical ties between these Hindu texts and the "Buddhas on the tree" image found in Buddhist sources from Central Asia, Tibet, and East Asia. In particular, we should note that, according to Prof. Tanaka (pers. comm. 1998), we cannot attest the existence of the *tshogs śin* image in Tibet before the seventeenth century. One might still suspect that the image of "deities residing in a tree" in Indian popular beliefs was incorporated into Buddhism and transported to Central Asia, Tibet, and East Asia. Though we cannot say anything certain at this stage, there are at least a few Chinese translations of Indian Buddhist texts that refer to deities residing on trees. See the *Da loutan jing* 大樓炭經 (T1:298c4-5 [No.7]); the *Qishi jing* 起世經 (T1:328a3-4 [No.24]); and the *Qishi yinben jing* 起世因本經 (T1:403a5-6 [No.25]). I thank Ms. Nagao Kayoko 長尾佳代子 for the references to these Chinese sources.

In this connection, see also Lambert Schmithausen (1991a, 8; 59; 1991b, 13-15), who discusses various passages from Buddhist texts about deities or spirits residing in trees. The following statement (ibid., p.15, n.89) is particularly noteworthy for the present purpose: " in some Sri Lankan temple wall paintings trees are represented with a face in the branches."

f. Meditative Dissection

In the *ZCMF*, there is a strange vision in which the meditator cuts his own body with a sword. This "operation," which I call "meditative dissection," is described in the *ZCMF* in the following way:

> 一梵王手持梵瓶, 與諸梵衆至行者前, 捉金剛刀, 授與行者. 既得刀已, 自剗頭骨, 大如馬珂, 置左膝上. (T15:334b19-22)
>
> A Brahmā king, having a Brahmā's jar in his hand, with his retinues approaches the meditator. [The Brahmā king then] takes a *vajra* sword and gives [it] to the meditator. Having obtained the sword, [the meditator] cuts [a piece of] his own skull as big as a bit for a horse and puts it on his left knee.[29]

---

29. Cf. the following:

> Then imagine this body, which is the result of thine
> own *karmic* propensities,
> To be a fat, luscious-looking corpse, huge [enough to
> embrace the Universe], . . .
> As being the Wrathful Goddess and as standing apart
> [from thy body],
> Having one face and two hands and holding a knife
> and a skull.
> Think that she severeth the head from the corpse,
> And setteth it, as a skull [like an enormous cauldron],
> over three skulls placed like legs of a tripod
> embracing the Three Regions,
> And cutteth the corpse into bits and flingeth them
> inside the skull as offerings to the deities.

This is a translation of 'Jigs med gliṅ pa's *Mkha' 'gro gad rkyaṅ* by Kazi Dawa Samdup found in W. Y. Evans-Wentz 1935, 311-12 (brackets indicate the translator's supplements, not mine); I owe the reference to Janet Gyatso 1985, p.320, n.1.

See also n.32 of this chapter.

A more detailed description is found in the *WCYF* as follows:[30]

> 師言．汝自觀分爲五分．．．．身若能壞作五分了者，即知今則無有我．一一亦無我．心則若住無我定門．若住定時盡見支節有刀出，諸刀刃皆有明焔出，此名無我智慧境界． (T15:326c3-8)

> The master says [to the meditator]: "You must visualize dividing yourself into five parts. . . . If your body has been successfully broken down into five parts, then you realize that there is no Self; even each part has no Self. Thus your mind is established in the gate of the samādhi of no-Self. If you see swords coming out of your limbs all over during the samādhi, and if bright flames are coming out from the blades of all of these swords, they are called the objects of the wisdom of no-Self.

Compare these passages with the following quotation from the *YL*:

> tato yogino nābhyāḥ śastraṃ nirgacchati / yoginaś cāśrayaṃ ṣaḍ bilāṃ bhāgaśas taccarmaṇy avasthā(payati /)[31] . . . tato yogācārāśrayaniḥsṛtāni śastrāṇi tadvad e(va ṣaḍdh)[ātu]vibhāgena kṛtsnaṃ satvasamudram avasthāpayanti asatvākhyaṃ ca paṃ[cadh]ātuvibhāgena (hast)[ā](bhyām ekai)kaśas tāṃ dhātūṃ tulayati / te samaṃ tulyaṃte tataḥ kathaya(ti / ayam a)pi pṛthivīdhātur ayam api pṛthivīdhātuḥ ayam api abdhātur evaṃ [yā](vad vijñānadhātuḥ / ayam apy ātm)[ā]tmīyavirahito 'yam apy ātmātmīyavirahitaḥ tat[o] . . . ya ṣaḍdhātuṣaḍbilāni nirvidāgninā jvalaṃti (165.7-166.8).

> Then a sword comes out of the navel of the meditator and arranges the six parts of (?) the meditator's body separately on his skin. . . . Then, in the same way, the swords that have come out of the body of the meditator arrange the whole sea of sentient beings according to the six *dhātu*s and non-sentient beings according to the five. With both hands the [meditator] examines these elements (*dhātu*) one by one; these [elements] are equally examined. Then he says: "This is earth-element, this is also earth-element, this is water-element, thus up to consciousness-element. This is devoid of Self and its possessions, this is also devoid of Self and its possessions." Then . . . six parts [representing] the six elements burn in the fire of aversion.

---

30. I have discussed this passage and the next in Yamabe 1997, 14-15.

31. After this quotation, I have omitted a few lines of the text.

Here again, Ruegg (1967, 162) associates this practice with the *gcod*, "cutting," meditation in Tibetan Vajrayāna. The *gcod* practice, according to him, "is concerned in large part with the 'cutting up' of the *skandhas* and of the self which is posited (*bdag 'dzin* = *ātmagrāha*) on the basis of the *skandhas*" (ibid., pp.162-63).[32] Therefore, he concludes that "it may well be that we have here an earlier phase in the development of a process which eventually led to the formulation of the *gcod* doctrine" (ibid., p.163).

On this point also, I have to leave thorough investigation to specialists of Tibetan Buddhism, but it is worth noting that a very similar idea is attested in the aforementioned Chinese texts as well. In particular, while the *YL* analyzes the body into the six *dhātus*, the *WCYF* divides it into "five parts," which probably refers to the five *skandhas*. Thus, for that matter, the *WCYF* shows even closer affinity to the Tibetan practice. These points will have to be explored in further investigations.

g. A Burning Pond

In the *CMJ*, we find another mysterious image:

> 忽見身内, 心處有猛火, 燒前池上一切蓮華. (T15:261a18-19)
>
> Suddenly he sees in the heart within his body a fierce fire that burns

32. Cf. the following:

> Heaped up flesh, blood, and bones have been laid out,
> as a [sacrificial]* offering.
> If I consider these to be 'mine' or as being 'I', I will
> thereby manifest weakness. (Evans-Wentz 1935, 315)
>
> *Supplement by the translator, not by myself.

On this text, see n.29 of this chapter.

up all the lotus flowers on the pond in front [of him].

This should be compared with the following passage from the *YL*:

> tato hṛd(aye *puṣkiriṇī*)[33] . . . tataḥ puṣkiriṇī jvalati / (71.6-8)
>
> Then in the heart there is (a lotus pond) . . . Then the lotus pond burns.

A similar thing happens in the *WCYF* as well:

> 教尋觀前池. 若言我觀見水池池中蓮花樹枝葉茂盛, 見此事已, 自身入水叢樹邊坐, 自觀身中火出滿於池中, 須臾之頃忽然火起, 自燒己身及衆生, 池水都盡, 尋教更觀. (T15:328b12-15)
>
> [The master] teaches [the meditator] to watch the pond in front [of him]. If [the meditator] says: "[When] I observe the water-pond, lotus flowers and leafy trees are thriving there. After seeing this, I myself enter the water and sit by the bush. I observe a fire in my body emerging and filling the pond. In an instant, a sudden fire arises and burns myself and sentient beings. The water of the pond is exhausted"; then [the master] teaches [the meditator] to observe further.

Regarding this image, we should take into account that the image of a burning pond is found in mural paintings in Toyok meditation caves. The following is an example:

33. After this I have omitted about two lines. See the quotation in p.333.

Figure 6
(Part of Zhongguo Meishu 1989, figure 194)

This image will be discussed in more detail in my dissertation (in preparation).

h. A Boy in a Lotus

Bāladāraka, "boy," is one of the prominent images in the *YL*. The image of a boy may not itself seem especially characteristic, but in this text, this image appears in quite a strange way. See the following example (cf. p.331):

> tato hṛ(daye *puṣkiriṇī*) . . . t(aṃ) nimagnaṃ bāladārakaṃ samādhisukhasaktaṃ paśyati (71.6-7)

> Then in the heart a lotus pond [appears] . . . . [The meditator] sees a boy sunk there and absorbed in the pleasure of samādhi.

In the *ZCMF*, we find a somewhat comparable scene:

> 爾時行者自觀胸如如意珠王, 明淨可愛, 火珠爲心. 大梵天王掌中, 有轉輪印. 轉輪印中有白蓮花. 白蓮華上有天童子. (T15:333c2-4)

> At that time, the meditator sees his own chest like a king of *cintāmaṇi*, clear and pleasing, and a fire gem as his heart. There is a *mudrā* of *cakrapravartana* in the palms of the great Brahmā king. In that *mudrā* of *cakrapravartana*, there is a white lotus, on which there is a heavenly boy.

Regarding this "boy in a lotus" image, we should note that such a scene appears in a mural painting in a meditation cave at Toyok, Turfan. See the following sketch:

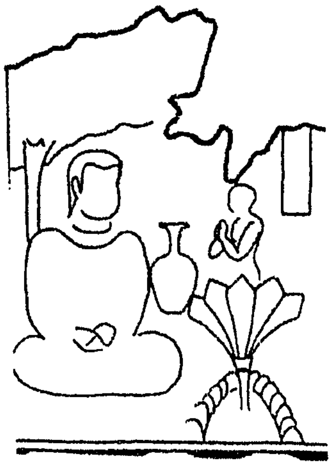


図27 蓮華化生観想図（描き起こし図）トヨク第42窟右壁

Figure 7
(Miyaji 1996, p.66, figure 27)

This image will also be discussed more extensively in Section III.4 of this dissertation.

i. Jewel Mountain and Jewel Caves

In the *GSHJ*, caves in a golden mountain and a *vaiḍūrya* cave are often mentioned, perhaps from an association with the Buddha Image Cave (Foyingku 佛影窟).[34] There are many examples, but here I quote just two passages:

> 一一光色化一金山, 一一金山無量龕窟. 一一窟中有一化佛, 結加趺坐入深禪定. (T15:663a19-21)
>
> Each color of light becomes a golden mountain, and each mountain has innumerable caves. In each cave one emanation Buddha is seated in the full lotus posture and immersed in deep meditation.
>
> 釋迦文佛坐琉璃窟. (T15:692c4)
>
> Śākyamuni Buddha is seated in a *vaiḍūrya* cave.

In the *YL*, the relevant portions are fragmentary, and so the contexts are not entirely clear, but the same types of mysterious caves are certainly mentioned:

> vyutthitasyāpi niṣyaṃdam anuvartate āśrayam anaṃtaparyaṃtāṃ[35] sauvarṇaguhāṃ . . . (130.9)
>
> Even for [the meditator] who has come out [of the meditation], the after-effect remains: the body, boundless golden caves...

Concerning the image of a golden cave, we should note that the same image is found in esoteric texts also. See the following passage from the *Jin'gang shangwei*

---

34. The Buddha Image Cave has been discussed in Section II.3 of this dissertation.

35. Text, *anaṃnta-*,

tuoluoni jing 金剛上味陀羅尼經 (T21:850a14-15 [No.1344]; translated into Chinese in 525 C.E.):[36]

> 爾時婆伽婆，乞食食已，於金窟中結加趺坐，入一切法現起三昧.
>
> At that time, the Blessed One, having begged food and eaten it, sat in the cross-legged posture in a golden cave and entered the samādhi in which all the dharmas become manifest.

Concerning the cave image, we should note that the motif of the Buddha meditating in Indra's cave was very popular in both Gandhāra and Central Asia. The following are examples of stelae on this motif from Gandhāra:

Figure 8
(After Miyaji [1988-89]1992, p.439, figures 254 [right] and 255 [left])[37]

---

36. See also another Chinese translation of the same text, the *Jin'gang chang tuoluoni jing* 金剛場陀羅尼經 (T21:854b19-21 [No.1345]; translated in 589 C.E.). I thank Harada Wasō for the reference to T Nos.1344 and 1345.

37. See also Soper 1949a, 253ff.

Further, the following ones from Qizil are considered to depict the same motif (in Qizil Caves and 80 [Figure 9] and 171 [Figure 10]; see Miyaji [1988-89]1992, 440-42):[38]

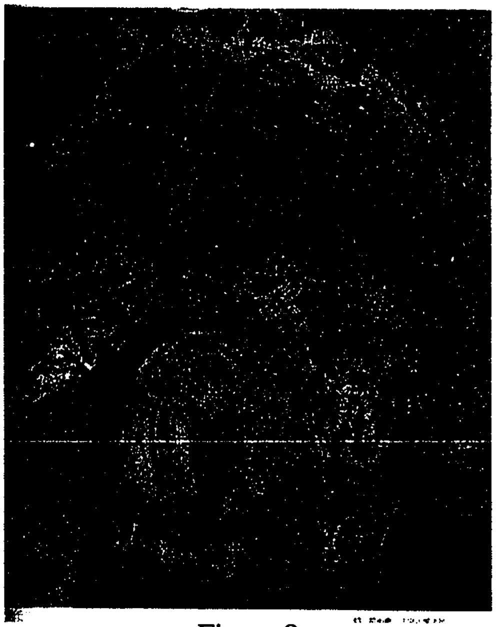


Figure 9
(After Shinkyō Uiguru 1984, plate 43)

38. See also Soper 1949a, 259.

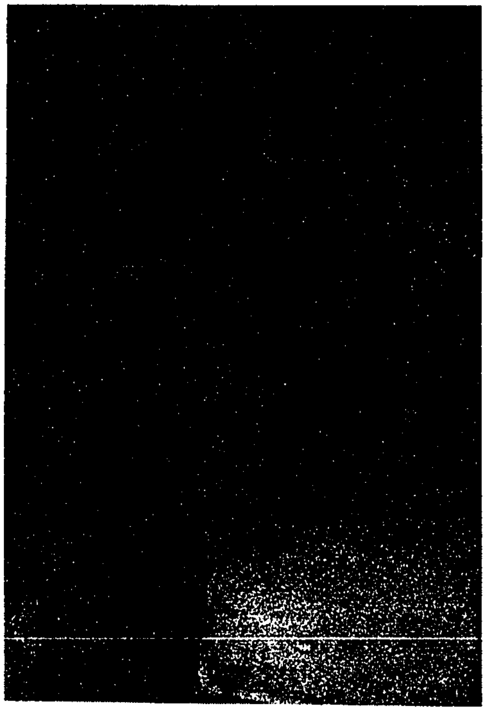


Figure 10
(After Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, plate 2)

It would not be too far-fetched to suspect that the popularity of the cave motif in Gandhāra and Central Asia formed the background of the presence of the same motif in the *GSHJ* and the *YL*.

j. Crystal Man

Another unusual image is that of a crystal man:

化佛光明成一銀山. 其山高大無量無邊. 於其山間, 純生銀樹金華銀果. 樹

下皆有白玉蓮華. 華上復有白玉化人. (*GSHJ*, T15:657b21-23)

> The rays of emanation Buddhas make a silver mountain. That mountain is boundlessly large. On that mountain, only silver trees with golden flowers and silver fruits grow. Under every tree there is a crystal lotus, on which is a crystal emanation man.

The context may not be exactly the same, but in the *YL* also, a mysterious crystal body appears in front of the meditator:

> punar āśvāsapraśvāsān[39] vāhayataḥ sphaḍika[*sic*]mayo[40] [l]oka ā[śraya]ś ca dṛśyaṃte / (79.11)

> Furthermore, a crystal world and a crystal body is seen by [the meditator] practicing inhalation and exhalation.

In the course of the *aśubhā* practice, the Buddha teaches Ānanda to visualize as follows in the *CMJ*:

> 於脊骨間, 以定心力作一高臺想. 自觀己身, 如白玉人結加趺坐. (T15: 248a25-26)

> Between the vertebrae, you should create an image of a high-vaulted house[41] by means of concentration. You [should] see yourself seated in the cross-legged posture like a crystal man [therein].

In the *YL* we find the following phrase:

---

39. According to the editor, the manuscript has *-praśvāsāt*, but he suggests the emendation *-praśvāsād*. I suggest the above reading. Note that the letters for *t* and *n* are almost indistinguishable in the Brāhmī script in which the manuscript was written. See Schlingloff 1964, 13.

40. In the text of the *YL*, *sphaṭika* is regularly spelled as *sphaḍika*. I follow the text (similarly below).

41. This word will be discussed on pp.340-344.

muhūrtāc ca sphaḍikakūṭāgārāṃtargatam ātmānaṃ paśya[ti] (167.10-11)

Immediately [the meditator] sees himself inside a crystal vaulted house.

The meditator has a further mysterious experience in the *CMJ*:

復見己身如金剛人. (T15:252b5-6)

Also he sees himself as a diamond man.

The meditator of the *YL* does not miss this experience either:

tanmadhye vajramaya āśrayo vajrāsanādhirūḍho yogina utpadyate / (125.1-2)

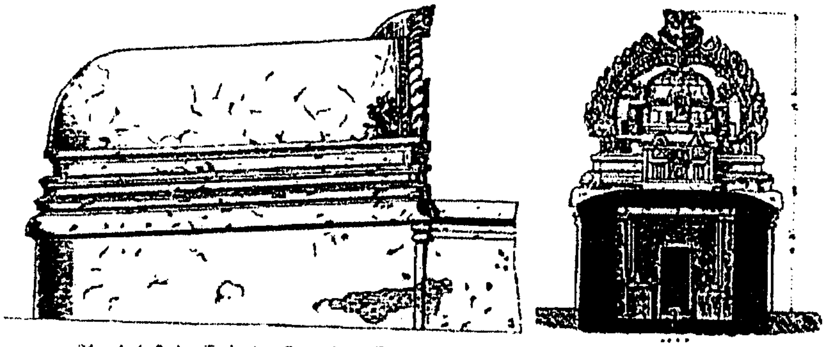
In the middle arises a diamond body of the yogin seated on the diamond throne.

k. Vaulted House

Kūṭāgāra (corresponding to Chinese *louge* 樓閣, *chongge* 重閣, *tai* 臺, etc.)[42] is often mentioned in the *GSHJ*. According to Willem B. Bollee (1986, 199), a *kūṭāgāra* is "an oblong hut with a roof in the form of a cradle." In his opinion, *kūṭāgāra* was "in the origin, probably a sacred house of people of which the facade in the form of a horseshoe represented an open muzzle -- *mukhavaṭṭi* -- of a demon" to protect the entrance of the

42. See *Bonwa daijiten*, s.v. *kūṭāgāra*.

house from evil beings (ibid, p.201). The following is one example of such a structure:



24. Aufriß des Tschaitya-Tempels in Tschezarla (Nach A. R. Madras 1917–18)

25. Schnitt des Tschaitya-Tempels in Tschezarla

E. DIEZ, Die Kunst Indiens. Wildpark-Postdam, 1925, p.29: infra p.199.

Figure 11
(After Bollee 1986, 196).

In this paper, I translate this word simply as a "vaulted house."[43] Here, let us look at just one example in the *GSHJ* (cf. n.3):

> 即變化成四柱寶臺. 於其臺内有四世尊. 放身光明儼然而坐. 東方阿閦, 南方寶相, 西方無量壽, 北方微妙聲. (T15:688c16-18)

> [The petals] change into a vaulted jewel house with four columns, in which four Blessed Ones sit solemnly emitting bodily light: Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnaketu in the south, Amitāyus in the west, and Dundubhisvara in the north.

This should be compared with the following passages:

---

43. See also Coomaraswamy 1928, 262-63; Malcolm David Eckel [1992]1994, p.199, n.20.

Note that "vaulted house" is the original meaning of the word in India, and that the Chinese equivalents of this word were not necessarily understood in the same meaning in East Asia (see Figure 12 below). Nevertheless, for the sake of consistency, I have translated the Chinese equivalents also as "vaulted house."

(va)[j](r)[ā](sanāś c)odgacchaṃti[44] / teṣu niṣaṇṇā Buddhā ra(t)na[m](ayā) ... (*vaiḍūrya*)staṃbhopara(ci)[tā]ḥ kūṭāgārā yāvat tṛtīyaṃ dhyānam evaṃ sphuṭaṃ paśyati / (73.23-74.2)

Also (*vajra* seats) appear. The Buddhas (made of) jewels are seated on these [vajra seats]...vaulted houses made of columns of (*vaiḍūrya*)...Thus he [=the yogin] clearly sees as far as the realm of the third *dhyāna*.

evam anaṃtā lokadhātavaḥ sphaḍikamayaiḥ kūṭāgāraiḥ pari[p]ūrṇā dṛśyaṃte / tadantargatāś ca Buddhā Bhagavaṃto 'nekaśataparivā(rā)ḥ (82.2-3)

Thus limitless realms of the world are seen to be filled with crystal vaulted houses, and blessed Buddhas with hundreds of retinues [are seen] therein.

Further, here again, the meditator seems to be identifying himself with the Buddha and thus is seated in the vaulted house himself (cf. p.310):

tato 'sya sphaḍikamayair abhrakūṭaiḥ kāyam avaṣṭabhyate / muhūrtāc ca sphaḍikakūṭāgārāṃtargatam ātmānaṃ paśya[ti] (*YL*, 167.10-11)

Then his body is enveloped by heaps of crystal clouds. In a moment he sees himself having entered a crystal vaulted house.

The image of *kūṭāgāra* is not rare in Buddhist texts, and so its common occurrence in the *GSHJ* and the *YL* may not seem too significant. However, we should note here that the Buddha sitting in a *kūṭāgāra* is one of the images found in an early esoteric text, the **Mahāmaṇivipulavimānaviśvasupratiṣṭhita-guhyaparamarahasyakalparāja nāma dhāraṇī*. See the following passage from a Gilgit manuscript of this text (Matsumura

---

44. Text, *-[ā](sanānāś c)o-*.

Hisashi 1983, 75-76):[45]

> Buddhaṃ Bhagavantaṃ citrāpayitavyam siṃhāsanasyoparinisaṇṇaṃ sarvālaṃkāravibhūṣitaṃ kūṭāgāraparivṛtaṃ dharmaddeśayamānaṃ [sic] dakṣiṇena Vajrapāṇi dvādaśabhujāṃ kāryā . . . bāmapārśve [sic] Maṇivajro nāma bodhisatvo kartavyaḥ caturmukhaṃ ṣoḍaśabāhuṃ . . .
>
> The Blessed Buddha should be painted as seated on a lion's throne, adorned with all [sorts of] ornaments, covered with a vaulted house, and preaching the Dharma. To the right, twelve-armed Vajrapāṇi should be painted . . . On the left side should be painted a bodhisattva, Maṇivajro by name, who has four faces and sixteen arms . . .

Since the basic form of this text is considered to have existed in India as early as the fifth or sixth century,[46] it may not be too far-fetched to suspect that the appearance of the *kūṭāgāra* image in the *GSHJ* and the *YL* had some esoteric implications.[47]

---

45. This portion corresponds to the *Dabao guangbo louge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing* 大寶廣博樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經, T19:628a29ff. (No.1005); *Guangda baolouge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing* 廣大寶樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經, T19:652b6ff.(No.1006), and apparently also to the *Mouli mantuoluo zhou jing* 牟梨曼陀羅呪經, T19:667a5ff. (No.1007).

46. See Matsunaga 1980, 119; Tsukamoto, Matsunaga, and Isoda Hirofumi 1989, 31; 68-69; and Tanaka 1993, 16-17.
According to Yoritomi Motohiro (1981, 420), the oldest translation of this text, the *Mouli mantuoluo zhou jing* is first mentioned in the *KSL* (compiled in 730 C.E.) as an anonymous sūtra from the Liang 梁 period (early sixth century).

47. In a more developed esoteric text, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha*, *kūṭāgāra* appears, for example, in the following way (Horiuchi ed., 325. 13-16; Chandra ed., 56.10-21; corresponding to the *Yiqie rulai zhenshi shedacheng xianzheng sanmei dajiaowang jing* 一切如來眞實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經, T18:370a28-b5):

> atha Bhagavān Vairocanas Tathāgataḥ sarva[tathāga]tādhiṣṭhānena sarvatathāgatamahopāyajñānavajraṃ nāma samādhiṃ samāpannaḥ // samanantarasamāpanne cātha tāvad eva sarvatathāgatāḥ sakalākāśadhātuparamāṇurajaḥsamavasaraṇaspharaṇatayā* Sumerugirimūrdhni vajramaṇiratnaśikharakūṭāgāre** punar api*** samājam āgamya sarvatathāgatasamatām adhyālambya, Bhagavato Vairocanasya śrīvatsahṛdaye praviṣṭāḥ //

See also the drawing below based on this text. This drawing is entitled Hōrōkaku mandara 寶樓閣曼荼羅 and is found in the *Daigobon zuzō* 醍醐本圖像:

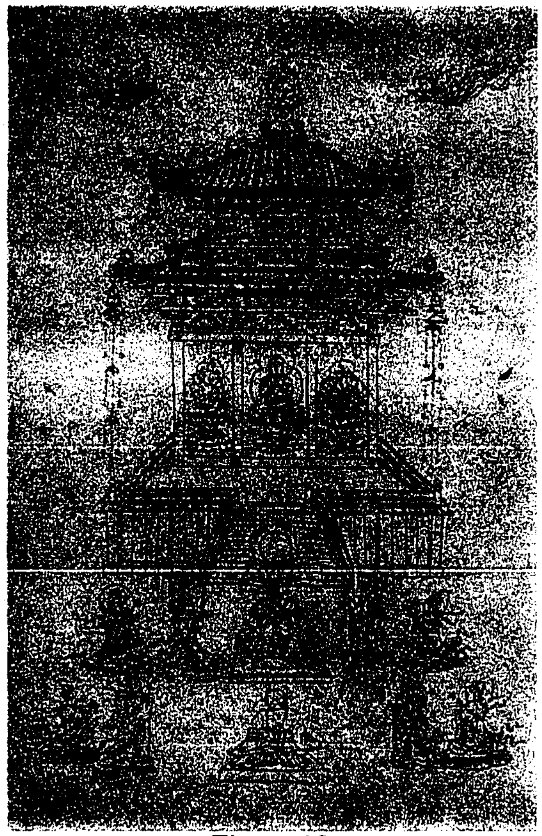


Figure 12
(After T *Zuzō* 4:34, plate 21)

---

*Chandra ed., *-tāya*, but I follow Horiuchi ed.
**Chandra ed. omits *-śikhara-*.
***Chandra ed. omits *api*.

Then Blessed Tathāgata Vairocana, by the power of all the Tatāgatas, enters the samādhi called the *vajra* of the wisdom of the great means of all the Tathāgatas. Just after [his] entering [the samādhi], first all the Tathāgatas, like atoms and motes in the whole realm of space interfusing and pervading [one another?], reunite in the vaulted house of a pointed *vajramaṇi* jewel on the top of Mt. Sumeru. Recognizing the equality of all the Tathāgatas, they enter the heart of Blessed Vairocana [marked with] *śrīvatsa*.

Note that the word *kūṭāgāra* appears frequently in this text. The above passage is just one example.

l. Stars

Stars are another esoteric-seeming image in the *YL*. Unfortunately the manuscript is fragmentary at the relevant portion, and so the context is not very clear, but we find the following passage:

> tāni ca nakṣatrān(ī)ṣṭ(a)viṣ(a)[y](*ādhipatirūpāṇi*) . . . (raś)m(i)bhir visphuliṃgābhir iṣṭaviṣayān upahaṃti (159.10-12)
>
> Those stars are (the embodiments) of desirable objects . . . destroys the desirable objects with sparking rays.

A somewhat comparable line is found in the *WCYF*:

> 自見骨上有明星出，四邊有金丸．星者明淨境界，金丸者智慧境界. (T15:326c9-10)
>
> [The meditator] sees bright stars emerge above his own bones, which have golden balls on four sides. The stars are objects of clear [mind], and the golden balls are objects of wisdom.

m. Flowers in the Navel

According to the *GSHJ*, there are innumerable flowers in the navel of the Buddha. The flowers (apparently)[48] come out of the navel with rays of light and are scattered all

48. The text is not entirely clear to me.

over the world:

> 如來臍中有萬億寶華. 一一寶華, 萬億那由他葉. 一一葉萬億那由他色, 一一色萬億那由他光. . . . 佛臍出光. . . . 其光千種有十千色, . . . 如是十方各有諸華. (T15:665b26-c10)

> In the navel of the Tathāgata there are ten thousand *koṭis* of jewel flowers. Each jewel flower has ten thousand *koṭis* of *nayutas* of petals. Each petal has ten thousand *koṭis* of *nayutas* of colors. Each color has ten thousand *koṭis* of *nayutas* of rays. . . . The navel of the Buddha emits rays . . . These rays are of one thousand kinds and have ten thousand colors, . . . In this way, there are flowers in the ten directions.

In the *YL*, the same thing is described more clearly.

> nīlā[di]bhiś ca sv[ā]śrayaprabhābhiḥ kṛt[s](n)aṃ (lokam āpūrayati / caturbhya)[ś ca sa]mudrebhya ut[t]arati/ [n]ābhyāś cāsya (pu)ṣpapravāho niḥsṛtaś caturdhā [gacchati] / samudreṣu caturṣu patati / tataḥ samudrā rasaiḥ pūryaṃte/ pa[d](m)āni copa(nīyaṃte /) (92.8-10)

> [The meditator] fills the whole world with the rays of blue and so forth of his own body. Then he goes out of the four seas. A stream of flowers that has come out of his navel goes to the four directions and falls on the four seas. Then the seas are filled with essence, and the lotuses are brought hither.

Note that here it is from the navel of the meditator himself, not from that of the Buddha, that flowers come out. Once again, the meditator seems to be acting as if he had become the Buddha himself (cf. p.310).

n. The Wheel of Dependent Origination

In the *CMJ*, the meditator sees a visual image of the links of the *pratītyasamutpāda* formula in the following way:

光光七寶色, 從胸而出. . . . 見光如雲繞身七匝. 其一一光, 化成光輪. 於光輪中, 自然當見十二因緣根本相貌. (T15:257a21-25).

Rays of the colors of seven jewels come out of the chest [of the meditator], . . . [He] sees the rays encircle the body seven times like clouds. Each ray is transformed into a wheel of light, in which [he] spontaneously sees the fundamental image of the Dependent Origination of the twelve links.

A similar experience is described in the *YL* as well.

pratīt[y](asamutpādaṃ parīkṣa)[m]āṇasya dvādaśāṃgaṃ pratītyasamutpādacakram□ (saṃskā)rasāṃtānikaṃ traidhātukaṃ karmakleśāvabaddhaṃ bhramaṃtam abhimukhī bhav(a)t(i) dṛṣṭvā cāsya vai[mukhya](m) [u](tpadyate /) (163.10-164.2)

For [the meditator] examining Dependent (Origination), the disk of the Dependent Origination of twelve links appears, which constitutes the continuity of *saṃskāra*s, which belongs to the Triple World, which is bound by karma and *kleśa*, and which is rotating. Having seen [that], aversion arises in him.

These descriptions probably presuppose the type of image shown below. Note that the twelve items that constitute the chain of Dependent Origination, beginning with ignorance (represented by a blind man) and ending in old age and death (represented by a tomb), are depicted on the rim of the wheel:

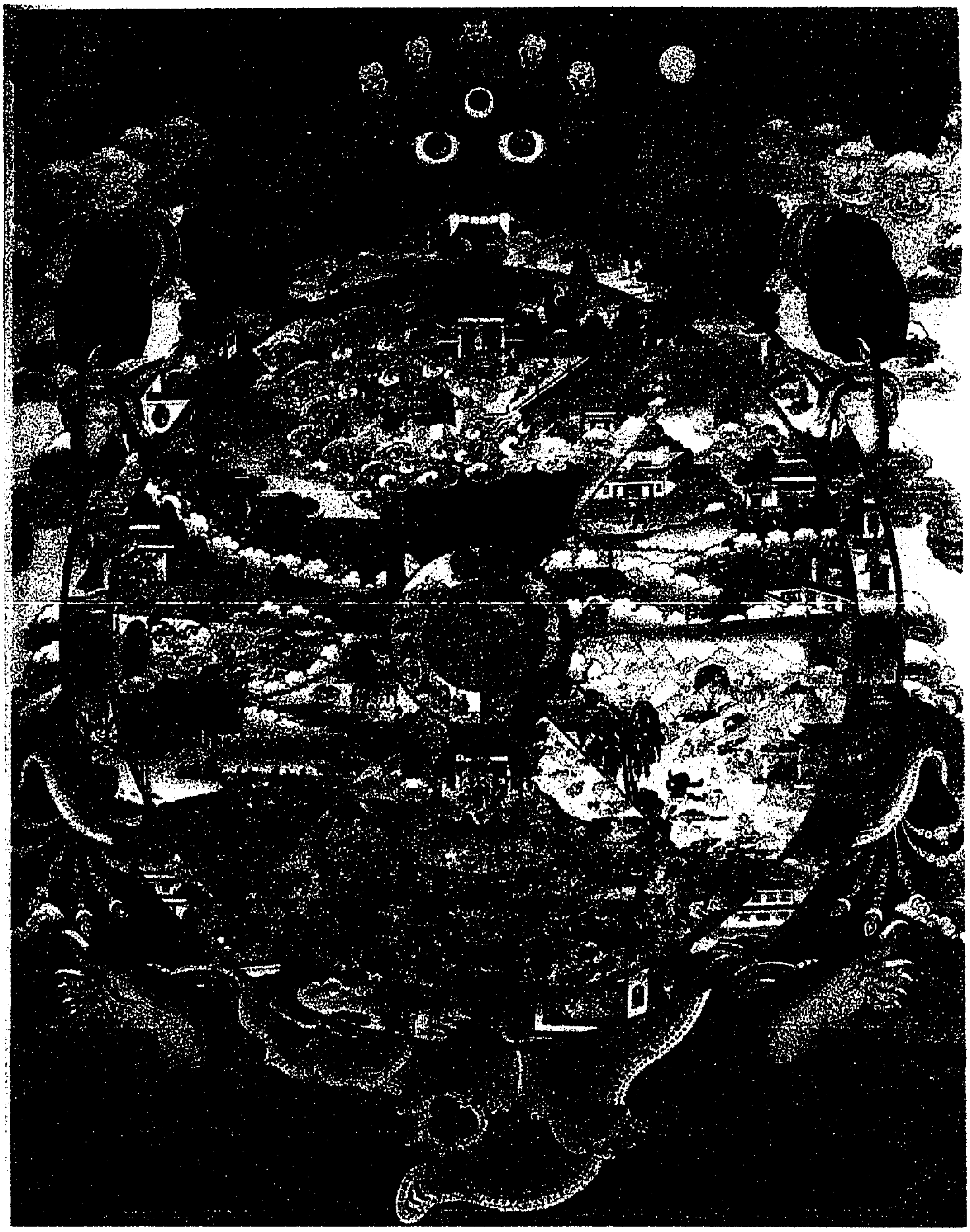


Figure 13
(After Mainichi Communications 1983, figure *tsu* ツ 70)

Though the picture shown above is from the Tibetan tradition, this motif is attested in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* and in an Ajaṇṭā painting.[49] Therefore, in this case the motif is clearly of an Indian origin.

o. Wind Filling the Body

The *YL* describes the way wind fills the body during meditation:

> . . . tivat pūrṇam āśrayam vāyubhiḥ paśyati□ / sarvasrotobhir vāyūn praviśato□ . . . [s]i [sa]rvaṃ [v]ā si . . . (taila)hradanimagnaṃ cātmānaṃ sarvasrotobhis tailena praviśata iti
> sarvak[ā](yapratisaṃvedanāyām) / // (69.11-15)[50]

> . . . like . . . [the meditator] sees [his own] body filled with winds. [He sees] the winds entering through all the [body] openings . . . all . . . [sees] himself sunk in the lake of oil, and that the oil has entered [him] through all the [body] openings.
> [Of this sort are the visions the meditator sees] in [the awareness of] all the bodily (sensations).

In the *CMJ*, a somewhat similar thing happens in a much more dramatic way:

---

49. See the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (*Genben Shuoyiqie youbu pinaye*) 根本說一切有部毘奈耶, T23:811a25-b26 [No.1442]; *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, s.v. "*goshu shōji rin*" 五趣生死輪 (2:1221b-1222a); Schlingloff [1987]1988, 167-74; and Tshul khrims sKal bzaṅ Khaṅ dkar 1997. Note that the Indian descriptions and the Tibetan painting do not agree in every detail.

50. Cf. *Sabbakāyapaṭisaṃvedī assasissāmīti sikkhati; Sabbakāyapaṭisaṃvedī passasissāmīti sikkhati.* (*Kāyagatāsatisutta*, *MN* 3:89.16-18).

觀風大者, 先觀身內, 從心華樹, 生一微風. 如是微風, 漸漸增長, 遍滿身體. 滿身體已從毛孔出滿一房內. . . . 遍滿三千大千世界. 上至於頂, 下至金剛際. 遍此諸處已, 還從頂入, 令其心樹一切華葉漸漸萎落. (T15:265c19-66a 1)

One observes the wind element in the following way: First [the meditator] observes that in his body, from the flowering tree of the heart, a breeze arises. Thus the breeze gradually becomes large and fills the body. Having filled the body, [the wind] goes out of the pores and fills the chamber. . . . [Finally, the wind] fills the trichiliocosm, up to the *[bhava-]agra* and down to the diamond disk. Having filled these places, [the wind] returns and enters the top of the head and gradually withers all the flowers and leaves of the tree of the heart.

Concluding Remarks

I have to admit that in most of these cases, the images in the *YL* and the Chinese texts are not identical. Furthermore, we should note that similar images do not necessarily appear in the same context in different texts. Even keeping these points in mind, one would agree that the visionary images appearing in these texts are strikingly similar. Clearly these texts somehow shared the same background, but how exactly these similarities can be explained is a difficult problem.

One possibility is that both the *YL* and the Chinese texts derived these elements from early phases of the esotericization of Indian Buddhism. This possibility seems particularly plausible if we consider that somewhat similar elements are also found in Tibetan Buddhism. If a Sanskrit meditation manual from Central Asia, Chinese meditation texts, and Tibetan Buddhist traditions share similar elements, the natural guess would be that they shared common roots in India.[51] In some cases (like the wheel of Dependent

51. Another possibility is that these similarities were mere coincidences based on the "collective unconsciousness" of human beings. In some of these cases, we cannot easily rule out this possibility. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to explain away all these similarities as mere coincidences; the degree of similarity is too great to do so. I believe that, at least in most of these

Origination [see pp.346-349]), this is clearly the case. It is quite possible that in many other cases as well the ultimate source of these esoteric-seeming images existed in India.

We have a more urgent question to answer, however: Where exactly was the contact point of these Chinese texts and the early esoteric methods (apparently deriving from India)? In other words, how did the authors of these Chinese texts acquire knowledge about early Indian esoteric Buddhism? This is long before the systematic introduction of esoteric Buddhism to China. We should also recall that the *YL* itself has no Chinese translation. Therefore, prior Chinese Buddhist texts are not very likely sources of these meditation texts.

On the other hand, it does not seem very likely either that the Chinese author(s)/compiler(s) of these texts had direct access to the (probably contemporaneous) developments of Indian Buddhism. As I shall discuss in detail in my dissertation, the author(s) of the *GSHJ* does not seem to have had accurate knowledge of the well-known pilgrimage site in northwest India, the Buddha Image Cave. We should also consider that there is no evidence to prove that the *YL* existed in India; it might have been compiled (or at least revised) in Central Asia.

Considering these points, Central Asia seems to be a likely contact point of Chinese apocryphal texts and early esoteric traditions. Artistic evidence also does not contradict this hypothesis. Some motifs are found widely in artwork from India, Central Asia, China, Japan, and Tibet, and so it is not always easy to establish that Central Asia was the contact point. At least, however, it is certain that artistic representations that can be associated with the relevant esoteric-seeming images do exist in Central Asia. As we shall discuss later (Section III.4), there are, in fact, many other paintings that can be specifically linked to the relevant Chinese texts.

---

cases, we should assume that there were some historical connections.

We cannot rush to a hasty conclusion at this stage, but I would like to suggest that there is good reason to suspect that the *GSHJ* and related Chinese texts had close ties with Central Asia.

2. The *Maitreyasiṃhanādasūtra*

As we discussed in Section I.4, *guanfo* 觀佛, is a difficult term. The usage in Chinese Buddhist texts seems to indicate that the word *guanfo* means a practice of visualization, primarily by means of a statue.[1] However, the Sanskrit equivalent is unclear, and it is even uncertain if the corresponding Sanskrit word existed at all. Moreover, there are few unquestionably Indian Buddhist texts that expressly indicate the use of a statue as an aid for visualization.[2] These points make it difficult to trace the concept *guanfo* to Indian Buddhist traditions.

In the same chapter, we have seen the following passage from the section on *buddhānusmṛti* 念佛 in the *EĀ* (T2:554a20-b9):

> 世尊告曰. 若有比丘正身正意. 結跏趺坐 繫念在前. 無有他想專精念佛. 觀如來形未曾離目. 已不離目便念如來功德. 如來體者. 金剛所成十力具足[3]. 四無所畏在衆勇健. 如來顏貌端正無雙. 視之無厭. 戒德成就. 猶如金剛而不可毀. 清淨無瑕亦如瑠璃. . . .
>
> The Blessed One said: "There is a monk who keeps his body and mind upright, crosses his legs, makes his mindfulness present,[4] earnestly calls the Buddha to mind without other thoughts. He observes the Tathāgata's image without taking his eyes off it. Once the eyes are fixed, he meditates on the merits of the Tathāgata. The Tathāgata's body is made of diamond and endowed with ten powers. He has the four kinds of

---

1. See Introduction of this dissertation. See also *SLF*, T15:299a3ff.; *WCYF*, T15:327a8ff; *CMJ*, T15:255a25ff.; *ZSJ*, T15:276a6ff.; Soper 1959, 144; Takata Osamu 1967, 276.
Note that the relevant portion of the *WCYF* is an incorporation of the *SLF*. See Section I.2.

2. See also Takata Osamu 1967, 425-34; Hirakawa [1968]1989b, 100-101; 1989, 328-39.

3. The text has *chang* 長, but I read it as *zu* 足 according to the footnote in the Taishō canon.

4. Ch. 繫念在前 is a stock phrase corresponding to *abhimukhīṃ smṛtim upasthāpya*, "making the mindfulness present." For the sake of consistency, I translate this underlying Sanskrit expression.

fearlessness and is brave in an assembly. The complexion of the Tathāgata is proper and incomparable. One is never tired of his sight. The virtue of precepts is established like a diamond and cannot be broken. It is pure, flawless, and also like beryl. . . .

This is a well-known example of the occurrence of a statue in the context of visualization.[5] As I have already mentioned, however, this passage is not found in the corresponding Pāli text (*AN*, 1:42.9-18 [No.1.20]), and so it is not certain if this instruction was directly based on Indian traditions.

The following line of the *Pratyutpannasūtra* is also well-known (Harrison ed., 4D [40.14-27]):

> bzaṅ skyoṅ / gźan yaṅ chos bźi daṅ ldan na / byaṅ chub sems d'ap sems dpa' chen po tiṅ ṅe 'dzin 'di 'thob bo // bźi gaṅ źe na / 'di lta ste / tiṅ ṅe 'dzin 'di 'dod pas de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs byed du gźug ste / tha na ri mor yaṅ 'drir 'jug pa daṅ / tiṅ ṅe 'dzin 'di 'dod pas tiṅ ṅe 'dzin 'di yun riṅ du gnas par bya ba'i phyir ci nas kyaṅ tiṅ ṅe 'dzin 'di 'dzin par legs par bris śiṅ glegs bam sbyin pa daṅ / mṅon pa'i ṅa rgyal can gyi gaṅ zag rnams mṅon pa'i ṅa rgyal med pa'i chos 'di lta ste bla na med pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i byaṅ chub la 'jog pa daṅ / de bźin gśegs pa'i bstan pa bsruṅ ba daṅ / sba ba daṅ / yaṅ dag par bzuṅ ba'i phyir gnas pa ste / bzaṅ skyoṅ / chos bźi po de dag daṅ ldan na / byaṅ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po tiṅ ṅe 'dzin 'di 'thob bo //
>
> Further, Bhadrapāla, if they possess four dharmas, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this samādhi. What are the four? They are (1) through desire for this samādhi having an image of the *Tathāgata* made, or even just having a picture painted; (2) through desire for this samādhi, for the sake of making this samādhi endure for a long time and in order that this samādhi be preserved, copying it well and presenting it as a book; (3) establishing conceited persons in the Dharma which is free of conceitedness, that is to say, in supreme and perfect awakening; (4) being devoted to the protection, preservation, and maintenance of the *Tathāgata*'s teaching. If they possess those four dharmas, Bhadrapāla, *bodhisattvas* and *mahāsattvas* obtain this samādhi. (translation by Harrison [1990, 46])

Making images and painting pictures in this passage, however, seem to be acts of

5. This passage is discussed in Takata Osamu 1967, 425; Harrison 1978a, 37-38; 1992, 219-20; and Malcolm David Eckel [1992]1994, 135.

merit-making rather than preparatory devices for visualization.[6] Therefore, this passage cannot be a clear reference to the use of images for visualization.[7]

There are, of course, Chinese meditation texts that mention statues in the context of visualization (*GSHJ*, *SLF*, *WCYF*, *CMJ*, *ZSJ*), but the first four are very problematic texts.[8] In contrast to these, much information in the *ZSJ* is demonstrably Indian. Since, however, the *ZSJ* as a whole is a compilation by Kumārajīva,[9] and since we do not have a Sanskrit or Tibetan text to confirm the Indian origin of the relevant portion, we have to be careful about the treatment of this text.

If there is a text written in an Indic language (or a Tibetan translation thereof) that mentions a statue or a painting as an aid for visualization, that text would be very helpful in re-evaluating the nature of the *GSHJ*. There is, in fact, one such text in the *Ratnakūṭa*

---

6. Harrison 1978, 39. See also Takata Osamu 1967, 427 and Hirakawa 1989, 332-33. As Hirakawa points out there, however, we should note that the three-fascicle Chinese version of the same sūtra *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 translates the first item in the following way (T13:906a25-26 [No.418]):

> 一者作佛形像若作畫. 用是三昧故.
>
> First [a bodhisattva] should make a statue or a painting of the Buddha to be utilized in this samādhi.

See also the corresponding line in the *Bapo Pusa jing* 拔陂菩薩經, another Chinese version of the same sūtra (T13:923a18-19 [No.419]):

> 常作佛形像. 次畫作其好. 常持是定意.
>
> [A bodhisattva] should always make a statue of the Buddha and then paint [the Buddha's] beautiful appearance. [A bodhisattva] should always hold these to concentrate his mind.

Though the meaning is not entirely clear, these versions leave room to interpret that statues and paintings were used as devices to visualize the Buddha.

7. A similar passage appearing in the *Shizhu piposa lun* 十住毘婆沙論 (T26:86c6-10 [No.1521]), which probably was based on the *Pratyutpannasūtra*, should be interpreted in the same way.

8. See Section I.2.

9. Again, see Section II.2.

collection, entitled the **Maitreyamahāsiṃhanādasūtra* (Pek. No.760[22]; D. No.67, *MSNS*). In this chapter, I would like to compare the relevant portions of the *MSNS* with corresponding segments of the *GSHJ*.[10]

a. Comparison between the *MSNS* and the *GSHJ*

In the *MSNS*, the Buddha recounts how the Bodhisattva Mahāvīrya (brTsan 'grus chen po') practiced visualization. Since the story is rather lengthy, I shall summarize it and translate only the most relevant portions.

Once, a young boy Mahāvīrya saw an image of the Buddha painted on silk and thought the following (Pek. Zi 105b2-3; D. Ca109b1-2; Lhasa Ca 214a7-b1):[11]

> de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzuks 'di yaṅ 'di tsam du blta na sdug pa yin na / de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas de lta smos kyaṅ ci dgos te / bdag kyaṅ lus 'di lta bu daṅ ldan par gyur na[12] / ci ma ruṅ sñam nas . . .

> If even this image of the Tathāgata is so beautiful, how much more so the [real] Tathāgata, *arhat*, *samyaksaṃbuddha* would be. Why should I

10. Relevant portions of the *GSHJ* and the *MSNS* are quoted together in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T53:382a22-83a17 [No.2122]).

11. For the *MSNS*, I have collated the Otani reprint of the Peking edition, Taipei reprint of the Derge edition (kept at Kyushu University), and original xylography of the Lhasa edition (kept at Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library). I thank Dr. Paul Draghi at Beinecke Library and Mr. Harada Yasunori 原田泰教 at Kyushu University for their assistance with having access to these editions.

In the notes to the following quotations, I do not mark the differences in punctuation (/) among these versions. Further, since *pa* and *ba* are often indistinguishable in woodblock printing, I do not note the variants in this respect either.

12. Pek., D. *kyaṅ* instead of *na*.

not become one with such a body?[13]

Thinking thus, he lost interest in household life and began aspiring for the life of a recluse. When he became sixteen years old, he went to see his parents and asked for permission to become a monk. His parents, however, did not grant permission, pointing out that Mahāvīrya was their only son and that they could not live without him.

Thereupon, Mahāvīrya went on a hunger strike. His parents, their kinsmen, and friends visited him in turn and offered him exquisite food and precious gifts, but Mahāvīrya paid no attention to them. On the seventh day, a deity appeared in the sky and recited verses to admonish the parents, their kinsmen, and friends. Hearing his admonition, the parents finally changed their mind and gave Mahāvīrya permission to become a monk. Then, he carried the image of the Tathāgata, entered wilderness, and began his practice in the following way:

> de der źugs[14] nas ras bcos[15] bu'i[16] gźi gaṅ la de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs de bris pa'i ras bcod bu'i gźi de bres nas / ras bcos bu'i gźi de ñid kyi mdun du rtsva'i gdiṅ ba btiṅ ba'i steṅ du skyil[17] mo kruṅ[18] bcas nas lus

---

13. There is a close parallel in the *Pratyutpannasūtra*, section 8A (56.19-23):

> 'a la la de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas de dag mdzes pa ni ṅo mtshar te / bdag kyaṅ ma 'oṅs pa'i dus na lus yoṅs su grub pa 'di lta bu daṅ ldan par 'gyur ro // mtshan 'di lta bu dag yoṅs su rdzogs par 'gyur ro //

> "Oh how marvellous the beauty of those *Tathāgatas*, *Arhats* and Perfectly Awakened Ones! I too at a future time shall be endowed with such bodily perfection. I shall perfect such marks." (Translation by Harrison [1990, 69]).

Cf. *DZL*, T25:92a15-16.

14. Lhasa *bźugs*.

15. Pek. *bcod*.

16. Pek. omits *'i*.

17. Pek. *dkyil*.

18. Pek. *bkruṅ*.

drań por bsrań ste 'dug nas de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs de la rtog par byed do // de de la gtog[19] par byed pa na 'di sñam du sems te / gań gyi phyir de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di yań 'di tsam du mdzes pa yin na / bcom ldan 'das de lta smos kyań ci dgos te / sańs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de de tsam du mdzes pa ni ńo mtshar bas gań dag gis de bźin gśegs pa de[20] mthoń ba de dag ni dpal yon can yin[21] no sñam mo // de 'di sñam du ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa blta bar bya sñam du[22] sems par yań gyur to // (Pek. Zi 107b5-8a1; D. Ca 111b3-6; Lhasa Ca 217a7-b4)

Having entered the [wilderness], spreading out the cotton cloth on which the image of the Tathāgata is painted[23] over [another piece of] cotton cloth, he sits in the cross-legged posture on the surface of the seat strewn with grass in front of the cotton cloth. Sitting with [his] body straight, he meditates on (*rtog par byed pa*, 觀) the image of the Tathāgata. Having meditated on the [image], he thinks thus: "Since even this image of the Tathāgata is so beautiful, how much more so the Blessed One [himself] would be. Because the Buddha Tathāgata [who is] so beautiful is remarkable, those who see the Tathāgata are fortunate." Having thought thus, he further thinks how the Tathāgata should be looked at (*ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa blta bar bya*, 云何觀佛).

de nas nags khrod de na lha źig gnas par gyur pa gań yin pa des byań chub sems dpa' de'i sems kyi rtog pa de[24] sems kyis yońs su śes nas byań chub sems dpa' de la 'di skad ces smra[25] so // grogs po khyod ji ltar de bźin bśegs pa blta bar bya sñam du rnam par rtog par byed pa gań yin pa de ni de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di ji lta ba de bźin du blta bar bya źiń / de

---

19. Lhasa *rtog*.

20. Lhasa omits *de*.

21. Pek. *yen*.

22. Lhasa adds *yań*.

23. Cf. Tathāgatapratimāṃ paṭe likhāpayitvā prābhṛtam anupreṣaya / (*Divyavadāna*, 547.6-7

Have an image of the Tathāgata painted on a piece of cloth and send it as a gift.

See Section II.3 of this dissertation).

24. D., Lhasa omits *de*.

25. Lhasa *smras*.

bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di[26] ji ltar mthoṅ ba de[27] bźin du de bźin gśegs pa yaṅ blta bar bya ste / de ltar mthoṅ na de bźin gśegs pa legs par mthoṅ ba yin no // de nas byaṅ chub sems dpa' brtson 'grus chen po de 'di sñam du sems te / ji ltar bltas na / de bźin gśegs pa mthoṅ bar 'gyur par de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di la ji ltar[28] blta bar bya sñam nas / de 'di sñam du sems te / ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di sems par mi byed / rnam par śes par mi byed pa de bźin du chos thams cad kyaṅ sems par mi byed / rnam par śes par mi byed de / de bźin gśegs pa'i sku yaṅ mtshan ñid de lta bu yin no // (Pek. Zi 108a1-6; D. Ca 111b6-12a3; Lhasa Ca 217b4-18a3)

Then a deity living in the dense forest learned with his mind the thought in the mind of the bodhisattva and said as follows to the bodhisattva: "Friend, you are thinking about how the Tathāgata should be looked at (*grogs po kyhod ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa blta bar bya sñam du rnam par rtog par byed pa*, 汝如是念云何觀佛). He should be seen like this image of the Tathāgata. As this image of the Tathāgata is seen, so should the Tathāgata be seen. If you see thus, it is the correct [way of] seeing the Tathāgata (*de ltar mthoṅ na de bźin gśegs pa legs par mthoṅ ba yin no*, 如是觀者，名爲善觀)." Then Mahāvīrya bodhisattva thought: "How should the image of the Tathāgata be looked at so that the Tathāgata is seen?" Then he thought this way: "As this image of the Tathāgata does not think or cognize, all the dharmas do not think or cognize either. The body of the Tathāgata also has such characteristics.

ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di miṅ du btags pa tsam du zad pa de bźin du chos thams cad kyaṅ miṅ du btags pa tsam du zad la / miṅ de yaṅ ṅo bo ñid kyis stoṅ pa taṅ / raṅ bźin gyis gyo ba med pa yin te / de bźin gśegs pa'i sku yaṅ mtshan ñid de lta bu yin no // ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di la thob pa med pa daṅ / mṅon par rtogs pa med pa daṅ / śes pa med pa daṅ / mṅon sum du bya ba med pa daṅ / 'bras bu med pa daṅ / 'bras bu rtogs pa med pa daṅ / gnas med pa daṅ / rten med pa daṅ / 'gro ba med pa daṅ / 'od ba med pa daṅ / skye ba med pa daṅ / 'gag pa med pa daṅ / kun nas ñon moṅs pa med pa daṅ / rnam par byaṅ ba med pa daṅ / sgra med pa daṅ / tshul med pa taṅ / tshul ma yin pa med pa daṅ / 'dod chags zad pa med pa daṅ / źe sdaṅ zad pa med pa daṅ / gti mug zad pa med pa daṅ / phuṅ po rnams med pa daṅ / khams rnams med pa daṅ / skye mched rnams med pa daṅ / sṅon gyi mtha' med pa daṅ / phyi ma'i mtha' med pa daṅ / dbus med ba de[29] bźin du chos thams cad kyaṅ de daṅ 'dra ste / de bźin gśegs pa'i sku yaṅ mtshan ñid de lta bu yin no // (Pek. Zi 108a6-b3; D. Ca112a3-b1; Lhasa

26. Pek. adds *ni*.

27. Lhasa omits *de*.

28. Pek. *bltar*.

29. Pek. omits *de*.

Ca 218a3-b2)

"As this image of the Tathāgata is only a conventional designation, all the dharmas are only conventional designations. That designation is also empty of self-nature and by nature motionless. The body of the Tathāgata also has the same characteristics. As the image of the Tathāgata does not see, does not realize [the truth], does not know, does not directly perceive [the truth], does not have fruit, does not attain fruit, does not abide, has no basis, does not go or come, does not arise or perish, has no defilement (*saṃkleśa*), has no purification, has no voice, has no reasonableness, has no unreasonableness, there is no destruction of desire, there is no destruction of hatred, there is no destruction of delusion, there are no aggregates (*phuṅ po*, *skandha*), there are no elements (*khams*, *dhātu*), there are no sense-realms (*skye mched*, *āyatana*), there is no past lifetime, there is no future lifetime, nor is there a present lifetime, all the dharmas are the same way. The Tathāgata's body also has the same characteristics.

ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di gyo ba med pa daṅ / spyod pa med pa de bźin du chos thams cad kyaṅ de daṅ 'dra ste / de bźin gśegs pa'i sku yaṅ mtshan ñid de lta bu kho na yin no // ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di lta bar mi byed / ñan par mi byed / snom par mi byed / myoṅ[30] bar mi byed / reg par mi byed / sems par mi byed / ñal bar mi byed / ldaṅ bar mi byed / dbugs 'byuṅ bar mi byed / dbugs ṅub par mi byed / rnam par śes par mi byed pa de bźin du / chos thams cad kyaṅ de daṅ 'dra ste / chos thams cad ji lta ba de bźin du de bźin gśegs pa'i sku yaṅ mtshan ñid de lta bu yin no // ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di 'dod pa'i khams su gtogs pa yaṅ ma yin / gzugs kyi khams su gtogs pa yaṅ ma yin / gzugs med pa'i khams su gtogs pa yaṅ ma yin pa de bźin du[31] chos thams cad kyaṅ de daṅ 'dra ste / de bźin gśegs pa'i sku yaṅ mtshan ñid de lta bu yin no // ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di la tshu rol yaṅ med / pha rol yaṅ med / bar yaṅ med / thog ma yaṅ med /[32] 'jig pa yaṅ med / rgyu ba yaṅ med / spyod pa yaṅ med / blaṅ[33] ba yaṅ med / dor ba yaṅ med / bya ba yaṅ med / byed pa yaṅ med / ltuṅ ba yaṅ med / bden pa yaṅ med / rdzun pa yaṅ med / bden pa mṅon par

30. Lhasa *myaṅ*.

31. Pek. *tu*.

32. Lhasa adds *tha ma yaṅ med /*.

33. Pek. Lhasa, *glaṅ*.

rtog pa[34] yaṅ med / kun tu[35] 'dod chags pa yaṅ med / yid byuṅ[36] ba yaṅ med / 'khor ba yaṅ med / mya ṅan las 'das pa yaṅ[37] med pa de bźin du chos thams cad yaṅ de daṅ 'dra ste / chos thams cad ji lta ba de bźin du de bźin gśegs pa'i sku yaṅ mtshan ñid de lta bu yin no sñam mo // (Pek. Zi 108b3-9a2; D. Ca 112b1-7; Lhasa Ca 218b2-19a4)

Just like this image of the Tathāgata does not move and has no movement, all the dharmas are also the same way. The Tathāgata's body also has the same characteristics. Just like this image of the Tathāgata does not see, hear, smell, taste, touch, think, walk, stand, breath out, breath in, or cognize; so also are all the dharmas. Just like all the dharmas, the Tathāgata's body also has the same characteristics. Just like this image of the Tathāgata does not belong to the realm of desire, to the realm of form, or to the realm without form; so also are all the dharmas. The Tathāgata's body also has the same characteristics. Just like this image of the Tathāgata does not have this side, the other side, the middle, beginning, perishing, walking, movement, grasping, casting out, passive or active action, transgression, truth, falsehood, realization of the truth, attachment, detachment, saṃsāra, or nirvāṇa; so also are all the dharmas. Just like all the dharmas, the Tathāgata's body has the same characteristics."

'od sruṅ de ltar[38] de bźin gśegs pa'i sku la 'jug pa de lta bu des rab tu rtog par byed pa na ñin mtshan du skyil[39] mo kruṅ źig par ma gyur ciṅ des[40] ñin mtshan de la mṅon par śes pa lṅa daṅ / tshaṅs pa'i gnas pa bźi daṅ / spobs pa thogs pa med pa dag kyaṅ bsgrubs par gyur nas[41] tiṅ ṅe 'dzin kun[42] du snaṅ ba źes bya ba yaṅ bsgrubs par gyur nas de la snaṅ ba yaṅ

34. Lhasa *mṅon par śes pas* instead of *mṅon par rtog pa*.

35. Lhasa *du*.

36. D., Lhasa *'byuṅ*.

37. Lhasa *kyaṅ*.

38. D. adds *de*.

39. Pek *dkyil*.

40. Pek., Lhasa, *des*.

41. Pek. / instead of *nas*.

42. Pek. omits *kun*.

byuṅ bar gyur te / snaṅ ba[43] byuṅ bar gyur pa des lha'i mig rnam par dag pa mi'i las śin tu 'das pas phyogs bcu'i saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das dpag tu med[44] graṅs med pa dag kyaṅ mthoṅ ṅo // lha'i rna ba sgrib pa med pas saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de dag gyi chos bstan pa thams cad kyaṅ thos te / de bźin gśegs pa gcig gyis chos bstan pa yaṅ de bźin gśegs pa gñis pas[45] chos bstan pa la sgrib par ma gyur ciṅ[46] / thams cad kyaṅ mñes par byas so //(Pek. Zi 109a2-6; D. Ca 112b7-13a3; Lhasa Ca 219a4-7)

O Kāśyapa, when he thus attains such understanding of the Tathāgata's body, he does not release the cross-legged posture day and night. In that day and night, he accomplishes the five types of supernatural knowledge, four Brahmavihāras, and unobstructed eloquence. He also accomplishes a samādhi that is called "illumination" and radiance will also arise in him. By the divine eyes that far surpass the human [eye] he will see boundless and countless Blessed Buddhas of the ten directions. By the unobstructed divine ear, he will hear all teachings of the Dharma by these Blessed Buddhas. He will be unobstructed with respect to the teaching of the Dharma of one Tathāgata, of two Tathāgatas, and will be pleased in all [the teachings].

Thus practicing, Mahāvīrya attained omniscience. Then he went out of the wilderness and preached to people and enabled them to attain respective fruits. The story concludes with the identification of Mahāvīrya as one of the former existences of Śākyamuni Buddha.

Compare the above with the following story in Chapter 8 of the *GSHJ* (T15:689a23-b6):[47]

有一王子名曰金幢. 憍慢邪見不信正法. 知識比丘名定自在. 告王子言. 世有佛像衆寶嚴飾極爲可愛. 可暫入塔觀佛形像. 時彼王子隨善友語入塔觀像見像相好. 白言比丘. 佛像端嚴猶尚如此. 況佛眞身. 作是語已比丘告言. 汝今見像,

43. Pek. adds *yaṅ*.

44. Pek. adds *pa*.

45. Pek. *pa*.

46. Pek. *cig*.

47. This passage was quoted in the Introduction.

若不能禮者，當稱南無佛．是時王子合掌恭敬稱南無佛．還宮係念念塔中像．即於後夜夢見佛像．見佛像故心大歡喜．．．於諸佛所常勤精進，逮得甚深念佛三昧．三昧力故，諸佛現前爲其授記．

There was a prince, Golden Banner by name, who was arrogant, holding wrong views, and who did not believe in the True Dharma. A master monk, Mastery in Dhyāna by name, told the prince: "In this world, there are Buddhist statues,[48] which are decorated with various jewels and are extremely lovely. You should temporarily enter a stūpa and observe a statue of the Buddha."[49] Then the prince, according to the words of the good friend, enters the stūpa, observes the image and sees the major and minor bodily marks. Then [the prince] tells the monk: "Even a statue of the Buddha is so beautiful. How much more so the real body of the Buddha would be." When he has said so, the monk tells him: "You have now seen the statue. If you cannot worship [it], you should chant: 'Homage to the Buddha.'" Then the prince holds his hands in the *añjalī* position and respectfully chants: "Homage to the Buddha." Returning to the palace, he mindfully calls the image in the stūpa to the mind. Thus in the last watch of the night, in his dream, he sees a statue of the Buddha. Because he has seen the statue of the Buddha, his mind is greatly joyful . . . He always diligently practices with various Buddhas and attains the profound samādhi of calling the Buddha to mind. Because of the power of this samādhi, Buddhas appear in front [of him] and gives him the prediction of the buddhahood.

See also the following line in Chapter 9 of the *GSHJ*(T15:690a27-b2):

佛告彌勒．阿逸多，諦聽諦聽善思念之．如來滅後多有衆生，以不見佛作

48. Chinese character *xiang* 像 can mean any sort of visual representation, including both a carved image and a painted image. In most of the relevant passages, it seems to mean "a statue," but sometimes it is expressly specified as "a painted image." Therefore, as the translation of this character, "image," including both statue and painting, may be more accurate. Nevertheless, in this dissertation I would like to reserve the word "image" primarily for mental images (*nimitta*, *xiang* 相). Therefore, in order to avoid unnecessary confusion, in principle I translate the character *xiang* 像 as "statue."

49. Cf. The following passages from the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*.

dharmadhātupraveśena praveṣṭavyaṃ tadantaram /
yatra dharmātmakastūpaṃ gambhīram supratiṣṭhitam // 6 //
tatra ca stūpamadhye 'smin paśye Śākyamuniṃ jinam /
idaṃ sūtraṃ prakāśantaṃ manojñena svareṇa ca // 7 // (Johannes Nobel ed., 156.5-8; corresponding to Dharmakṣema's version, T16:349b16-18)

By entering the Dharmadhātu, one should enter [the place where the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* is propounded]; where a profound *stūpa* of the Righteous One is firmly founded.

In that *stūpa*, I see the victor Śākyamuni propounding this sūtra in a pleasing voice.

諸惡法. 如是等人當令觀像. 若觀像者, 與觀我身等無有異. 説是語時空中有華, 十方諸佛住立空中.

The Buddha told Maitreya: "Ajita, listen carefully, listen carefully, and think this over well. After the demise of the Buddha, there will be many sentient beings who perform many bad dharmas because they do not see the Buddha. You should make those people observe images. If one sees images, it is no different from seeing my body." When [the Buddha] has said so, there were flowers in the sky, and the Buddhas of ten directions stood in the sky.

Further, the quoted portion of the *MSNS* has another unexpected implication for our discussion. As we discussed in Section I.4 of this dissertation, Tsukinowa (1971, 96-101) is suspicious about the stock phrase that appears repeatedly in the six visualization sūtras: "If one visualizes this way, it is called correct visualization. Otherwise, it is called wrong visualization" 如是觀者名爲正觀, 若異觀者名爲邪觀. Tsukinowa points out that this is an unusual phrase in Buddhist scriptures and notes that the only example of this phrase he can find in demonstrably Indian text is in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. He argues, however, that what is discussed in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is how to "see" the Buddha in a philosophical sense, and that the phrase in question in this text has nothing to do with visualization practice.

Indeed the discussion of the relevant portion of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is entirely based on the philosophical concept of emptiness and has no visual element,[50] but by contrast, the quoted passages of the *GSHJ* concern only visual elements and almost completely neglect philosophical discussion. Thus, if we directly compare the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *GSHJ*, they indeed seem to have nothing to do with each other.

The important point here is that the first half of the key phrase has a parallel line in

---

50. See, for example, the following characteristic line:

> gaṅ gi tshe bdag de bźin gśegs pa la lta 'tshal ba de'i tshe de bźin gśegs pa mi mthoṅ bas lta lags so // (Pek. Bu 241a2)
>
> When I would like to see the Tathāgata, I see him by not seeing him.

the *MSNS*.[51] Since, as we have seen, the *MSNS* has both philosophical and visual elements, it can be related to both the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *GSHJ*. Therefore, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *GSHJ*, which seem to share almost nothing except the one distinctive line, may have been indirectly connected through the *MSNS*. For this reason, in the following table, I compare the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa,* the *MSNS*, and the *GSHJ* more carefully.[52]

Table 1

Vimalakīrtinirdeśa (T14)	*MSNS* (T11)	*GSHJ* (T15)
汝欲見如來. 爲以何等觀如來乎. (T14:554c28-29)	迦葉. 云何觀於如來之身. (512c20-21)	佛涅槃後, 後世衆生當云何觀佛身色相. (645c27-28)
khyod gaṅ gi tshe de bźin gśegs pa la lta 'dod par gyur pa de'i tshe khyod de bźin gśegs pa la ji ltar lta / (240b8)	'd sruṅ de la ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa'i sku la rab_tu brtag_par_bya źe na / (105a2-3)	
When you would like to see the Tathāgata, how do you see him?	O Kāśyapa, in that case, how should the body of the Tathāgata be observed?	After the nirvāṇa of the Buddha, how should the sentient beings in later periods visualize the physical body of the Buddha?

51. In addition, Xuanzang's version of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Pusadi*) 菩薩地 has the following phrase (T30:488c3):

若作是觀名爲正觀.

If one observes this way, it is called correct observation.

This corresponds to the following Sanskrit (Wogihara ed., 46.13):

yaś caivaṃ paśyati sa samyak paśyatīti.

One who sees thus sees correctly.

The context here also concerns philosophical discussion of emptiness and has nothing to do with visualization.

52. A few passages from the *MSNS* and the *GSHJ* in this table are from the portions not quoted above. In the cases of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *MSNS*, the translations are from Tibetan.

(no visual element)	如來形像妙巧乃爾. 況復如來正遍知身. (513a3-4)[1]	佛像端嚴猶尚如此. 況佛眞身. (689a28-29)
--	de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di yaṅ 'di tsam du blta na sdug pa yin na / de bźin gśegs pa dgra bcom pa yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i saṅs rgyas de lta smos kyaṅ ci dgos te / (105b2-3)	--
--	If even this image of the Tathāgata is so beautiful, how much more so the Tathāgata, *arhat*, *saṃyaksaṃbuddha* would be.	Even a statue of the Buddha is so beautiful. How much more so the real body of the Buddha would be.
--	畫像尚爾端嚴微妙. 況復如來正遍知身. (513c2-3)	(see above)
--	gaṅ gi phyir de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di yaṅ 'di tsam du mdzes pa yin na / bcom ldan 'das de lta smos kyaṅ ci dgos te / (107b7-8)	--
--	Since even this image of the Tathāgata is so beautiful, how much more so the Blessed One [himself] would be.	
如自觀身實相, 觀佛亦然. (554c29-55a1)[2]	若欲觀佛當觀畫像. 觀此畫像不異如來. 是名觀佛. (513c5-6)	汝等今當入塔觀佛, 與佛在世等無有異. (688c29-89a1) 若觀像者, 與觀我身等無有異. (690a29-b1)[3]
--	de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di ji ltar mthoṅ ba de bźin du de bźin gśegs pa yaṅ blta bar bya ste / (108a3)	
As I myself see the true aspects of the body, so do I see the Buddha.	As this image of the Tathāgata is seen, so should the Tathāgata be seen.	If one sees statues, it is no different from seeing my body.

作如是觀以斯觀者名爲正觀．若他觀者名爲邪觀．(T14:555a23-24)	如是觀者名爲善觀．(513c7)	如此觀者名爲正觀，若異觀者名爲邪觀．(649b16-17 et passim)
gaṅ gis de ltar mthoṅ ba de yaṅ dag par mthoṅ ba lags so / gaṅ gis rnam pa gźan du mthoṅ ba de ni log par mthoṅ ba lags so / (Pek. 242a4-5)	de ltar mthoṅ na de bźin gśegs pa legs par mthoṅ ba yin no // (108a3)	--
One who sees this way is the one who sees correctly. One who sees otherwise is the one who sees in a wrong way.	If you see thus, it is the correct [way of] seeing the Tathāgata.	If one visualizes this way, it is called the correct visualization. Otherwise, it is called wrong visualization.
非見非聞非覺非知．(555a)	非見非聞非嗅非嘗非觸非知．(513c)	(no philosophical element)
mthoṅ ba daṅ / thos pa daṅ / bye brag phyed pa daṅ / rnam par rig pa 'aṅ ma lags pa / (241b7)	lta bar mi byed / ñan bar mi byed / snom par mi byed / myoṅ bar mi byed / reg par mi byed / sems par mi byed / (108b4)	--
[The Tathāgata] is not seen, heard, thought, or cognized.	[This painting of the Buddha] does not see, hear, smell, taste, feel, or think.	--
不來不去．(555a)	非去非來．(513c)	(no philosophical element)
'gro bar bgyi pa yaṅ ma lags pa / 'gro bar mi bgi ba yaṅ ma lags pa / (241b5)	'gro ba med pa taṅ / 'oṅ ba med pa daṅ / (108a8)	--
[The Tathāgata] does not go or not go.	[This painting of the Buddha] does not go or come.	--
如來身爲若此．(555a)	如來像者但有名字．一切諸法亦復如是．．．．如來之身其相如是．(513c)	--

bcom ldan 'das de bźin gśegs pa'i sku ni 'di 'dra ste (Bu 242a4)	ji ltar de bźin gśegs pa'i sku gzugs 'di miṅ du btags pa tsam du zad pa de bźin du chos thams cad kyaṅ miṅ du btags pa tsam du zad la / . . . / de bźin gśegs pa'i sku yaṅ mtshan ñid de lta bu yin no // (108a6-7)	--
Thus is the body of the Blessed Tathāgata.	As this image of the Tathāgata is only a conventional designation, all the dharmas are only conventional designations. . . . The body of the Tathāgata also has the same characteristics.	--
--	成就天眼過於人眼. 以此天眼見於東方阿僧祇佛. 得淨天耳. 諸佛世尊所說之法. 悉能聽受. (513c27-29)	現前得見十方諸佛. 爲其演說不退法輪. (689b26-27)
--	lha'i mig rnam par dag pa mi'i las śin tu 'das pas phyogs bcu'i saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das dpag tu med graṅs med pa dag kyaṅ mthoṅ ṅo // lha'i rna ba sgrib pa med pas saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de dag gyi chos bstan pa thams cad kyaṅ thos te / (109a4-5)	--
--	By the divine eyes that far surpass the human eye, he sees boundless and countless Blessed Buddhas of the ten directions. By the unobstructed divine ear, he hears all teachings of the Dharma by these Blessed Buddhas.	They could see the Buddhas in the ten directions vividly, who were preaching the Dharma Wheel of non-retrogression.
--	以此智慧, 悉見十方阿僧祇佛. 聞佛說法. (514a8-9)	十方諸佛住立空中. (690b1-2)

--	ye śes kyi rnam pa des phyogs bcu'i saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das tshad med graṅs med dpag du med pa dag kyaṅ mthoṅ bar gyur / de dag gis chos ston pa dag kyaṅ thos par gyur to // (109b3-4)	--
--	By that sort of wisdom, one would see limitless, numberless, and boundless Blessed Buddhas of the ten directions. One would also hear their teachings of the Dharma.	--

b. Evaluation of the Similarities

In the case of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the relevant portion begins with a question about how to "see" the Buddha (philosophically), and then a long explanation of the empty nature of the Buddha is given,[53] and finally the discussion concludes with the stock phrase

53. The logic of the *MSNS* that compares the nature of the Buddha's body to the nature of all the dharmas is not unseen elsewhere in Indian Buddhist texts. See the following verse from the *Mūlamādhyamakakārikā* (XXII.16; La Vallée Poussin ed., 448.19-49.3):

> tathāgato yatsvabhāvas tatsvabhāvam idaṃ jagat /
> tathāgato niḥsvabhāvo niḥsvabhāvam idaṃ jagat //
>
> The nature of the Buddha is the nature of the world: the Buddha has no nature and the world has no nature. (Translation according to Eckel [1992]1994.6)

Further concerning this verse, the *Prasannapadā* quotes the following lines from "a sūtra" (La Vallée Poussin ed., 449.5-12):

> anutpādadharmaḥ satataṃ tathāgataḥ
> sarve ca dhramāḥ sugatena sādṛśāḥ /
> nimittagrāheṇa tu bālabuddhayaḥ
> asatsu dharmeṣu caranti loke //
> tathāgato hi pratibimbabhūtaḥ
> kuśalasya dharmasya anāsravasya /
> naivātra tathatā na tathāgato 'sti
> bimbaṃ ca saṃdṛśyati sarvaloke //
>
> The Tathāgata is always a non-arising dharma;
> and all the dharmas are similar to the Sugata.

in question: "One who sees this way is the one who sees correctly. One who sees otherwise is the one who sees in a wrong way."

On the other hand, in the *MSNS*, the portion also begins with a question about how to see the body of the Buddha, followed by a long philosophical discussion about the empty nature of the Buddha's body similar to the one in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. In this case, however, a visual element (namely painting) comes into play.[54] To state it simply, in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the basic logic is: "The Tathāgata is not X, Y, Z, ... Thus is the body of the Tathāgata. One who sees thus sees the Buddha correctly." On the other hand, in the *MSNS*, the logic becomes more complicated: "This painting of the Buddha is not (/does not do) X, Y, Z, ... So are all the dharmas. The body of the Buddha is also the same way."

Therefore, in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, one directly observes the nature of the Buddha's body, but in the *MSNS*, one understands the nature of the Buddha's body on the analogy of his painting. However, when the *MSNS* states: "As this image of the Tathāgata is seen, so should the Tathāgata be seen," this sentence should be understood in a philosophical sense. When, on the other hand, the *GSHJ* says: "If one sees statues, it is no

---

> Those who have immature minds wander in this world by grasping images in non-existent dharmas.
> Indeed the Tathāgata is a cognitive image
> of pure wholesome dharmas.
> There is no *tathatā* or Tathāgata here.
> Only the image is seen in the whole world.

I cannot identify the source at this moment, but it is certain that the process of meditation described in the *MSNS* (observation of the Buddha's body leading to the realization of emptiness of all the dharmas) was not unique to the *MSNS*. The threefold meditation of the Buddha's body as is found in Chinese meditation manuals (the visualization of a statue *xiang guan* 像觀, the visualization of the living body *shengshen guan* 生身觀, the meditation on the dharma body *fashen guan* 法身觀) shares the same basic structure with these texts.

54. The crucial word *guan* 觀 appears many times in the relevant portion of the Chinese *MSNS*. This *guan* corresponds to three different expressions in the Tibetan version: *rab tu rtog pa*, *mthoṅ ba*, and *blta ba*. Here, *lta ba*, "to look at," and *mthoṅ ba*, "to see," do not seem to be differentiated very carefully. Both of these words could be interpreted in the literal sense and figurative sense. However, *rab tu rtog pa* (corresponding to Skt. *prati-īkṣ-* or some other similar word) clearly signifies philosophical observation and does not refer to the physical act of "seeing."

different from seeing my body," this statement only refers to the visual similarities between statues and the Buddha.

The logical sequence of these three texts thus seems to be: (1) *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, (2) *MSNS*, (3) *GSHJ*. The *MSNS* introduced visual device into the purely philosophical discussion of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. Such visual elements notwithstanding, when the *MSNS* said: "If you see thus, it is the correct [way of] seeing the Tathāgata," this statement must have referred to a philosophically correct way of observing the Buddha. The philosophical connotation of this phrase that Tsukinowa observed in the case of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* still seems to be maintained in the *MSNS*. By contrast, the *GSHJ* seems to represent a greatly popularized and de-philosophized version of the tradition of "Seeing the Buddha."[55] Thus, when the *GSHJ* says: "If one visualizes this way, it is called the correct visualization. Otherwise, it is called wrong visualization," it does not appear to concern anything other than the visual aspect of the practice.

Therefore, as Tsukinowa has correctly observed, there is a great gap between the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *GSHJ* in terms of the interpretation of this stock phrase. Something like the *MSNS* must mediate between these two texts. Judging from the several characteristic elements shared by the *MSNS* and the *GSHJ*, it is indeed very likely that the *GSHJ* presupposed some tradition very similar to the *MSNS*. However, here we come up with a big problem that we are going to discuss next.

c. Chronological Examination

As we have surmised above, the logical sequence of these three texts seems to be

55. It would be fair to say that in the mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism, visualization of the Buddha was one of the means to realize emptiness. Seeing the Buddha itself was never regarded as a final goal. It is remarkable that the *GSHJ* almost completely lacks such philosophical elements. This is certainly one of the notable features of the *GSHJ*.

the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* first, then the *MSNS*, and finally the *GSHJ*. Here, the chronological precedence of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* does not create many problems. Judging from the existence of a third-century Chinese translation by Zhiqian 支謙, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is definitely one of the early Mahāyāna sūtras.[56]

In the case of the *MSNS*, matters are more complicated. According to the *KSL* (T55:543a13-23; 585a24-26), this text was translated by Prince Yuepo Shouna under the Wei Dynasty of the Yuan clan 元魏優禪尼國王子月婆首那 in the third year of the Xinghe era 興和三年(541). Various other catalogues (*Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 T55:270a20-24 [No.2149]; *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 T55:841b16-26; 913c6-9 [No.2157]; *Gujin yijing tuji* 古今譯經圖記 T55:365b19-c1 [No.2151]) agree on this point. Though an older *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 by Fajing 法經[57] lists this text simply as the *Kāśyapa Sūtra*, two fascicles (thirty-nine sheets) translated by Yuepo Shouna in the Latter Wei period迦葉經二卷（三十九紙）後魏世月婆首那譯(T55:183a16 [No.2146]) without giving the exact date, at least it does not contradict the later catalogues. Moreover, we should note that the preface to this sūtra recently discovered in the Nanatsudera documents indicates the same translator and the translation date (Ochiai 1992, 70-73). This preface is considered to be the original preface that was removed when this sūtra was incorporated into the voluminous *Ratnakūṭa* collection (*Da baoji jing* 大寶積經, T11:2b-685a [No.310]; see Ochiai 1992, 64),[58] and thus it is a reliable source. Therefore, 541 should be considered as the reliable date of translation.

This translation date puts the Chinese version of the *MSNS* about one full century

---

56. Concerning the Chinese translations of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, see Lamotte [1962]1987, 2-14.

57. For the dating and evaluation of these catalogues, see Tokuno 1990.

58. On this matter, see also Silk 1994, 667.

after the *GSHJ*. As we have already seen, the *GSHJ* is probably an apocryphal text that was originally written in Chinese. We have observed many examples of the *GSHJ*'s picking up phrases from prior Chinese Buddhist texts. In this case, however, it is clearly impossible that the *GSHJ* was based on the Chinese version of the *MSNS*. After all, the *MSNS* was translated after the *GSHJ*.

As we have seen, the *MSNS* has a Tibetan version, and both the colophons of Peking (Zi 111a2) and Derge (Ca 114b7) editions indicate that this sūtra was translated by the team of Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Prajñāvarman, and Ye śes sde (see also the Ōtani Catalogue [no.760(23)] and the Tōhoku Catalogue [No.67]), which means that the text was translated from an Indian original. From the comparison with the Chinese version also, we have no reason to suspect that the Tibetan version was translated from the Chinese. The *MSNS* should be considered an authentic Indian text.

Here again, we are faced with a serious difficulty similar to the one we experienced in regard to the *YL*. On the one hand, the *GSHJ* is clearly a Chinese apocryphal text written by Chinese people. It is very difficult to doubt this point. On the other hand, it shows significant similarities to an Indian text that had not been translated into Chinese at the time the *GSHJ* was written.

As we have observed, both the *MSNS* and the *GSHJ* begin with physical observations of a statue/painting and end in the acquisition of visions of Buddhas. Clearly these two texts share the same basic structure. As in the case of the *YL*, I do not necessarily claim that the *MSNS* was the source of the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, judging from the strong similarity in the wording, the *GSHJ* must have been based on some tradition that was very close to the *MSNS*.

In that case, here again we have to ask how the Chinese compilers of the *GSHJ* had access to a *MSNS*-like tradition. Let us recall here that there are very few Indian texts that refer to Buddhist statues/paintings in the context of visualization practice. Thus the similarities between the *GSHJ* and the *MSNS* cannot be entirely coincidental.

Then, how could the compilers of the *GSHJ* be familiar with a *MSNS*-like tradition when the *MSNS* had not yet been translated?

Concluding Remarks

Concerning the frame story of the *GWSJ*, Sueki Fumihiko (1986, 260-64; 1992, 65-66) has pointed out that no Chinese text that existed when the *GWSJ* was composed mentions liquid to drink being carried by Vaidehī in her ornament. According to Sueki, the only Chinese text that refers to this element, the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya, was translated more than two hundred years after the *GWSJ*. Thus, he concludes that the *GWSJ* could not have been composed solely based on previous Chinese Buddhist texts. Rather, in his opinion, either it was composed in Central Asia or somebody from Central Asia who was familiar with Buddhist texts not yet translated into Chinese was among the team of the people who composed the *GWSJ*.[59]

We seem to be observing a similar phenomenon here. The *MSNS* had not yet been translated at the time the *GSHJ* was composed, and there does not seem to have been other Chinese texts that the compilers of the *GSHJ* could have referred to. Although I cannot entirely rule out the possibility that the compilers of the *GSHJ* were referring to some Chinese text that I am not aware of, considering this matter together with the case of the *YL* we discussed in the previous chapter, the most likely conclusion seems to be that the *GSHJ* was composed in Central Asia, and thus the compilers had direct access to the texts not translated into Chinese.

The *MSNS* emphasizes the empty nature of (the vision of) the Buddha. In that

---

59. Silk (1997, 221-24) criticizes Sueki's argument about grape juice/wine. Silk's critique is convincing and corrects some points of Sueki's arguments. Concerning the points summarized above, however, I believe Sueki's arguments still deserve attention.

sense, the *MSNS* is faithful to the Indian Mahāyāna traditions as exemplified by the *Pratyutpannasūtra*, the *Aṣṭa*, and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. The *GSHJ*, which almost entirely leaves out philosophical elements, seems to have been a greatly popularized version of the same traditions, perhaps for the populace in Central Asia.

Notes to the Tables

[1] Cf. Naniwa Senmei 1998, 96-97.

[2] This line appears only in Kumārajīva's Chinese version.

[3] Cf. 其像端正姝好如佛無有異. (*Daoxing bore jing* 道行般若經, T8:476b18-19 [No.224]).

The statue is proper, beautiful, and is no different from the Buddha.

This line is discussed in Takata Osamu 1967, 274-75 and Hirakawa 1989, 328-29. According to Hirakawa (ibid.) and Matsumoto Shirō (1989, p.297, n.76), however, this line does not appear in later Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan versions, except for the *Damingdu jing* 大明度經 (T8:507a22-24 [No.225]).

3. The Buddha's Hidden Organ

The seventh chapter of the *GSHJ*, entitled "The visualization of [the Buddha's] hidden male organ" (Guan mawangzang pin) 觀馬王藏品 contains four very peculiar stories about the Buddha's male organ. As is well known, in the standard hagiography of Buddhism, the Buddha's male organ is said to have been concealed and invisible from the outside.[1] Sometimes, this matter is touched upon in the standard Buddhist canon, but it is

---

1. What exactly this means is a little problematical. In Pāli texts, this bodily mark is usually expressed as *kosohita-vatthaguyha*, and according to the *Pali-English Dictionary* (s.v. "*kosa*," "*ohita*," "*vattha*," and "*guyha*."), this linguistically corresponds to the hypothetical Sanskrit **kośāvahita-vastraguhya*. *Kośa* in this context means "the membranous cover of the male sexual organ, the praeputium [=foreskin]" (*Pali-English Dictionary* s.v. "*kosa*"), and *avahita* "put down in, hidden" (*Pali-English Dictionary* s.v. "*ohita*"). *Vastra* means "cloth, garment," and *vastraguhya* means "'that which is concealed by a cloth,' i.e. the pudendum" (ibid. s.v. "*vattha-guyha*"). Therefore, *kosohita-vatthaguyha* (**kośāvahita-vastraguhya*) as a whole means "the male organ (*vatthaguhya*) hidden (*ohita*) in the foreskin (*kosa*)." It should be noted that this means that the organ was covered up with the foreskin but does not mean the organ itself was retracted in the body.

However, the actual word we find in Buddhist Sanskrit texts is *kośopagatavastiguhya* (the *LV*, 105.21; 429.20; *MVy*, no. 258) or similar forms, instead of the expected **kośāvahitavastraguhya*. Here, the difference between *upagata*, "accompanied by" and *avahita*, "put down in" is not so essential, but *vasti*, "bladder, the lower belly" seems to be a wrong sanskritization of *vattha*, and does not make as good sense as the Pāli form does. In the case of the *vastraguhya* "something to be hidden under the garment," it is (at least logically) possible to take this as a substantive meaning "male organ," but if it is *vastiguhya* "(something) to be hidden in the belly," it is difficult to take it in the same way ("hidden in the belly" is hardly a common characteristic of the male organ). Therefore, *kośopagatavastiguhya* "accompanied by the foreskin and to be hidden in the belly" seems to lack the substantive and does not make full sense unless some substantive is added. Actually in the *MV*, 305.10, the substantive *meḍhra*, "male organ," is added, and we can find the following form, *kośavastiguhyameḍhraṃ*, "male organ to be hidden in the foreskin and the belly." This seems to reveal the confusion brought about by the wrong sanskritization of *vattha* into *vasti*.

In any case, as a result of this sanskritization, the meaning of this *mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* seems to have changed. See the passages from the *GV* below:

> nimagnaṃ saṃcchāditaṃ tad yathā hastyājāneyasya vāśvājāneyasya vā (400.12-13)
>
> [The Buddha's male organ is] sunk and covered up like that of a well-bred elephant or a well-bred horse.
>
> nāsya kaścit . . . nirvasanasyāpy apaśyad . . . (400.13-15)
>
> Nobody saw his [male organ] even when he was naked . . .

not the type of topic that receives major attention in Buddhist scriptures. The *GSHJ* is quite exceptional in that it has a chapter that is exclusively devoted to this topic, and as I said, the stories contained therein are very strange. Since these types of unusual elements are often helpful in assessing the nature of the text that contains them, I would like to examine these stories carefully in this chapter. In what follows, I shall first introduce these stories and then attempt to clarify the textual background of these stories.

a. Four Stories about the Buddha's Hidden Organ in the *GSHJ*

The first story runs as follows (T15:683b7-c2):

> When I [=the Buddha] was leading a household life, Yaśodharā and five hundred court ladies all thought as follows: "The Prince, being born in the world, has many wondrous [features], but there is only one thing I am suspicious of." Among the court ladies there was a woman, *Sumanās (Xumanna 須曼那) by name, who said to the Princess: "The Prince is a divine man. Vedic scriptures say: 'If there is a divine man whose nature is pure, his male organ is flat because of his pure practice.'[2] Now the Prince appears to be a man of pure practice. It is many years since he took the Princess, and the court ladies have been serving him for many years, yet we have not seen his male organ, much less [his having] sexual contact." There was another woman, *Śuddhāśayā (Jingyi 淨意) by name, who said: "Your Highness, I have served the Prince for eighteen years, but I have not yet

---

These passages would clearly indicate that the Buddha's male organ was considered not only covered up with foreskin but sunk in the body. The *GSHJ* follows this interpretation of the Sanskrit Buddhism.

2. It seems very unlikely that such a statement is found in Vedic texts. However, in the *Suttanipāta*, we find the following sentence (PTS ed., 106.7-8):

> Āgatāni kho pana asmākaṃ mantesu dvattiṃsa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni . . .
>
> Indeed in our sacred texts, thirty-two marks of a great person are transmitted . . .

Since the speaker is a Brahman here, "our sacred texts" clearly means the Vedas (the most basic meaning of the word *manta* [=Sanskrit *mantra*] is "Vedic hymn"). Therefore, at least it is certain that Buddhists believed that the thirty-two bodily marks, which include the hidden organ, was a Vedic tradition.

seen him having the troubles of excretion, much less desires." Then the ladies said various things, but everybody said that the Prince was impotent.[3]

Meanwhile, the Prince was taking a nap. Everybody heard about it, and the ladies wanted to see the concealed male organ of the Prince. Then the Prince, by the power of his [original] vow, slowly turned his body for the ladies, and his undergarment opened. [The ladies] saw the golden body, its brilliant light, and his knees opening for a while. Everybody saw the noble body flat like a full moon, having a golden light like the sun's disk.[4] The ladies rejoiced and said: "Thus this divine man is truly adorable. Only, our worldly wish is hopeless." After saying this, they cried bitterly. At that time, the Prince made a white lotus flower appear from his private part. Three flowers, whose colors were red and white,[5] clustered, one above, two below. Having seen them, the ladies said: "Thus this divine man has a mark of lotus. How can his mind have attachment?" Having said that, they sobbed and could not utter a word.

At that time, in the flower, suddenly appeared a male organ like that of a boy. The ladies saw that and said to one another: "Now the Prince performs a miraculous deed." The male organ that had suddenly appeared, grew gradually into an adult shape. Having seen that, the wishes of the ladies were satisfied, and they rejoiced exceedingly.

When he showed this mark, the mother of Rāhula [Yaśodharā][6] saw flowers clustering on his male organ like a heavenly cotton tree (Jiebei 劫貝). On each flower were innumerable great bodhisattvas surrounding the male organ with white flowers in their hands. They were appearing and disappearing like the sun's disk.

---

3. Cf. 傍側侍女，咸有疑意．謂不能男．(*Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經, T3:475a18-19 [No.185]).

> The court-ladies serving [Prince Gautama] all had a suspicion that he is impotent.

See Noël Péri, 1918, 14.

4. Cf. *DṬ*, T1:26b12-15.

5. This is what the text says, but I am not sure how we can reconcile this with the immediately preceding "white lotus."

6. Thus the author(s) of this story were clearly familiar with the standard hagiographical account that Prince Gautama was the father of Rāhula. The rumor of his impotence seems to contradict this traditional account (but see n.3). It should be noted that, according to the *GSHJ*, this rumor persisted even after the Awakening of the Buddha, by which time the Buddha must have had his son, as we shall see in the following stories. This is another conspicuous example of the liberal attitude of the *GSHJ* to prior textual tradition.

Since the second story is lengthy, I summarize it and translate only the parts necessary for subsequent discussions (T15:683c4-85b24):[7]

A big ring of prostitutes came to Śrāvastī from Mathurā and were doing many evils. Three sons of a rich merchant Rulüda 如閭達[8] frequented their place and wasted the father's money. Rulüda, worrying about this, went to King Prasenajit and asked him to execute all the prostitutes. However, the King was keeping Buddhist vows and did not want to kill people. Therefore, the King went to the Buddha and asked him to admonish the prostitutes.

> The Buddha said to Mahā-Kāśyapa: "Go to the merchant Sudatta's place and say to him, 'O patron, in seven days the Buddha will go to the debate hall (*shichang* 試場) and teach the prostitutes.'" Upon hearing this, Sudatta rejoiced and prepared various ornaments. He made a flower of seven jewels as high as eleven *zhang* 丈 and put it at the Buddha's seat. He also hung silk parasols and sprinkled perfume on the ground. When the day came, the king beat a golden drum and made all the debaters in the country come to the debate hall. Sudatta asked all the *bhikṣu*s, *bhikṣuṇī*s, *upāsaka*s, and *upāsikā*s to gather and make offerings. The next day (?), the King and various people went to the debate hall. The merchant Rulüda sent a *caṇḍāla* and summoned the prostitutes. Sudatta also said: "The time has come."
>
> At that time, Tathāgata said to one thousand two hundred and fifty monks: "O monks, show great superhuman powers in correspondence with each of your concentrated mind."
>
> Sthavira Kauṇḍinya and four monks magically created a cave as big as a Gandhamādana mountain and a hundred thousand lotus flowers. Five monks were seated in the cross-legged posture on each of the flowers. Their bodies emitted golden light, which made the bodies gold in color; they were as solemn and attractive as that of Maitreya. Further, there was an emanation man who was performing eighteenfold miracles. Within each miracle there were eighteen monks, who were performing eighteenfold miracles; their powers were visible. Some of them were in samādhi, others were in walking meditation. The rays revolved as if a golden mountain were growing various jewel towers. The monks who were in the cave, with their body and mind undistracted, flew to the debate hall and took the upper seats.
>
> Uruvilvā-Kāśyapa jumped up into the air and magically created six dragons, which were coiled together and became a seat for the monk. Being on that seat and performing eighteenfold miracles, he flew to the debate hall.

---

7. I give summarized parts without indent. Indented paragraphs are translations.

8. I cannot think of a plausible Sanskrit reconstruction for this name. The character *ru* 如 seems to be hardly used in transcriptions of Sanskrit words. I think we should treat this name as another indication of the apocryphal nature of the text.

The two brothers, Gayā- and Nadī-[Kāśyapa], jumped up into space and magically created a huge rock cavern. There he entered "fire-light samādhi" and, performing eighteenfold miracles, flew to the debate hall.

Bhadanta Mahā-Kāśyapa put on a thousand patched garments and, holding a bowl in his hand, maintaining the [proper] demeanor, stepped into space. With each step he magically created a jewel tree. Under each tree there was an emanation Kāśyapa, who was practicing walking meditation in the woods. Performing eighteenfold miracles, Kāśyapa also reached the debate hall.

Śāriputra of Great Wisdom jumped up in the air and performed eighteenfold miracles. Above his body, he projected a thousand suns, whose rays were brilliant and did not hinder one another. Below his body he projected a thousand moons, attractive like the full moon in the autumn. Performing eighteenfold miracles, he flew to the debate hall.

Mahā-Maudgalyāyana jumped into the air and magically created eighty-four thousand lions' seats. Each lion shut his eyes and lay on the ground. [The lion] was as white as the Snow Mountain. Mahā-Maudgalyāyana was seated on their backs and, performing the eighteenfold miracles, flew to the debate hall.

Venerable Upāli jumped into the air. In space, he spread a *nisīdana*, seated in a cross-legged posture, and entered the samādhi of friendliness. The pores of his body emitted golden rays. Performing the eighteenfold miracles, he flew to the debate hall.

Mahā-Kātyāyana jumped into the air and magically created fifteen Maheśvaras. Each deity rode a cow king, on whose head a flower was growing. Mahā-Kātyāyana took this flower-seat and, performing the eighteenfold miracles, flew to the debate hall.

Subhūti jumped into the sky and became obscure and invisible. Only his voice was heard, reciting the following verses:

The nature of all the dharmas is Thusness; there is no Self or sentient beings. There are no lustful thoughts either. Whom should we teach? Dharmas are originally without essence, and there are no characteristics corresponding to names. Because of attachment, lust arises. Whom should we further teach?

Having spoken these words, he flew to the debate hall performing the eighteenfold miracles.

At that time, Anuruddha jumped into the air and magically created ten thousand Brahmā kings and Brahmā palaces. The *bhiksu* was seated therein and, performing the eighteenfold miracles, flew to the debate hall.

Then two monks, Rāhula and Nanda, jumped into the air and magically created jewel towers. The monks were seated therein and entered deep meditation. Performing the eighteenfold miracles, they flew to the debate hall.

Thus one thousand two hundred and fifty monks respectively did miracles and, performing eighteenfold miracles, flew to the debate hall.

At that time, the Blessed One led only Ānanda, carrying a *nisīdana*, and holding a jar in his hand. The Blessed One went first, and Ānanda followed. From the bowl of the Buddha six lotuses grew. Each of them emitted golden light and illuminated the State of Śrāvastī, turning it golden. In the water of the jar, there was a great golden banner. At the head of the banner, there were five hundred rays; each ray magically created a thousand emanation Buddhas, all of whom were bestowed with the thirty-two bodily marks. Thus [the Blessed One] walked in space and flew to the debate hall. King Prasenajit and the assembly scattered flowers, burned incense, and

saluted to the Buddha. A hundred thousand heavenly instruments sounded without being beaten and sang the boundless merits of the Tathāgata.

King Prasenajit knelt down, put his hands in the *añjalī* position, and entreated the Tathāgata to teach the prostitutes. The Buddha took the flower seat and briefly taught about suffering, emptiness, impermanence, and the *pāramitās* to the assembly, but the women did not accept [his teaching].

Then, among the group of women, there was a prostitute, Lovable (Keai 可愛) by name, who said to the women: "The ascetic Gautama has no desire by nature, and people say that he is impotent. That is why he propounds suffering and emptiness and denounces desire in public. If his bodily parts are complete, he should clear himself of disgrace in this assembly. [He should] extend the bodily [part] like the Jains did[9] and clearly show us that he has this mark. [If he does so], we will turn to him and become his disciples. If he does not have this mark, he propounds impurity in vain. This person without an organ has no desire by nature; why does he not preach that desire is impure?"

[The prostitute] having spoken thus, the Tathāgata magically created an elephant like the elephant-treasure of a Universal Monarch. Then a white lotus emerged between the legs of the elephant, as if another limb of the elephant were gradually propping up [the elephant] against the ground. Having seen this, the women burst into laughter. They said to one another: "The ascetic is good at conjuration, and so he has magically created this."

The Buddha also magically created an image of a horse king, who extended the retracted organ. It hung like a beryl cylinder and reached his knees. Having seen it, the women said even more that it was conjuration.

After that, the Buddha dismissed the entire audience and confronted the prostitutes by himself, in the following way:

Then the Blessed One alone approached the women. Then the women saw the Buddha staying by himself, laughed loudly, and said: "Ascetic, now do you have the bodily part or not?" The Buddha said: "I have a complete male body. I am a sound man." Having heard this, the women covered the mouths and laughed.

At that time, the Blessed One spread the *niṣīdana*, and an adamantine earth god magically created a golden platform, which had pillars of seven jewels and was located under the *niṣīdana*. The Buddha was seated on it, folded[10] his *saṃghāṭī* (upper garment), opened his *saṃkakṣikā* (chest cover; shirt), and showed the swastika mark on his chest to the women. The women saw the letter, which appealed to their minds like a hundred thousand handsome men in the prime of manhood. The Buddha further opened his *nivāsana* (undergarment, skirt). [The women] saw the Buddha's body [which was] entirely flat, [and] which had golden light like a thousand suns. Having seen it, the women all said: "Gautama has no organ."

---

9. This refers to the fourth story we shall see later.

10. *Ye* 楪 ("window," etc.) is hard to interpret. I follow the Shōsōin manuscript given in the footnote of the Taishō canon and read it as *die* 疊.

> When the Buddha heard this, [his organ] gradually emerged like that of a horse king. When it first appeared it was like the bodily organ of an eight-year-old boy, and it gradually grew into the shape of that of an adolescent. Seeing this, all the women rejoiced. Then the hidden organ gradually grew [and became] like a cylindrical banner of lotus flowers. In each layer there were ten billion lotuses; each lotus had ten billion jewel colors; each color had ten billion emanation Buddhas; and each emanation Buddha was served by one billion bodhisattvas and a boundless assembly.
>
> Then the emanation Buddhas unanimously criticized the faults of the bad desires of the women. They recited these verses:
>
> If there are men, all fifteen or sixteen years of age, masculine and powerful, whose number is as big as that of the motes of the sand of the Gaṅgā River; even if one offers them to a woman, one cannot satisfy her mind even for a moment.

Upon hearing this, the prostitutes were overcome by shame and submitted to the Buddha's teaching. Listening to the Buddha's sermon, they reached spiritual attainments of various degrees.

The third story is as follows (T15:685b24-86a25):

> The Buddha told Ānanda: Formerly, when [I practiced in] a summer retreat, there was a brothel in Vāranasī. In that house there was a woman, *Sumanās (Miayi 妙意)by name, who had deep former karmic connections with the Buddha. Leading Nanda and you, I went to this prostitute's place every day to beg for food. The woman had no respect for me, but developed an attachment to Nanda. After seven days, the woman thought in her mind: "If the ascetic Gautama sends his disciples Nanda and Ānanda and follows my wish, I shall make various offerings to the ascetic." The Buddha said to Ānanda and Nanda: "From now on, do not go to that village."
>
> Holding his bowl, the Blessed One went alone to the house of the prostitute for three days. He emitted golden light and magically created heavenly beings, but she did not understand [the meaning].
>
> Later, the Blessed One, again leading Ānanda and Nanda, passed by the brothel. Because the prostitute was attracted to the two monks, she scattered various flowers [in the direction of] the Buddha and the two monks from afar. Ānanda said: "You can worship the Buddha." [Since] the woman loved Ānanda, she immediately worshipped [the Buddha].
>
> At that time, the Blessed One magically created three boys; all of whom were fifteen years of age. Their faces were elegant and surpassed all humankind in the world. Having seen them, the woman rejoiced in body and mind, and prostrated with her whole body to the young emanation boy. Saluting the young boy, she said: "O great man, now it seems as if this house of mine were decorated with various jewels by Lakṣmī, who has free control over fortune. Now I shall offer myself and my slaves to you for housekeeping. If you grant my wish, I will not spare any offering."

When [she] said that, the emanation man sat down on a platform. In a short while, the woman approached [him] and said: "O great man, please fulfill my wish." The emanation man did not object. She approached [him] according to [her] own wish. On the first day and night her mind was not tired. On the second day, her amorous mind was gradually put to rest. On the third day she said: "O great man, you can rise up to eat and drink." The emanation man rose up [but] did not stop. The woman developed aversion and regret and said: "You are an extraordinary person, so you are this way." The emanation man said: "My way [of making love, which I have been following] from previous lives, is that, whenever I have intercourse with a woman, I take a rest [only] after twelve days [of continuous love-making]."

When she heard these words, she was like a person whose throat is blocked by food cannot spit out or swallow it. Her body hurt as if pounded by a pestle. On the fourth day, it was as if she had been run over by a cart. On the fifth day as if an iron ball had entered her body. On the sixth day, all her joints ached as if an arrow had entered her heart.

The woman thought: "I have heard people say that the prince of King Śuddhodana of Kapilavastu has a golden body and thirty-two bodily marks. He pities [spiritually] blind people and saves suffering people. He is constantly in this city, always practices meritorious deeds(?), emits golden light, and saves all the people. Today why does he not come and save me?"

Having thought thus, she was in remorse and blamed herself: "From now on until the end of this life, I will never indulge myself in sexual desire. I would rather stay in the same cave with tigers, wolves, lions, and other beasts than indulge in sexual desire and experience such pain."

Having said this, she stood up and ate, but whether she walked or sat, [he was] with her, about which she could do nothing. The emanation man was also in anger: "Damn, this bad woman impedes my business. Now I am united with you, [so] I should rather die soon (?). If my parents and relatives seek me, where shall I hide. I would rather strangle myself than be ashamed." The woman said: "I do not need such a useless thing. If you want to die, do as you will."

At that time, the emanation man took a sword and thrust it into his neck.[11] Blood gushed out, smeared the woman's body, and fell on the ground (?). The woman could not bear it, nor could she escape. On the second day after his death, blue pus [began to] stink. On the third day, [his corps] swelled up. On the fourth day, it was rotten; feces, urine, bad worms, as well as blood, and pus were smeared on her body. She was extremely disgusted, but she could not escape. On the fifth day, the skin and flesh gradually became rotten. On the sixth day, all his flesh had fallen off. On the seventh day, only his stinking bones remained, which stuck to her body like glue or lacquer.

The woman made a vow: "If deities, *ṛṣi*s, and the prince of King Śuddhodana can remove my suffering, I shall donate this house and all [my] rare treasures."

When she thought thus, the Buddha [came] leading Ānanda and Nanda. Indra was in front holding a jewel incense burner and burning priceless incense. Brahmā was behind holding a great jewel-parasol. Numberless deities played heavenly music. The Buddha was constantly emitting light and illuminating the heaven and the earth, which the whole assembly saw.

---

11. So is the text. This line clearly contradicts the previous statement that he would "strangle himself." This is another indication of the disorderly nature of the *GSHJ*.

The Tathāgata went to the house of this woman. Then she saw the Buddha and was ashamed in her mind, but there was nowhere to hide the bones. [So] she took a white blanket and boundless perfume and concealed the stinking bones, but the smell was as strong as before, and there was no way to conceal it. The woman saw the Blessed One and saluted to the Buddha. Because of her shame, the body was reflected on the bones (?). Suddenly the stinking bones appeared on her back. She was extremely ashamed and said with tears: "The merits and mercy of the Tathāgata is boundless. If you can save me from this suffering, I wish to become [your] disciple and will not back off."

[Then] due to the power of the Buddha, the stinking bones disappeared. The woman greatly rejoiced, saluted the Buddha, and said: "O Blessed One, I shall now donate everything I treasure to the Buddha." The Buddha prayed for her in a fluent pure voice. When she heard the prayer, she rejoiced greatly. Instantly she attained the Way of *srotāpanna*. Five hundred female attendants, upon hearing the Buddha's voice, gave rise to an aspiration for the unsurpassed enlightenment. The numberless Brahmā people saw the miracle of the Buddha and attained the understanding of non-arising. Among the various deities led by Indra,[12] some gave rise to the aspiration for Awakening, [and] some attained [the fruit of] *anāgamin*.

The fourth story[13] is as follows. Although this is rather long, I translate it in full except for the last part (T15:686a26-87a11):

The Buddha told Ānanda: "Formerly, when I first attained Awakening, there were five Jains residing by the Nairañjanā River near the city of Gayā. The first Jain, who was called *Sajjāta (? Sasheduo 薩闍多), had five hundred followers. The other four respectively had two hundred and fifty disciples. Then the Jains claimed that they had attained the Way and came to me. With their bodily organs encircling their bodies seven times, they came to me, put down grass and sat down. Then [Sajjāta?] said: "Gautama, since I am free from desire, the mark of pure practice is established. My bodily organ is as powerful as that of Maheśvara. Now my supernatural power surpasses yours by a hundred thousand times. If you perform one, I shall perform two."

Then having magically created a tree on the ground, he made his bodily organ encircle the tree seven times and squeezed the tree, until it emitted vapor like the breath of a nāga king. Shouting loudly and raising his hands, he said: "Gautama, the mark of my pure practice is as clear as this. You call yourself a man and say that you are a great man. What is your proof?"

At that time, the Blessed One magically created a jewel rack, on both ends of which there were fourteen pearls. Each pearl had a thousand rays, and each ray magically created emanation Buddhas who hovered in the air performing the eighteenfold miracles. The Blessed One showed a miracle

12. I read *changshi* 常釋 as Dishi 帝釋 according to the Shōsōin manuscript shown in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

13. Four faces of Brahmā represent the four Vedas.

and stayed upside down in the air, with his legs on the rack. Then from his two feet a thousand lotuses appeared; each lotus had a billion rays; in each ray there were ten million jewel towers; in each tower there were numberless emanation Buddhas. Each emanation Buddha bent a leg; as if winding a chain,[14] he made his leg invisible.

All the emanation Buddhas and Śākyamuni hung by one leg and stayed upside-down in the air. Only the Jains saw the Buddha upside down; boundless deities, nāgas, and eight types of demons saw the Buddha Tathāgata peacefully sitting in a lecture hall and preaching the great Dharma, namely, shapelessness, selflessness, and so forth.

At that time, there was a voice in the air telling the Jains: "The Buddha has already made one. You should make two." Then the Jains jumped up, and, grasping branches by hand and holding trees, they stood. Even exhausting the magical art of the Jains, they could not stand upside down. A tree deity appeared and, beating their ears with his hand, scolded them: "You, like bugs, dare to fight with a lion, the king of animals. You formerly boasted, 'If the Buddha makes one, I shall make two.' Now the Buddha is residing in his great miraculous power. Why do you do nothing?"

When the tree deity had finished scolding [them], Solid Earth Deity emerged from the ground and stood in the air. He chained the legs of Jains with big chains and hung them upside-down in the air. There were five yakṣas who beat them with sticks. Because of their severe pain, the Jains pulled out [their legs] themselves[15] and fell to the ground. Before they reached the ground, one Jain chanted: "*Namo Buddhāya*." The Blessed One received him in his hand so that his body would not feel pain. Then [the other] Jains fell to the ground and, being endlessly jealous, said to the Earth Deity: "You have no mercy and only help Gautama. Because of your sins in your former lives, you have received the body of a yakṣa and reside underground. Now again you have no mercy or universal love. You only help Gautama and trouble us."

Then the deity Gangā flew by and hovered in the air. Seizing great stones in his hands, he said: "O Jains, you stupid people. You eat cow dung and smear your heads with lime. You let your hairs be pulled out,[16] being naked and having no shame. Like donkeys or poor nāgas, you cannot benefit [others]. The sun of the Buddha Tathāgata universally illuminates everything. Now how can you, having dark bodies, try to compete in light with the sun?"

Then, having said this, the water deity[17] entreated the Blessed One to subdue the Jains. Then the Blessed One said to the Jains: "You do not know the bodily part of the Tathāgata. If you want to see it, you can do so as you will. The Tathāgata has practiced pure practice for eons. While leading a household life he had no thought of evil desire. Because my mind

---

[14] I read *liuli* 瑠璃 as *suo* 鎖 according to the variant given in the Taishō footnote (Sung, Yuan, Ming editions, and Shōsōin manuscript).

[15] I read *mu* 目 as *zi* 自 according to the Shōsōin manuscript given in the Taishō footnote.

[16] I follow the Shōsōin manuscript given in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

[17] This must refer to the same Gangā.

has been free from defilement, I have attained this reward. Like [the organ of] a horse-treasure, [my organ] sometimes emerges and sometimes retracts. Now I shall show my bodily part a little."

At that time, the Blessed One descended from the sky and magically created four [bodies of] water like four oceans on the ground. In the middle of the four oceans, there was Mount Sumeru. The Buddha stayed at the foot of the mountain, lay down, and emitted golden light. The light was brilliant and was reflected in the eyes of deities. [The Buddha] slowly extended his hidden organ, which encircled the mountain seven times like a golden lotus flower. Flowers followed one after another and reached upwards to the world of Brahmā. From the body of the Buddha appeared a hundred million *nayuta*s of lotus flowers decorated with various jewels. They covered up his organ like a cylindrical banner of flowers. This cylindrical banner of lotuses had a billion layers, and [each] layer had a hundred thousand boundless emanation Buddhas. Each emanation Buddha was served by ten billion bodhisattvas and numberless monks. Emanation Buddhas projected light and illuminated the worlds in the ten directions. Having seen that, the Jains were greatly surprised and overwhelmed.

"The mark of the Buddha's pure practice is so marvelous as this. The shape is not ugly, and it looks like lotuses. Now I salute the Buddha, the sea of the merits. May the Buddha with boundless and inexhaustible wisdom accept my repentance and embrace myself and my fellow [Jains]."

Then the Buddha accepted them as his disciples, and all of them attained arhatship.

b. Liṅga Worship

One wonders what is happening here. What is this exaggerated glorification of the male organ? As we shall see again later, some elements here were apparently taken from other Chinese Buddhist texts, and so Chinese author(s) must have contributed much to these stories. Nevertheless, it does not seem very likely that Chinese people discussed such a topic openly in a religious text. Even when Indian originals contain explicitly sexual elements, in the Chinese versions, those sexual connotations are often obliterated.[18]

Therefore, I strongly suspect that the basic motif of these stories is derived from non-Chinese sources. Further, it would be reasonable to suspect that the text of the *GSHJ* was written where the restrictions of Chinese morality were not very strong.

---

18. See, for example, the translation of the *Guhyasamājatantra* quoted in Section I.4 of this dissertation. Cf. also Tsukinowa 1971, 255.

This extraordinary glorification of the male organ does not belong to the Buddhist tradition, however. It would be natural to suspect the influence of the *liṅga* worship of Shaivism as Soper does (1949b, 326; see Section I.3 of this dissertation). This is even more likely because, as Soper points out, the *GSHJ* itself mentions the male organ of Ṃśvara, i.e., Śiva ("My bodily organ is as powerful as that of Maheśvara," p.385 above). I cannot locate an exactly corresponding story in Hindu literature, but the notion of a huge organ reaching the heavens resonates, if not directly, in the following story (the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, Anand Swarup Gupta ed., verses 1.25.67-82):[19]

āsīd ekārṇavaṃ ghoram avibhāgaṃ tamomayam /
madhye caikārṇave tasmin śaṅkhacakragadādharaḥ // (67)

[In the beginning of the Cosmos] there was a single fearful, unseparated ocean made of darkness, and in the middle of this single ocean was [I, Viṣṇu,] the holder of conch, disc, and mace.

sahasraśīrṣā bhūtvā 'haṃ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasrapāt /
sahasrabāhur yuktātmā śayito 'haṃ sanātanaḥ // (68)

With a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, a thousand arms, with a controlled soul, I, the eternal one [Viṣṇu], lay sleeping.

etasminn antare dūrāt paśyāmi hy amitaprabham /
koṭisūryapratīkāśaṃ bhrājamānaṃ śriyāvṛtam // (69)

Verily at that time, I saw in the distance a limitless luster blazing like ten million suns covered with majesty.

caturvaktraṃ mahāyogaṃ puruṣaṃ kāñcanaprabham /
kṛṣṇājinadharaṃ devam Ṛg-Yajuḥ-Sāmabhiḥ stutam // (70)

19. I have referred to and partly made use of the English translation in Dimmitt and van Buitenen 1978, 205-6.

[I saw] a man with four faces,[20] a great yogin, with a golden light, [who is] a god [Brahmā] holding the skin of a black antelope and praised by [the three Vedas:] Ṛg, Yajur, and Sāma.

nimeṣamātreṇa sa māṃ prāpto yogavidāṃ varaḥ /
vyājahāra svayaṃ Brahmā smayamāno mahādyutiḥ // (71)

In the twinkling of an eye, the best of the masters of *yoga*, the glorious Brahmā himself, approached me, smiling, said:

kas tvaṃ kuto vā kiṃ ceha tiṣṭhase vada me prabho /
ahaṃ karttā hi lokānāṃ svayaṃbhūḥ prapitāmahaḥ // (72)

"Who are you? Where [are you] from? Why are you staying here? Tell me, O illustrious one; for I am the creator of the worlds, self-born, the great-grandfather."

evam uktas tadā tena brahmaṇāham uvāca ha /
ahaṃ karttāsmi lokānāṃ saṃhartā ca punaḥ punaḥ // (73)

Thus having been addressed by the Brahmā at that time, I said: "It is I who create and destroy the worlds again and again."

evaṃ vivāde vitate māyayā parameṣṭhinaḥ /
prabodhārthaṃ paraṃ liṅgaṃ prādurbhūtaṃ Śivātmakaṃ // (74)

When the dispute developed in this way, by means of the highest one's illusion[-creating power], a supreme *liṅga*, which is the embodiment of Śiva, appeared for the sake of the awakening [of them].

kālānalasamaprakhyaṃ jvālāmālāsamākulam /
kṣayavṛddhivinirmuktam ādimadhyāntavarjitam // (75)

A garland of flames covered [the *liṅga*] like the fire at the end of the world, free from destruction or growth and without beginning, middle, or end.

tato mām āha bhagavān adho gaccha tvam āśu vai /
antam asya vijānīma ūrdhvaṃ gacche 'ham ity ajaḥ // (76)

Then the unborn lord [Brahmā] told me: "Go downwards quickly; I will go upwards. We shall find the end of this [*liṅga*]."

20. Four faces of Brahmā represent the four Vedas.

tad āśu samayaṃ kṛtvā gatāv ūrdhvam adhaś ca dvau /
pitāmaho 'py ahaṃ nāntaṃ jñātavantau samāḥ śatam // (77)

Having made this agreement, the two of us [respectively] went upwards and downwards quickly, but neither the patriarch [Brahmā] nor I [Viṣṇu] found the end in a hundred years.

Then the two astounded and confused gods began to praise Śiva, and the latter showed himself and revealed that, in fact, both gods had been created from the limbs of Śiva. One of the eulogies by Viṣṇu and Brahmā to Śiva may be worth quoting:

jvālāmālāvṛtāṅgāya jvalanastambharūpiṇe /
namaḥ Śivāya śāntāya brahmaṇe liṅgamūrttaye // (82)

Homage to the [male] member in the shape of a pillar of fire covered with garlands of flame, to the peaceful Śiva, to the brahman in the shape of a *liṅga*.

Below is a relief at Ellora Cave 16 representing this scene (eighth century):

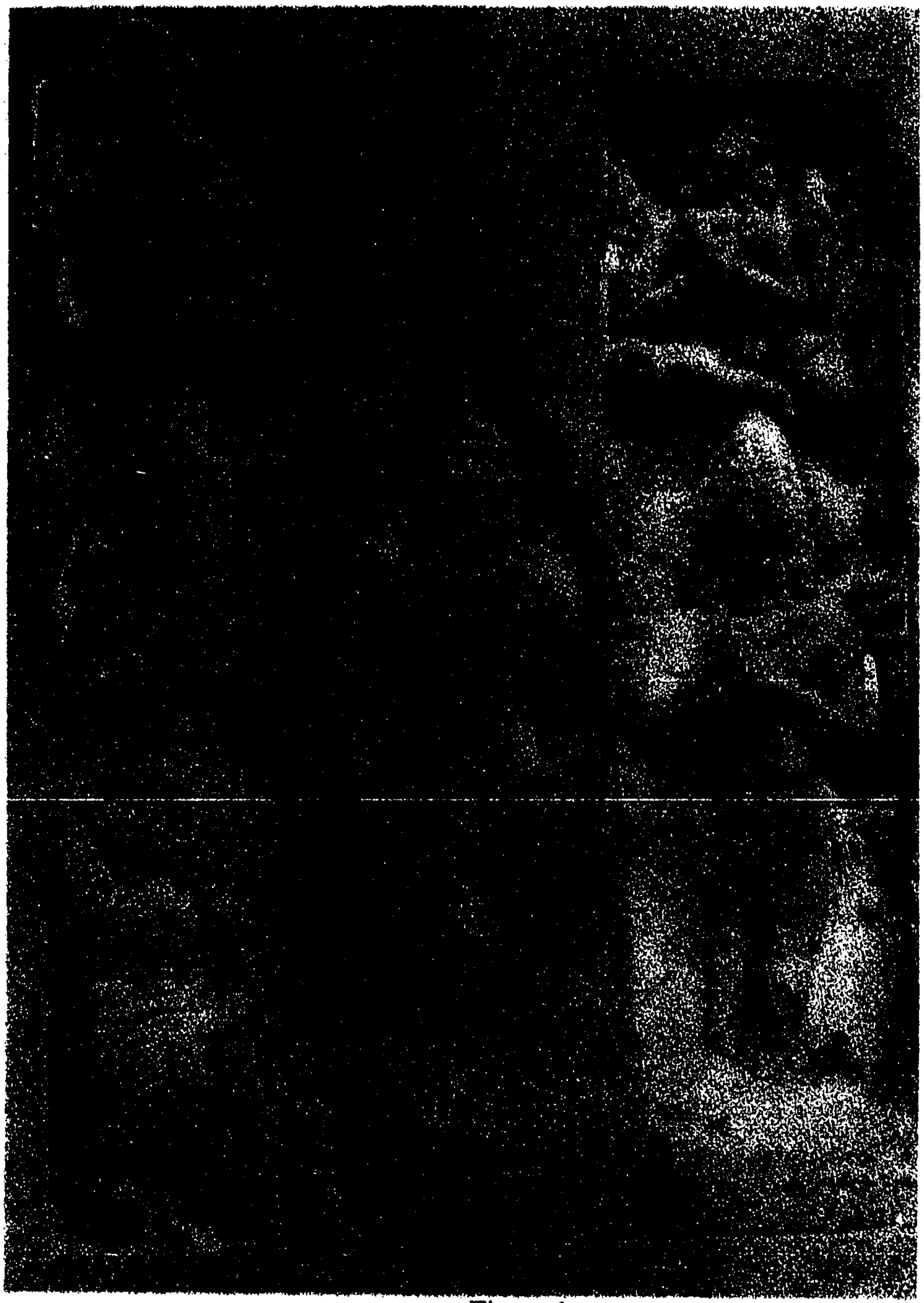


Figure 1
(After Tachikawa et al. 1980, plate 67)

It would not be too far-fetched to suspect that the Hindu imagery of the boundless *liṅga*, of which not even Viṣṇu and Brahmā can find the ends, and which is blazing in

garlands of flame, was connected to the Buddhist imagery of the golden body of the Buddha and became the origin of the notion of a brilliant golden male organ reaching the world of Brahmā and covered with lotus flowers (see p.383, 387).[21] Thus I believe it very likely that the motif of the "cosmic male organ" reaching the realm of Brahmā originally came from Indian Shaivite traditions.

Further, it is noteworthy that the Buddha himself is sometimes represented in India as a fiery pillar. Below is an example from Amarāvatī dating from ca. 200 C.E.

21. On the other hand, in the first story of the *GSHJ*, the Buddha's male organ appeared in a lotus flower. Here, it may be worth mentioning that in later Tantric texts, *padma* (*abja*), "lotus," is used in the sense of *bhaga* "female organ" and *vajra* in the sense of *liṅga* (Louis de la Vallæe Poussin 1898, p.134, n.1); for example: *kathaṃ samayānusmṛtibhāvanā: svavajraṃ padmasaṃyuktaṃ dvayendriyaprayogataḥ / svaretobindubhir buddhān vajrasattvāṃś ca pūjayet* (the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* quoted in ibid. p.132, n.2). Since the development of this kind of Tantric tradition is generally regarded as a late phenomenon (for example, according to Christopher George [1974, 5], the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* cannot be earlier than the seventh century [I owe this reference to Professor Ronald Davidson at Fairfield University]), it may be difficult to see this connotation in the *GSHJ*, which is supposed to have been translated in the early fifth century. However, if we hypothetically assume that *padma* and *bhaga* were already associated at this stage, the image of the male organ in a lotus flower in the first story amounts to the same thing as the well-known Śiva *liṅga* standing in the *yoni* "female organ." However, unless we can establish the early existence of the *padma-bhaga* association, this point remains very hypothetical, and we cannot put too much emphasis on it.

Figure 2
(Coomaraswamy [1935]1979, plate II, figure 6)

c. Paintings of Ithyphallic Maheśvara

Admitting that we can observe the strong influence of Indian *liṅga* worship here, this does not solve all the problems. If the *GSHJ* were an authentic Indian text, it would be easy to explain such a Shaivite influence. However, in the light of the detailed examination of this text that we have carried out in the foregoing chapters, it is difficult to maintain the Indian origin of the sūtra. If so, how can we explain the Shaivite influence on a Chinese apocryphal text?

Maheśvara himself is frequently mentioned in Chinese versions of Buddhist texts, but there are very few texts that specifically mention the phallic aspect of this deity (*Hōbō*

Girin, s.v. "Daijizaiten" by Iyanaga Nobumi). Moreover, the few texts listed by Iyanaga (ibid., p.731) that do mention the Shaivite phallicism (except for the *GSHJ* itself) are all later than the *GSHJ*. We should also note that Xuanzang's travel record describes the Indian practice of *liṅga* worship as something novel without presupposing his readers' prior knowledge of this matter. This probably means that *liṅga* worship was little known in China. If so, how did the Chinese author(s) of the *GSHJ* become acquainted with Shaivite phallicism.

At this stage, I cannot quote any text that both was demonstrably available in the Chinese cultural area (including Chinese Central Asia) and could have been the direct source of the *GSHJ* in this regard. There are, however, some suggestive pieces of art in this regard.

In India, understandably Śiva is often represented as an ithyphallic figure. Below is an example (from the thirteenth century):

Figure 3
(After Tachikawa et al. 1980, plate 69)

It is noteworthy that paintings representing a similar figure, with an erect *liṅga* riding cows, are found at Dandān-Oilik (in the Khotan area). See Joanna Williams 1973, 142-45. Below is one example:

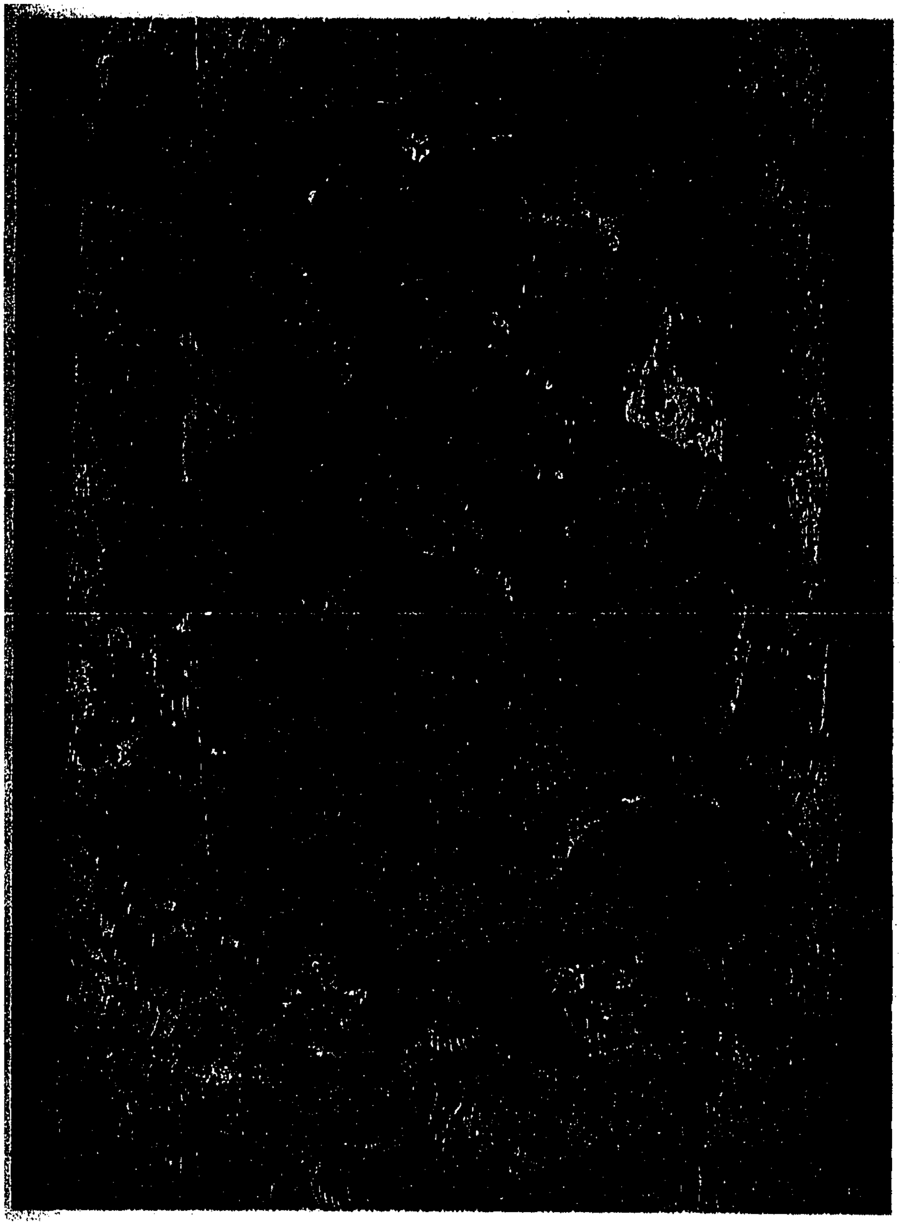


Figure 4
(After Mu Shunying, Qi Xiaoshan, and Zhang Ping 1994, plate 173)

Williams (1973, 109) dates the Khotanese paintings to the eighth century, much later than the *GSHJ* (fifth century), and therefore it is somewhat difficult to use them as direct evidence for our purpose. We should note here, however, that the dating of these paintings is not necessarily decisive. Even if the dating to the eighth century is correct, it simply means that paintings older than that period are not extant. Therefore, this dating does not rule out the possibility that similar paintings were painted in earlier periods in this area.

An important piece of evidence that supports the earlier existence of this type of painting in Central Asia is the following mural at Dunhuang Mogao Cave 285. This black figure has three faces and six arms, two of which hold the sun and moon. He rides on a cow (see the cow's head to the left of the figure) and is ithyphallic (see his *liṅga* jutting out along the upper hem of the waistcloth). Thus it is very similar to the one from Khotan we have seen above.

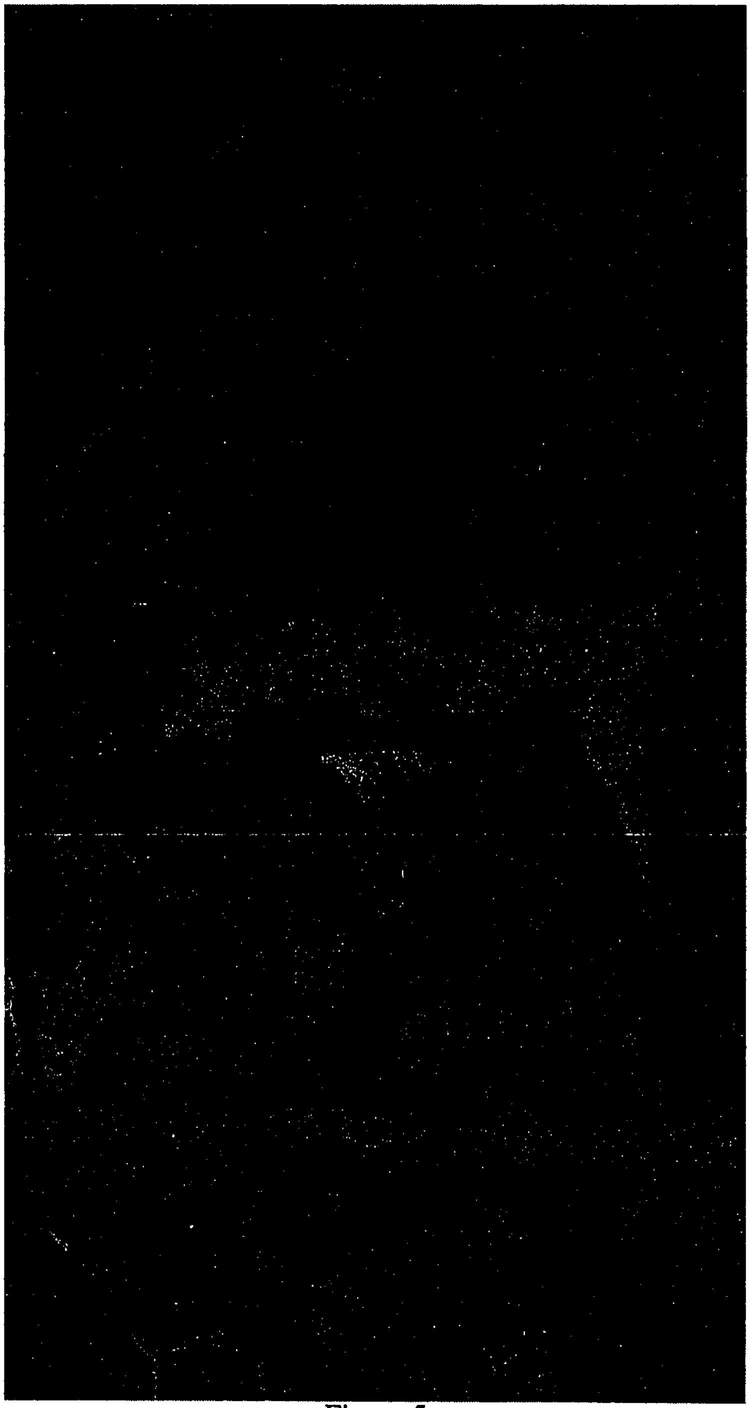


Figure 5
(After Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 1980, plate 119)

This painting is very important for our purpose because it is datable, and because it is located at the eastern end of the Tarim basin. The cave containing this painting has dated inscriptions from the early sixth century (the fourth and the fifth year of the Datong 大統 era [538-39] of Western Wei 西魏), and thus the paintings can also be fairly safely dated to the same period. If there were people who were familiar with Shaivite phallicism at Dunhuang in the early sixth century, it would be reasonable to assume that this motif was known in the areas west of Dunhuang, such as Khotan and Turfan, by the sixth century at the latest. Even this date is slightly later than the *GSHJ*, but it is sufficiently close to the time of its composition. If there were people familiar with this Hindu motif at Dunhuang in the early sixth century, it would not be too unreasonable to assume that there were such people in other oases of the Tarim basin in the fifth century.

Therefore, until I find a likely textual source, I would like to assume that the Chinese author(s) of the *GSHJ* obtained their information about Shaivite phallicism through oral communication with the people from western areas who were familiar with Indian forms of Shaivism.

d. The Elephant and the Horse

Thus far, we have come to the tentative conclusion that the imagery of the enormous male organ of the Buddha was likely taken from the motif of the cosmic *liṅga* of Śiva. We have further observed that people familiar with Indian Shaivite traditions were present in Central Asia, and that oral communication with such people was the likely source of the information concerning Shaivite phallicism found in the *GSHJ*.

Assuming that both of these points are correct, we must still note that the literary and artistic sources we have found thus far do not explain everything in the *GSHJ*. For example, we have seen that in the *GSHJ* the organs of the Jain ascetics encircled their bodies and trees seven times, and that the organ of the Buddha encircled Mount Sumeru

seven times(!). This is indeed an extraordinary image, which I can find in neither the Indian texts nor the Central Asian paintings that we have examined thus far. It is also highly unlikely that such a strange image is found anywhere in traditional Buddhist texts. In that case, how did the Chinese author(s) of the *GSHJ* get such a strange idea?

Before tackling this difficult question, let us first examine a slightly easier problem. In the second story, when the Buddha confronted the prostitutes, the Buddha first created an elephant and a horse and let them extend their symbolic organs (represented by lotuses), but the significance of these small episodes is not very clear in the context of the *GSHJ*. The passage in question is as follows (*GSHJ*, 15:684c23-28):

> 說是語已，如來爾時化作一象．如轉輪聖王象寶．時象脚間出一白華．猶如象支漸漸拄[22]地．諸女見已，歡喜大笑．各相謂言．沙門善幻乃化作此．
>
> 佛復化作一馬王像．出馬王藏．如琉璃筒下垂至膝．諸女見已彌言是幻.
>
> The prostitute having spoken thus, the Tathāgata magically created an elephant like the elephant-treasure of a Universal Monarch. Then a white lotus emerged between the legs of the elephant, as if another limb of the elephant were gradually propping up [the elephant] against the ground. Having seen this, the women burst into laughter. They said to one another: "The ascetic is good at conjuration, and so he has magically created this."
>
> The Buddha also magically created an image of a horse king, who extended the retracted organ. It hung like a beryl cylinder and reached his knees. Having seen it, the women said even more that it was conjuration.

The significance of this passage becomes much more understandable if we refer to the following passages from the *DZL*:

> 十者陰藏相．譬如調善象寶馬寶.
> 問曰．若菩薩得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時諸弟子何因緣見陰藏相.
> 答曰．爲度衆人決衆疑故示陰藏相.
> 復有人言．佛化作象寶馬寶示諸弟子言，我陰藏相亦如是． (*DZL*, T25:90b17-22)[23]

---

22. The character in the original text is not available in my font-sets. I follow a variant given in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

23. A French translation is found in Lamotte [1944]1981, 1:275.

The tenth is the mark of the hidden male organ, which is like [those of] a well-tamed, elephant-treasure and a horse-treasure.

Question: When the bodhisattva attains the *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*, in what condition do the disciples see the mark of the hidden male organ?

Answer: He shows the mark of the hidden male organ in order to resolve people's doubt.

Other people say: The Buddha magically creates an elephant-treasure and a horse-treasure and, showing them to his disciples, he says: "The mark of my hidden male organ is like those."

復次薩遮祇尼揵子，銅鍱絡腹自誓言．無有人得我難而不流汗破壞者．大象乃至樹木瓦石聞我難聲亦皆流汗．．．．

佛現舌相陰藏相者，有人疑佛身二相，而是人應得道疑故不得．以是故現二相．出舌覆面舌雖大還入口中．而亦無妨．見者疑斷．

有人見出舌相，若生輕慢心，出舌如小兒相，見還入口說法無妨．便起恭敬歎未曾有．

有人疑佛陰藏不現，爾時世尊化作寶象寶馬，指示之言．陰藏相不現正如是．

有人言．佛出陰藏相．但示一人斷其疑故．

論議師輩言．佛大慈悲心，若有人見佛陰藏相，能集善根，發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心，及能大歡喜信敬心生者，皆令得見斷其疑心，除是皆不得見．佛以大悲爲度衆生故，從三種覆出暫現如電光．是衆生見已信佛有大悲心．實於戒法不取不著．如是等因縁故，現二相．非戲非無羞． (*DZL*, T25:251c10-252a7)[24]

Next, Satyaka Nirgranthīputra [i.e., Jina] wore a copper plate around his belly and swore to himself: "When I refute somebody or something, there is nobody or nothing that does not sweat or is not defeated. Everything from a great elephant down to a tree, tile, and stone will sweat when they hear my voice of refutation." . . .

The Buddha's showing his marks of the tongue and hidden male organ [takes place in the following way]: There are people who doubt the two marks of the Buddha's body, and due to that doubt they cannot attain the Way, which they could attain otherwise. For this reason, he shows the two marks. When he extends his tongue, it can cover his whole face. Even though his tongue is so big, it can go back into his mouth without hindrance. Thus the doubts of the people who see it are resolved. There might be people who see [the Buddha] extending his tongue and scorn him, [thinking that] he extends his tongue like a small child. When, however, they see that [his tongue] goes back into his mouth and does not hinder his preaching, they will give rise to a respectful mind and admire this unparalleled matter.

There are people who doubt the mark of the Buddha's hidden male organ, which is invisible. At this time, the Buddha magically creates a elephant-treasure and a horse-treasure and, pointing to them, says that the mark of the hidden male organ is invisible like them.

Some people say: the Buddha reveals the mark of his hidden male organ only to one person to remove the doubt of that person.

Debaters say: The Buddha has great compassion. Thus if there are people who can accumulate good roots and give rise to the aspiration for the

24. For a French translation, see Lamotte 1970, 3:1665-67.

> *anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*, he lets them all see [the mark] and removes their doubts. Except for that, nobody can see [this mark].[25]

We have already observed that many expressions in the descriptions of the Buddha's bodily marks were apparently based on the *DZL* (see Section II.2 of this dissertation). Here again, these passages are very likely sources of the *GSHJ*. In the last passage from the *DZL*, we find the motif of Jina's challenge and removal of the Buddha's garment immediately followed by another story, in which the Buddha's hidden organ is revealed. Moreover, in both of these passages from the *DZL*, the meaning of the elephant and the horse is clear.

In the *GSHJ*, the Buddha does not mention that his organ is like the organs of these created animals, and so he appears to be merely playing with his power (indeed the prostitutes did not understand the meaning at all and were just laughing). Only by referring to the *DZL*, can we understand the significance of these animals.

Concerning the former passage from the *DZL*, we find an almost identical passage in the *AMV* (T27:888b2-5; quoted in Kawamura Kōshō 1975, 186). Therefore, as is often the case, here again we can confirm that the *DZL* was based on the tenets of the

---

25. This is an interpretation of an obscure passage found in Āgama/Nikāya sources. Let me quote here from the Pāli *Brahmāyusutta* (*MN*, No.91 [2:143.15-24]):

> Atha kho Bhagavato etad ahosi: Passati kho me ayaṃ Brahmāyu brāhmaṇo dvātiṃsa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni yebhuyyena ṭhapetvā dve; dvīsu mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu kaṅkhati vicikicchati nādhimucati na sampasīdati. -- kosohite ca vatthaguyhe pahūtajivhatāya cāti. Atha kho Bhagavā tathārūpaṃ iddhābhisaṃkhāraṃ abhisaṃkhāsi yathā addasā Brahmāyu brāhmaṇo Bhagavato kosohitaṃ vatthaguyhaṃ. Atha kho Bhagavatā jivhaṃ ninnāmetvā ubho pi kaṇṇasotāni anumasasi paṭimasasi, ubho pi nāsikāsotāni anumasi paṭimasi, kevalakam pi nalāṭamaṇḍalaṃ jivhāya pacchādesi.
>
> Then the Blessed One thought as follows: This Brahman Brahmāyu has seen most of my thirty-two marks of a great person except for the two; he doubts, hesitates, does not understand or is settled about the two marks of a great person: the concealed male organ and the large tongue. Thus the Blessed One exercised his miraculous power so that the Brahman Brahmāyu could see the concealed male organ of the Blessed One. Then, extending the tongue, the Blessed One touched and pressed the two orifices of the ear, the two nostrils, and covered the forehead with his tongue.

This passage corresponds to the *Fanmo jing* 梵摩經 of the *MĀ*, T1:685c21-29 (No. 26[161]); and the *Fanmoyu jing* 梵摩渝經, T1:883c7-8 (No.76).

In these sources, how he "exercised his miraculous power" is not explained in the sūtra, and that is why later scholar-monks debated over its exact meaning, as we have seen above.

The same story is also mentioned in the *XYJ*, T4:433b9-10.

Sarvāstivāda traditions.[26] Accordingly, it is not entirely impossible that the *GSHJ* was directly based on a Sarvāstivāda text in its Sanskrit original. If we consider the close affinity between the *DZL* and the *GSHJ* in the Chinese expressions, however, it would be more likely that the author(s) of the *GSHJ* were actually referring to Kumārjīva's Chinese text of the *DZL*.

e. The Imagery of Nāga

Now let us go back to the question of the organ encircling Mount Sumeru and so forth. This is indeed a strange image. However impressive it might be, a male organ does not usually "encircle a body seven times." It would be natural to suspect that the imagery may have derived from an originally different motif. Let us first ask the following question: What is it that usually encircles Mount Sumeru seven times? Obviously it is not a male organ; it is nāgas.[27] The line of the *GSHJ* in question is as follows:

徐出馬藏繞山七匝, 如金蓮華. (T15:686c11-12)

> [The Buddha] slowly extended his hidden organ, which encircled the mountain seven times like a golden lotus flower.

Compare this with the following:

> 六足阿毘曇中說. 須彌山四邊各以一寶成. . . . 難陀婆難陀龍王兄弟以身圍遶七匝. (*DZL*, T25:752b10-13)

26. See Lamotte 1970, xiv-xxxii.

27. The standard Chinese equivalent means "dragon," but as a Sanskrit word, nāga means "snake," especially "cobra." Since we are discussing cross-cultural situations, I would like to retain both the Indian "snake" imagery and the Chinese sense of "dragon." For this reason, I intentionally use the word nāga without translating it into English.

In the six "feet" texts of [the Sarvāstivāda] *abhidharma*, it is stated that each of the four sides of the Mount Sumeru is made of one [type of] jewel . . . The nāga king brothers Nanda and Upananda encircle the mountain with their bodies seven times.

爾時難陀龍王跋難陀龍王以身纏遶須彌山七匝 （*DĀ*, Shijijing 世記經, T1:143a26-27 [No. 1(30)])

At that time, the nāga kings Nanda and Upananda encircle Mount Sumeru seven times with their bodies.

The imagery of nāgas coiling around Mount Sumeru is a very common one, both in Buddhist and non-Buddhist Indian texts. Moreover, we should note that nāgas encircling Mount Sumeru are frequently depicted in paintings, both in India and Central Asia (see e.g., Miyaji [1988-89]1992, 418-19). See the following example from Qizil Cave 118 (ca. 500 C.E.):

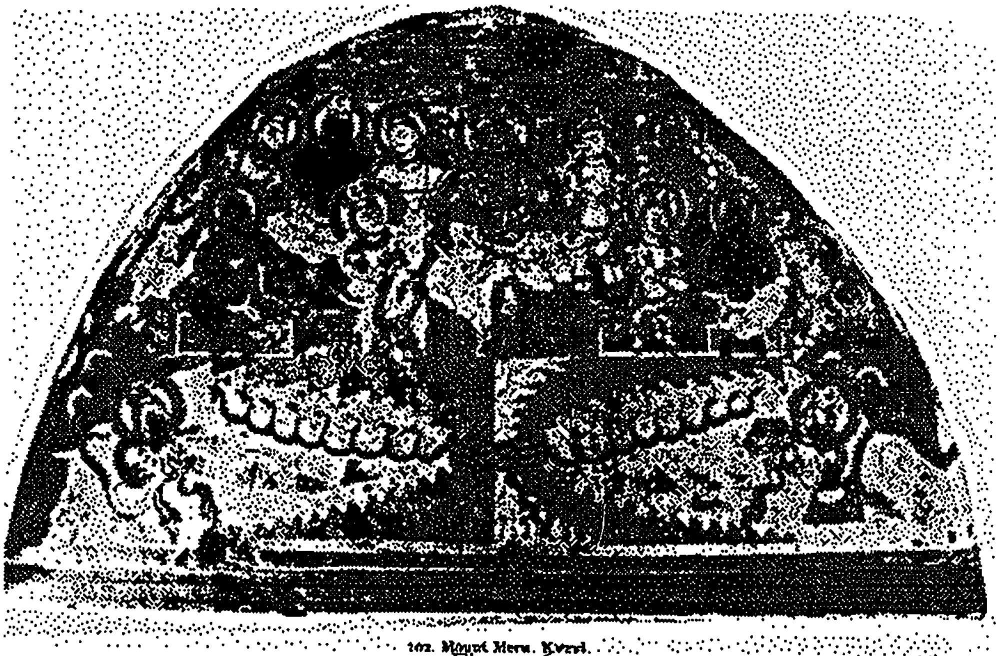


Figure 6
(After Gaulier, Jera-Bezard, Maillard 1976, 2: plate 102)

The following is a scene painted on the body of the Cosmic Buddha Vairocana found at Balawaste, near Khotan (see P. Banerjee 1972, 166-70; Williams 1973, 117-18;). The central object seems to be a symbolic representation of Mount Sumeru, around which two nāgas coil.

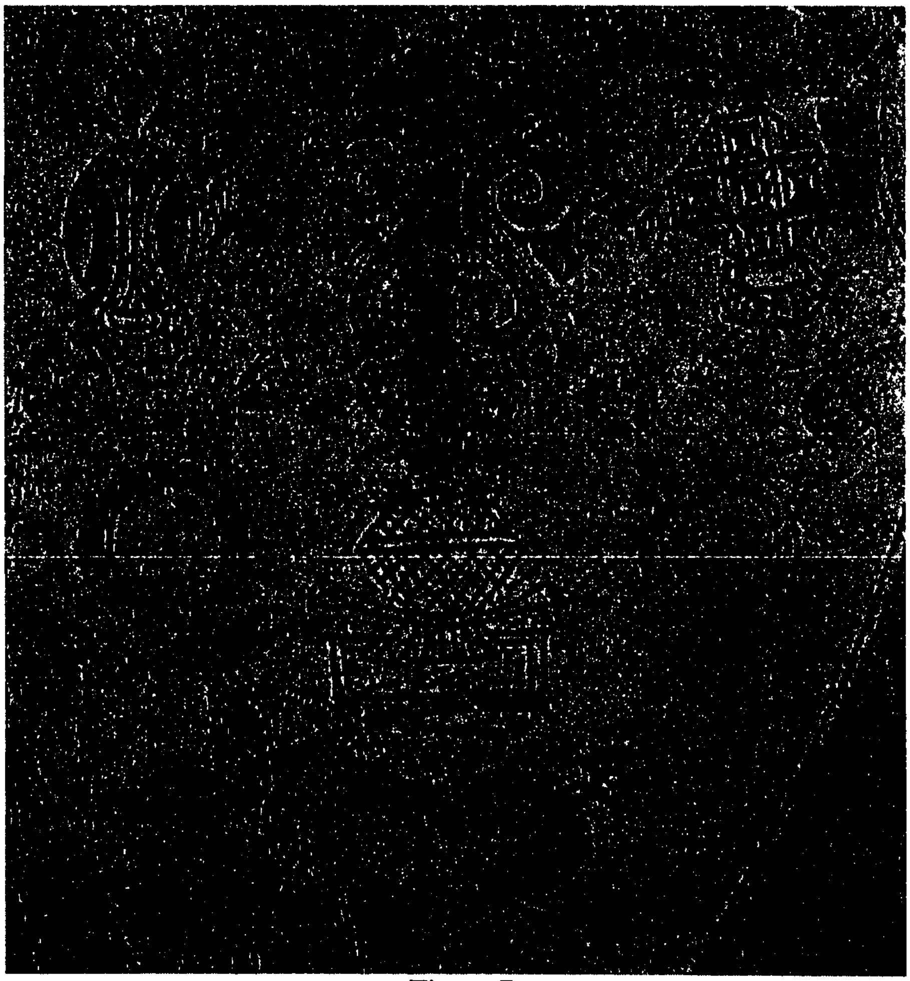


Figure 7
(Part of Mu, Qi, and Zhang 1994, plate 180)

If such a visual image of nāgas already existed in the mind of the author(s) of the *GSHJ*, it would have been relatively easy to come up with this apparently extraordinary image of an male organ encircling Mount Sumeru.

Then how about the organ encircling the body seven times? Can we explain this imagery in the same say? If we note the element "seven times," perhaps the following passage is a candidate:

> 龍作是念. 今雨可畏, 我寧可化作大身繞佛七匝. 頭覆佛上勿使風雨蚊虻惱亂世尊. (Mahīśāsakavinaya [*Mishasaibu hexi Wubu lü*] 彌沙塞部和醯五部律, T22:103b11-13 [No.1421])
>
> Nāga thought as follows: "The present rain is horrible. I should rather magically transform myself into a big body, encircle the Buddha seven times, and cover the Buddha with my head so that wind, rain, mosquitoes, and gadflies do not disturb the Blessed One."

This is a very common motif[28] and is frequently represented in art. We should especially note that there are paintings from Qizil in which a snake encircles the Buddha's body. The following painting at Qizil Cave 80 is considered to depict this scene. (see Marianne Yaldiz 1992, 50).

28. See also Zimmer [1946]1955, 67.

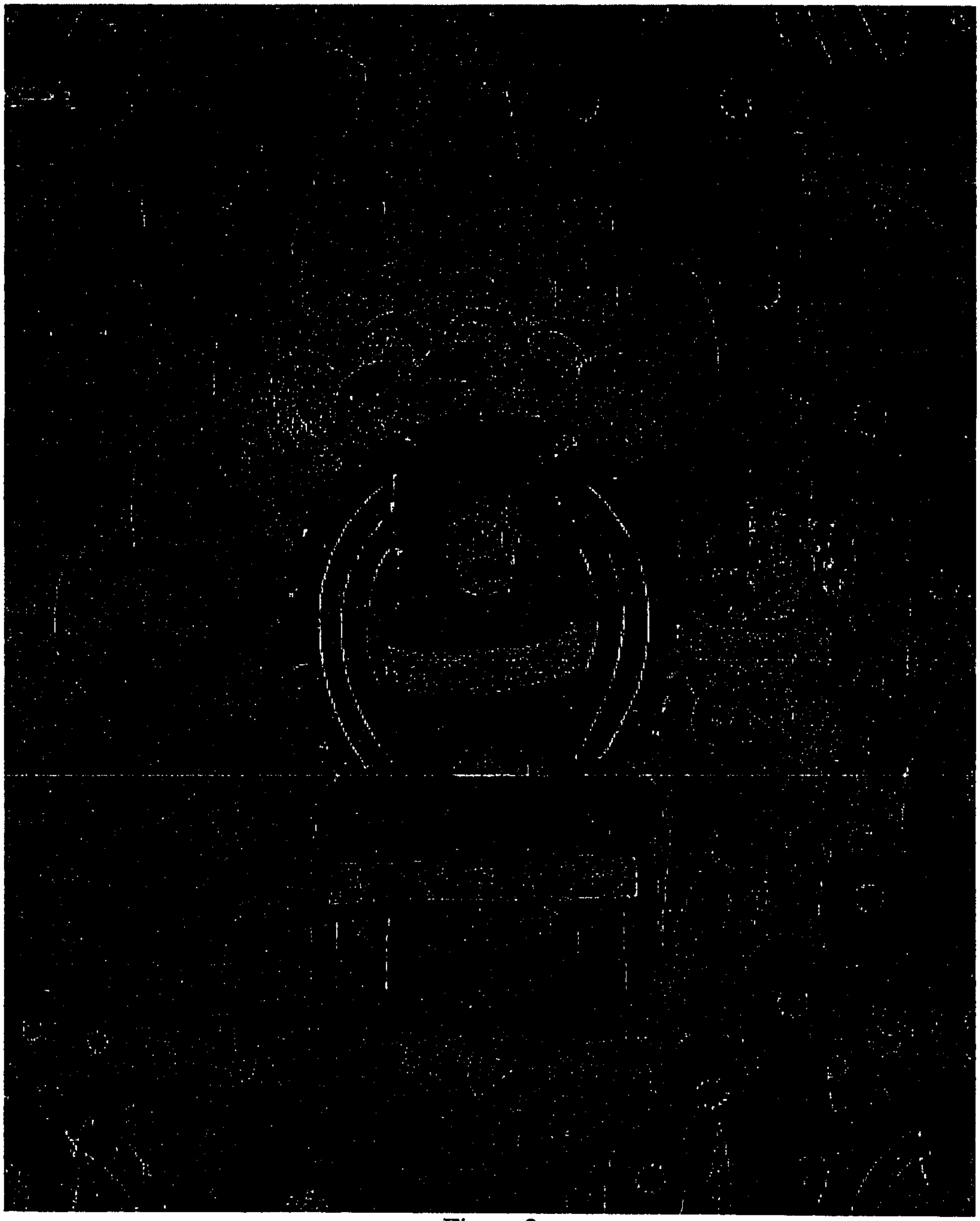


Figure 8
(Part of Shinkyō Uiguru 1984, plate 57)

Further, see the following from Qizil Cave 186. Yaldiz (1992, 50) considers this to be a scene of nāga subjugation from the story of the conversion of Ulvilva Kāśyapa:

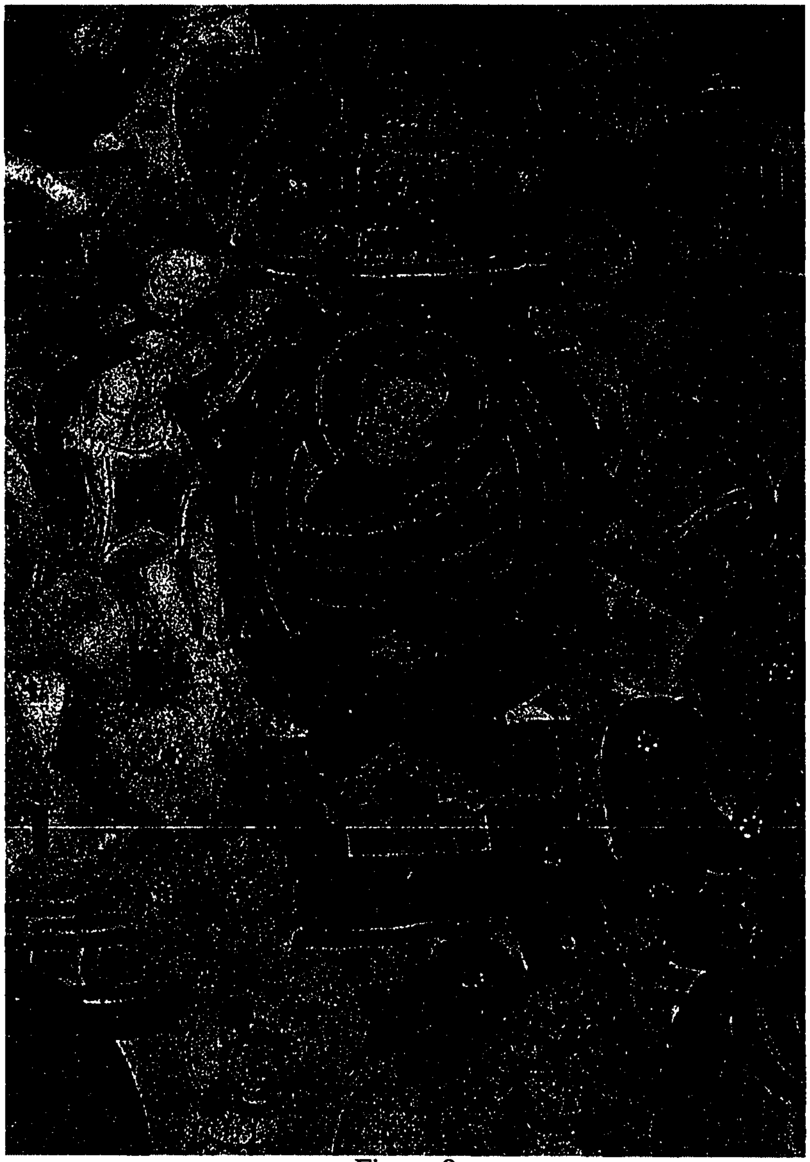


Figure 9
(Part of Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, plate 52)

The one below (Qizil Cave 196) is considered to be a representation of the same motif (see Yaldiz1992, 47-48).

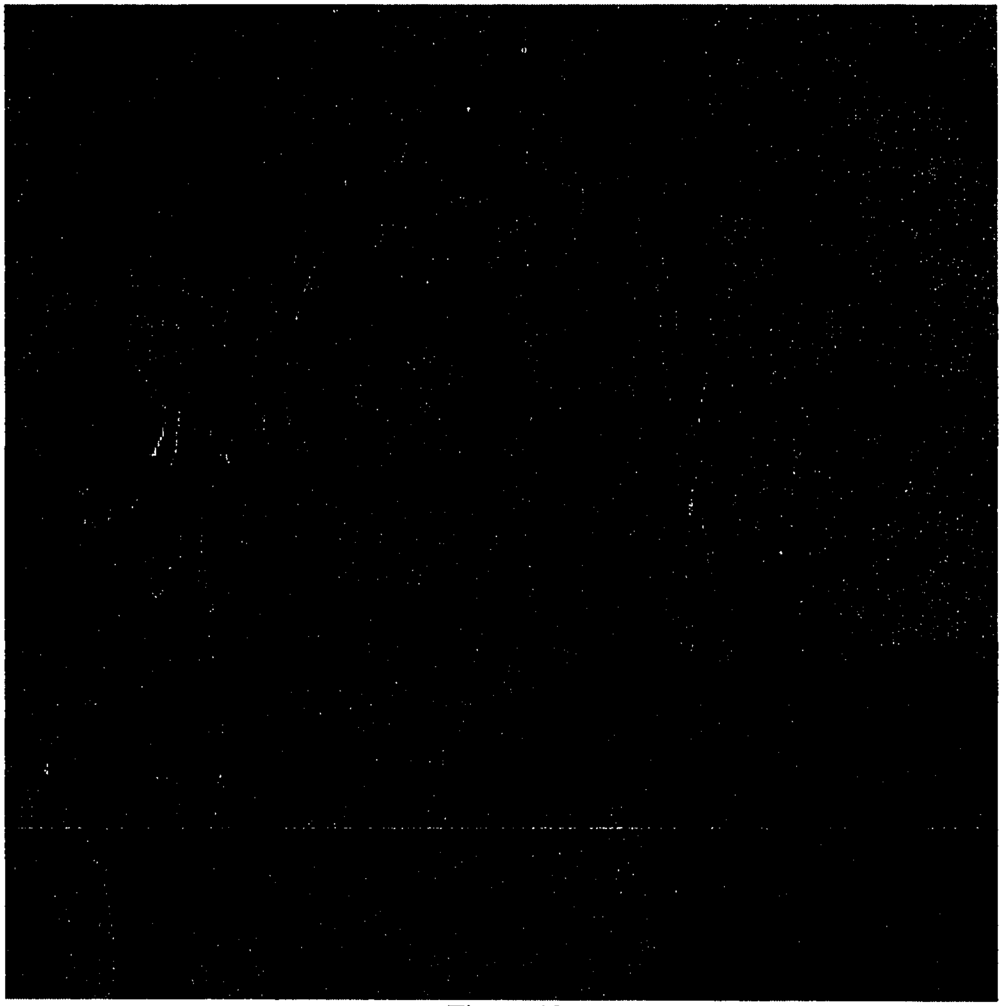


Figure 10
(Part of Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, plate 95)

According to Yaldiz (1992, 46-47), the painting from Cave 196 belongs to the second Indo-Iranian style (600-750 C.E.).[29] If this dating is correct, this painting is also later than the *GSHJ*. Considering also the textual evidence, however, we can be certain that this motif was widely known in Central Asia. The imagery of a nāga encircling the Buddha is a very natural one, but that of a male organ encircling the body is indeed extraordinary. It

29. See also Von Le Coq and Waldschmidt [1933]1975, 24-30.

would be natural, then, to suspect that the image from the *GSHJ* was a transformation of the former image.

Concerning snakes, it is perhaps also noteworthy that a snake is depicted as an object of meditation in a painting at Qizil Cave 77 (discussed in Miyaji [1988-89]1992, 430). Note that snakes are painted on the tree in front of the meditating monk.

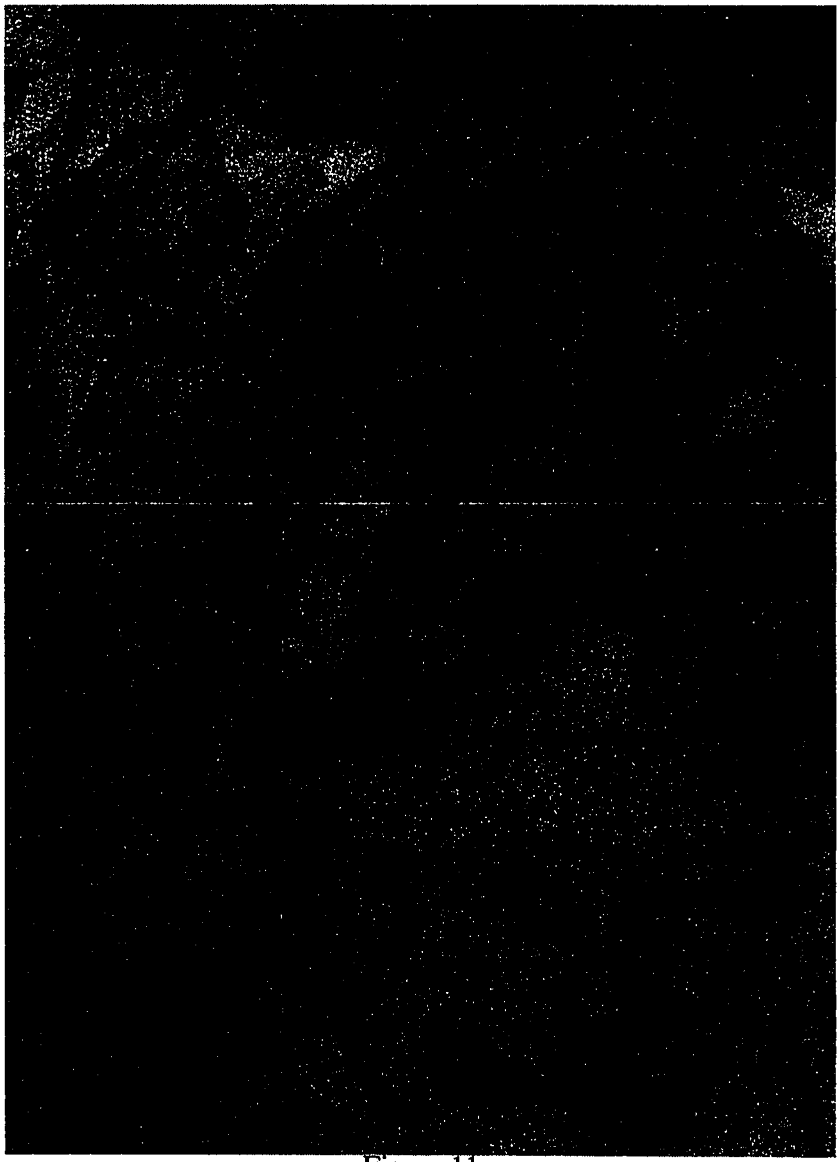


Figure 11
(Part of Shinkyō Uiguru 1984, plate 17)

Given the existence of such a painting, it might be possible that even the strange image of *liṅga* encircling a tree was inspired by the image of a snake.

Further, traditionally snakes are frequently compared to the four basic elements (*mahābhūta*) that constitute our body, and, in the *CMJ* (T15:267b5) and the *YL* (see Yamabe 1997, 22-27), snakes are indeed mentioned as a symbol of the four elements. Interestingly, a painting that appears to depict this motif is also found in Qizil Cave 196. Note the four snakes showing their heads in the box in front of the Buddha.

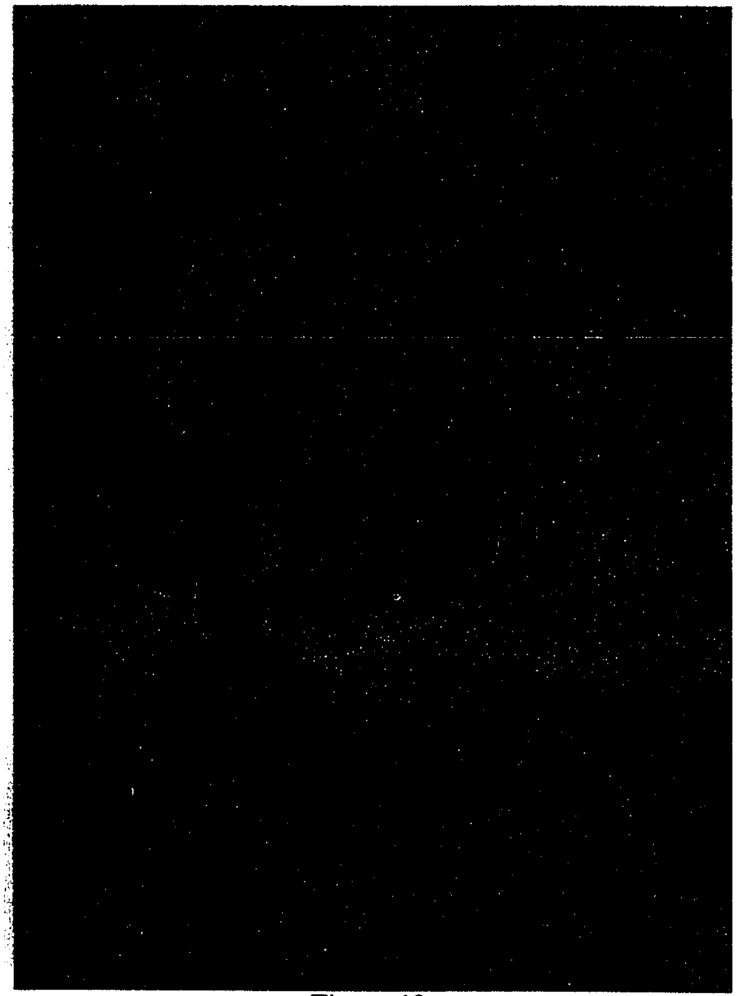


Figure 12
(Part of Shinkyō Ūiguru 1985, plate 97)

These examples show that the snake image was clearly very popular in both narrative and meditative contexts. It would not be too far-fetched to suspect that the author(s) of the *GSHJ* was influenced by this popular image.

Apparently the imagination of the author(s) of the *GSHJ* roamed very freely, and so it is difficult to find all the links between possible sources and the final outcome in the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, however magnificent it might be, the male organ is not something that encircles the body, much less a tree or Mount Sumeru. I believe that only the conflation of the phallic image with the snake image can explain the strange stories of the *GSHJ*.

One possible problem here is that there is no sexual connotation at all in either of the nāga stories. Therefore, even if the author(s) had very creative and liberal imaginations, it still may be a little too much of a leap from these nāga-related motifs to the image of the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, we should consider that nāgas are not entirely unrelated to sexual imagery. For example, in Indian art, Śiva, who has a strong sexual association, is frequently depicted wearing snakes as a sacred thread, necklace, or other ornament.[30] Also, we may have to consider the esoteric image of the *vidyārāja* Kuṇḍalī (Juntuli Mingwang) 軍荼利明王, who wears several snakes on his body. In this last case, since the word *kuṇḍalī* is cognate with *kuṇḍalinī*, a type of dormant sexual energy that is imagined in the shape of a coiling snake in Indian Yoga systems,[31] the sexual connotation is obvious.[32]

---

30. O'Flaherty [1973]1981, 243-45.

31. Cf. Eliade [1958]1969, 245-49.

32. See also *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, s.v. "Gundari Myōō" 軍荼利明王 (1:724a), which reports that the *Yogakuṇḍalyupaniṣad* describes *śakti* in a shape of a snake encircling the male organ.

We might even say that the association between the snake and the male organ is a universal phenomenon widely seen in human societies.[33] I believe, therefore, that the conflation of the phallic image with the snake image is not as extraordinary as it might first look.

f. The Corpse Sticking to the Body

In the second story of the *GSHJ*, the corpse of the emanation man sticks to the prostitute's body, decays there, and drives the prostitute crazy.

This appears to be another Shaivite motif. Śiva cuts off Brahmā's fifth head, which sticks to Śiva's hand and eventually turns into a skull.[34] Perhaps even the sexual union for twelve consecutive days may have been inspired by the story of Śiva and Pārvatī's thousand-year copulation.[35]

If we look at the story of the *GSHJ* a little more carefully, we notice one peculiar point. In the story, the Buddha creates three boys, but only one boy plays a role in the subsequent portions, so the creation of the "three boys" does not make much sense in the context of the *GSHJ*.

In this regard, we should refer to another story in the *Aśokāvadāna* (Mukhopadhyaya ed., pp.15-24). There, Upagupta gives teaching to a huge audience, but on each occasion a *māra* comes and distracts the audience. As a result, not a single person can attain the Way. In order to subdue the *māra*, Upagupta creates three types of dead

33. See, for example, Freud [1973]1996, 206.

34. See Cornelia Dimmitt and J. A. B. van Buitenen 1978, 206-9. Variant versions of this story are discussed in Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty [1973]1981, 123-27; and Stella Kramrisch 1981a, 250-65.

35. Kramrisch 1981b, 18.

bodies: a snake, a dog, and a person. He magically creates a wreath from these three bodies and gives it to the *māra*. The *māra* gladly accepts it, and so Upagupta ties the three dead bodies around his neck. Having realized what they are, the *māra* tries to remove them, but to no avail. Finally, the *māra* attains faith in Buddhism, and Upagupta releases him from the dead bodies.[36]

In this text, in contrast to the above story in the *GSHJ*, the "three" bodies makes good sense. Thus it would not be too far-fetched to suspect that the story of the *GSHJ* was inspired by Upagupta's story in the *Aśokāvadāna*. If we look at the portions of the *Aśokāvadāna* just before and after the summarized part, our suspicion is further strengthened.

As we recall, the third story of the *GSHJ* was a story of a lustful prostitute. We further recall that in the second story, the ring of prostitutes were originally from Mathurā. In the *Aśokāvadāna* (pp.8-14),[37] just before the summarized part, there appears a story of Vāsavadattā, a lustful prostitute of Mathurā.

Also, after the *māra* has accepted the teaching, Upagupta expresses a desire to see the Buddha, and the *māra* transforms himself into the shape of the Buddha. So moved, Upagupta forgets that it is indeed a *māra* and worships him (pp.23-27).[38]

There is no directly comparable story in the *GSHJ*, but obviously "seeing the Buddha" is the main subject of the whole *GSHJ*. It would not be surprising if this portion of the *Aśokāvadāna* came to the mind of the author(s) of the *GSHJ* when they were compiling a visualization text filled with narrative elements.

---

36. Strong [1983]1989, 186-93; *Ayuwang zhuan*, T50:118c-19c; *Ayuwang jing*, T50:159a-60b.

37. Strong [1983]1989, 179-84.

38. Strong [1983]1989, 192-96.

g. The Śrāvastī Miracle

In the second story, the Buddha went to a "debate hall" to confront the prostitutes (佛詣試場化諸淫女 [T15:684a22]), and all the debaters assembled at the debate hall. This is a little strange. The Buddha is trying to dissuade prostitutes from doing evils; he is not having a doctrinal debate with non-Buddhists in this story. Why need he confront the prostitutes in a debate hall, and why should all the debaters be there? It would be natural to suspect that some elements from a story about a debate may have been mixed with the motif of confrontation with prostitutes.

In this regard, we should note the story of the "Śrāvastī Miracle," in which the Buddha subjugates six heterodox teachers by performing a series of miracles. This is a very famous story that appears in a large number of texts.[39] For our present purpose, we should probably note the version in the *XYJ* (story No.14, T4:360c-66a), which is a collection of Jātaka/Avadāna types of stories and is one of the texts that are closely related to the *GSHJ*. In this regard, we should also compare another distinct but similar story in the *XYJ* (story No.48, T4:418b-21b), in which Śāriputra confronts *Raudrākṣa representing the six heterodox teachers. Hereafter, I refer to the former as "Miracle" and the latter as "*Raudrākṣa."

In the *GSHJ*, three sons of the rich merchant frequented the brothel and used up the gold of one storehouse (一藏金盡 [T15:683c27]). In the *XYJ* (Miracle), a younger brother of King Bimbisāra supported the six heterodox teachers and used up the money of the household (竭家之貨 [T4:360c22]).

In the *GSHJ*, King Prasenajit (Bosiniwang 波斯匿王) of Śrāvastī (Sheweiguo 舍衛國) asks the Buddha to subdue the prostitutes, and the Buddha responds to the King, saying: "In seven days, the Buddha will know this by himself" (却後七日佛自知之 [T15:684a19]).

39. Various versions of this story are translated by Rhi Ju-hyung 1991, 207-315.

In the *XYJ* (Miracle), first the six teachers ask King Bimbisāra of Rājagṛha to arrange a debate hall in seven days (期後七日，願王平治講試之場 [T4:361b20]). Then the King asks the Buddha to subdue them, but the Buddha simply says: "I know the time by myself" (我自知時 [T4:361b24]) and leaves Rājagṛha. In this way, the Buddha keeps moving from one state to another for six days. Finally, when the Buddha comes to Śrāvastī (Shewei 舍衛), King Prasenajit (Bosiniwang 波斯匿王) again asks him to subdue the prostitutes, but the Buddha gives the same answer ("I know the time by myself" [T4:362b5]).

In the "*Raudrākṣa" story, the six heterodox teachers declare that in seven days (却後七日 [T4:420a20]) they will compete with Buddhist monks.

In the *GSHJ*, on the day of the contest, King Prasenajit beats a golden drum (金鼓) and assembles all the debaters in various states (T15:684a25). According to the *XYJ* (*Raudrākṣa), the law of Śrāvastī stipulated that a copper drum (銅鼓) is to summon eight hundred million people; a silver drum (銀鼓), one billion four hundred million people; and a golden drum (金鼓), all the people. In this case, they beats a golden drum, and thus all the people assembled (T4:420a22-25).

In the *GSHJ*, the Buddha goes to the debate hall (試場) of King Prasenajit to confront the prostitutes (T15:684a22). In the *XYJ* (Miracle), too, the Buddha goes to a debate hall (試場) arranged by King Prasenajit to confront the six teachers (T4:362b8).

After this, the second story of the *GSHJ* deviates from that of the *XYJ*, and we can trace no more parallel story lines. In the fourth story, however, we again find a parallelism, as follows.

In the *GSHJ*, the Jains boast of their power in the following way: "Now my supernatural power surpasses yours by a hundred thousand times. If you perform one, I shall perform two" (我今神通過踰沙門百千萬倍. 沙門作一我當作二 [T15:686b3-4]). In the *XYJ* (Miracle), the six teachers utter the following words: "Our [magical] techniques are not

inferior to those of Gautama" (我曹技能，不減瞿曇 [T4:361b6-7]); "If the Buddha makes one, I shall make two" (佛作一，我當作二 [T4:364b2]).[40]

In the *GSHJ*, when the Jain ascetics challenge the Buddha, they first magically create a tree (化作一樹 [T15:686b4]), and later, in response to that, the Buddha creates Mount Sumeru (Xumishan 須彌山 [T15:686c10]).

In the *XYJ* (Miracle), on the first day of the contest, the Buddha throws away a willow-stick,[41] which instantaneously grows into a huge tree (T4:362b8-17). On the second day, he magically creates two jewel mountains (liang Baoshan 兩寶山 [T15:362b20]).

In the *XYJ* (*Raudrākṣa), *Raudrākṣa first creates a tree (呪作一樹 [T4:420b15]) and later creates a mountain (復作一山 [T4:420b25]).

In the *GSHJ*, the tree deity scolds the Jains in the following way: "Being like a bug, you dare to fight with a lion, the king of animals" (汝如小虫，敢與獸王師子共戰

---

40. Cf. 若沙門瞿曇現一神足，我當現二．沙門現二我當現四，彼八我十六，彼十六我三十二隨其沙門所現變化我當轉倍．(*EĀ*, T2:803a7-10; cf. also T2:727c28-728a2, where the six non-Buddhist teachers appear instead of Devadatta).

[Devadatta said:] If the ascetic Gautama performs one miracle, I shall perform two. If the ascetic performs two, I shall perform four. If he performs eight, I, sixteen. If he performs sixteen, I, thirty-two. Thus, whenever the ascetic performs miracles, I shall double them.

Cf. 所以稱賓頭盧能降伏外道者，毘舍離城中，有質多長者．每患六師貢高自大言．瞿曇沙門，自稱爲尊．當與其捔技．若彼現一我當現二．如是轉倍至三十二．．．．昇在虛空，繞城七匝，還在座上．謂諸梵志曰．卿等復現其二也．六師默然．時大鬼将軍名曰半師，謂六師曰．促現其二．(*Fenbie gongde lun*, T25:43b2-14)

The reason people say that Piṇḍola can subdue non-Buddhists is as follows: In the city of Vaiśālī, there is a rich merchant, Citraka by name, who was always annoyed by the six non-Buddhist teachers, who arrogantly say: "The ascetic Gautama claims himself to be a respectable person. We shall compete in [magical] arts with him. If he performs one, we shall perform two. Thus we shall always double his number up to thirty-two. . . . [Piṇḍola] ascended into space, went around the city seven times, and returned to his seat. He said to the [non-Buddhist] masters: "You should now double this miracle." The six masters were silent. Then a great yakṣa general, Pañcika(?) by name, said to the six masters: "Quickly perform your 'two.'"

41. A willow-branch was used as a toothbrush.

[T15:686b10]). Also, Gaṅgā says as follows: "Now how can you, having dark bodies, try to compete in light with the sun?"" (汝今云何持黒闇身世日爭光 [T15:686c3-4]).

In the *XYJ* (Miracle), in the words of King Bimbisāra to the six teachers, we find the following expressions: "You use the light of fireflies to compete in light with the sun. . . . Being small as foxes, you compete in might with lions" (欲以螢火與日諍光. . . . 野干之微與師子捔猛 [T4:361b12-14]).

In both texts, the heretics finally become disciples of the Buddha, wear monastic robes, and attain arhatship.

Furthermore, it is perhaps also noteworthy that, in the *XYJ* (Miracle), we can find the motif of seeing an invisible bodily mark of the Buddha (in this case, the wheel on the soles of the Buddha) as follows:

> 時洴沙王，長跪白佛．世尊奇相，三十有二．<u>身手諸相，猶曾得見．未覩如來足下輪相</u>．願見示衆．咸共敬觀．佛即出脚，普示衆會．一切見佛足底輪相．(T4:363c2-5)
>
> Then King Bimbisāra kelt down and said to the Buddha: "The marvelous marks of the Blessed One are altogether thirty-two. <u>We have already seen the marks on the body and hands, but we have not seen the mark of wheels on the soles of the Tathāgata</u>. Please show them to the assembly. All will view them with respect." The Buddha then extended his legs and showed the mark of the wheels on his soles to the entire assembly.

On the one hand, this passage reminds us of the story of the *Brahmāyusutta* (n.25). At the same time, perhaps it should also be compared with the following line found just before the stories about the Buddha's organ in the *GSHJ*:

> 爾時阿難偏袒右肩，合掌長跪白佛言．<u>世尊佛說三十二相餘有一相．如來云何不顯說耶</u>．(T15:683a3-5)
>
> At that time, Ānanda revealed his right shoulder, put his hands in the *añjalī* position, knelt down, and said to the Buddha: "<u>The Blessed One has said that there is another mark among his thirty-two marks. Why does the Tathāgata not explain it?</u>"

I think it very likely that many elements of the "hidden organ" stories were taken from the "Śrāvastī Miracle" and other "debate" stories. As I said in the beginning of this section, the "Śrāvastī Miracle" is a common topic among Buddhist texts, and so it may be difficult to specify the particular text on which the author(s) of the *GSHJ* relied. Nevertheless, considering the fact that the *XYJ* shares some characteristic expressions with the *GSHJ*, I think the possibility is high that the *GSHJ* was closely linked to the *XYJ*.[42] We

---

42. According to the preface to the *XYJ* included in the *CSJ* (T55:67c9-68a1), eight monks from Hexi went to Khotan and attended lectures, and then compiled what they heard there into a single text (subsequently titled the *XYJ*) at Turfan in the twenty-second year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 era (445 C.E.). Here the noteworthy point is that the *XYJ* contains many Chinese-style expressions very similar to the ones in the *GSHJ* (and in the other related meditation texts) that made Tsukinowa skeptical of their authenticity.

For example, Tsukinowa (1971, 65) considers strange the mixed use of the transcription Yuetantan 閱頭檀 and the translation Jingfanwang 淨飯王 for King Śuddhodana in the same text (see no.16 in table 1, Section II.1 of this dissertation). He finds a similar problem in the use of both Qiaotanmi 憍曇彌 and Daaidao大愛道 for Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī (Tsukinowa 1971, 76; no.25 of the same table). However, exactly the same kind of inconsistency is found in the *XYJ* as follows (the references are all to the Taishō canon volume 4):

> Yuetantan 閱頭檀 (353b9)/Jingfan wang 淨飯王 (364a25; 409b17; 441a20)
>
> Qiaotanmi 憍曇彌 (368a21)/ Daaidao 大愛道 (368a22)/ Mohe bosheboti 摩訶波闍波提 (434a7). Note that the first two appear very close to each other.

Tsukinowa also mentions with suspicion the inconsistent translation of the same notions in the *GSHJ*, such as *faputixin* 發菩提心/ *fa sanputi xin* 發三菩提心/ *fa wushang putidao xin* 發無上菩提道心/ *fa wushang sanputi xin* 發無上三菩提心/ *fa wushang putidao yi* 發無上菩提道意/ *fa anou duoluo sanmao sanputi xin* 發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心 (Tsukinowa 1971, 61-62; no.10 of the same table) and *yingzhen dao* 應眞道/ *aluohan dao* 阿羅漢道 (Tsukinowa 1971, 62; no.11 of the same table). In these cases, however, the inconsistency is even greater in the *XYJ* :

> *wushangdao xin* 無上道心 (349c22;351b3)
> *fa wushang zhengzhen dao* 發無上正眞道 (357b1-2)
> *fa wushang zhengzhen dao yi* 發無上正眞道意 (358c27; 398c23; 409b27-28; 415b5-6)
> *fa dadao xin* 發大道心 (362c20; 372a13; 376a15-16)
> *fa wushang xin* 發無上心 (362b28)
> *fa wushang dadao xin* 發無上大道心 (366a9)
> *fa daoxin* 發道心 (372a2)
> *fa wushang puti zhi xin* 發無上菩提之心 (372a9; c20-21)
> *fa wushang puti xin* 發無上菩提心 (382a4-5)
> *fa pusa xin* 發菩薩心 (416b8; 442b10)
> *fa ci dacheng wushang zhi xin* 發此大乘無上之心 (421b21)
> *fa dadao yi* 發大道意 (423a24-25)
> *fa dacheng xin* 發大乘心 (443c23)
>
> *de luohan dao* 得羅漢道 (379c8; 424b3)
> *cheng luohan* 成羅漢 (384c24)

de yingzhen 得應眞 (398c22-23; 419a9)
dai yingzhen 逮應眞 (410a7; 441b21)
zizhi yingzhen 自致應眞 (442a10)

In addition, Tsukinowa faults the translation *xianlan feng* 旋嵐風 (Tsukinowa 1971,80-81; no.31 of the same table). His point is that this word corresponds to Buddhist Sanskrit *vairambha* (certain types of violent winds) and is transcribed/translated as *pilan feng* 毘嵐風 in Buddhabhadra's version of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* (*Da fanguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T9:428b17 [No.278]). It is impossible, Tsukinowa insists, that Buddhabhadra, who should have been familiar with the Buddhist Sanskrit *vairambha*, translated this word as 旋嵐風 (到底 *vairambha* の仏典特有語を了知している三蔵の出来る筆法ではない [Tsukiyowa 1971, 81]), and he further remarks that he is not aware of any other texts that use such a word (未だ曽て旋嵐風とは誰も作辞した経論を見ない [ibid.]). In fact, however, this word does appear in the *XYJ* (T4:420b17-18; also used in the *DJSJ* [T15:371a19-20; 23]).

Further, Tsukinowa (1971, 108) is very suspicious of such Chinese stylistic flourishes as: "One breaks (*or* burns) two billion vast fetters" 破(or 焼)二十億洞然之結 (no.32 in the same table) and: "One throws the whole body to the ground as if a huge mountain collapsed" 如大山崩五體投地 (n.33 in the same table). Here again, however, we find very similar phrases in the *XYJ* :

斷二十億洞然之惡 (396c6)

One severs two billion vast fetters.

以身投地如大山崩 (349c26-27; 350b25-26)

One throws the whole body to the ground as if a huge mountain collapsed.

Also, as we have already seen, Tsukinowa regards the "eighteen hells" as a peculiar feature of the *GSHJ*. However, even this expression is used in the *XYJ* :

十八地獄一切都現 (363b25)

All of the eighteen hells manifested themselves.

Furthermore, though this point is not raised by Tsukinowa, one of the phrases typically seen in the visualization sūtras is: "Within a moment it takes for a strong man to bend and extend his arm" 譬如壯士屈申臂頃 (T15:647a19-20, etc.; cf. Fujita 1970, 129). See the following lines of the *XYJ* :

屈申臂頃 (378a4; 433c9)

"A moment it takes to bend and extend one's arm."

猶如健夫屈伸臂頃 (395a17)163

"Within a moment it takes for a strong man to bend and extend his arm"

One last intriguing point is the fact that the *XYJ* mentions Tunzen tuoluo 屯眞陀羅 several times (361c26; 362b29; 363b6) as the name of a king of Vṛji (Yueqi 越祇). This peculiar transcription should be based on 伅眞陀羅王 (T15:351c8) mentioned in the *DSRJ*. However, 伅眞陀羅王 is actually a transcription of Drumakinnararāja (伅=*druma*; 眞陀羅=*kinnara*; 王=*rāja*), which is the name of a musician demigod. Apparently the Chinese compilers of the *XYJ* mistook this for the name of a human king. Incidentally, it should further be noted that the

might also consider that the *XYJ* was a very popular text in the Dunhuang area, and that there are pictorial representations of the "*Raudrākṣa" story,[43] though they are from later periods.

h. *Sumāgadhāvadana*

In the second story, when the Buddha and his disciples go to the debate hall, all the major disciples magically create their supernatural vehicles (lotus, nāgas, cave, etc.) and fly to the debate hall. A similar scene appears elsewhere in the *GSHJ* also (T15:679c2ff.). This is reminiscent of a scene from the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, in which major disciples of the Buddha magically create various animal vehicles and fly to Sumāgadhā's place.[44]

As we shall discuss in greater detail later (Section III.4), this is a very popular story that appears in various Buddhist texts. Moreover, the scene is depicted in mural paintings of Qizil and Toyok.

Perhaps this is another example of how the stories of the *GSHJ* were inspired by art. As is clear by now, most of the stories of the *GSHJ* are very unusual and as a whole

---

problematic word *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 also had its root in the *DSRJ* (see Section II.2 of this dissertation). Since *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 is not mentioned in the *XYJ*, the *GSHJ* and the *XYJ* all seem to have been independently related to the *DSRJ*.

The overall contents of the *XYJ* are standard Jātaka stories, and accordingly the authenticity of this text is not doubted, even by Tsukinowa (賢愚經は且く措く; 1971, 77). It is noteworthy that, if it had been compiled by Chinese monks at Turfan, even such a text could contain these inconsistent translations/transcriptions, Chinese-style expressions, and some obvious misunderstandings. The close similarity of the expressions seems to indicate that the *GSHJ* was composed in a very similar environment.

The *XYJ* is in many respects an important text in connection with the transmission of Buddhist legends in Central Asia. See the important article by Victor H. Mair (1993), which examines phonetic elements in this text and argues that they retain Khotanese features. I thank Professor Mair for kindly sending me this article to me on my request.

43. See, for example, Sarah E. Fraser 1996, 28ff.

44. In the *GSHJ*, the vehicles the disciples create are not necessarily animals, but close ties between the *GSHJ* and the *XYJ* seem difficult to deny. For more detailed discussion, see Section III.4 of this dissertation.

cannot be traced back to any prior sources. Nevertheless, people usually do not create stories out of a vacuum. Even if the story told seems entirely unparalleled, usually there is something that prompted the mind of the story-tellers to form a particular image. If they were constantly seeing paintings of the Buddha's disciples flying in the sky riding various animal-vehicles, would it not be rather an easy step for them to come up with the scene of the *GSHJ* in question?

f. Phallicism in Chinese Central Asia

Obviously the most conspicuous point in this chapter of the *GSHJ* is its strong interest in sexual motifs. As we have observed, several basic elements in these stories are probably of Indian origin, but these "raw materials" are not used in the *GSHJ* in an easily discernible way. Clearly they have undergone significant modifications at the hands of the people who composed this text. Our observations thus far strongly suggest that those people who were responsible for the composition of the *GSHJ* were probably native speakers of Chinese. If that was the case, it would not be very likely that people who were raised in traditional Chinese culture would discuss these sorts of topics openly in a religious text, even if their "raw materials" contained strongly sexual motifs. Normally Chinese translators try to de-emphasize or ignore such elements in their Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. The *GSHJ* would be highly exceptional in this respect, even if it were a direct translation of a single Indian text. It would be much more so if the *GSHJ* was indeed a Chinese composition. Clearly the author(s) of this text were very open to sexual matters and were free from traditional Chinese moral restrictions.

In this regard, though there can be no direct connection to the *GSHJ*, it might be interesting to note that there are rock carvings depicting phallicism in the Tianshan 天山 range (Xinjiang). Below is one example.

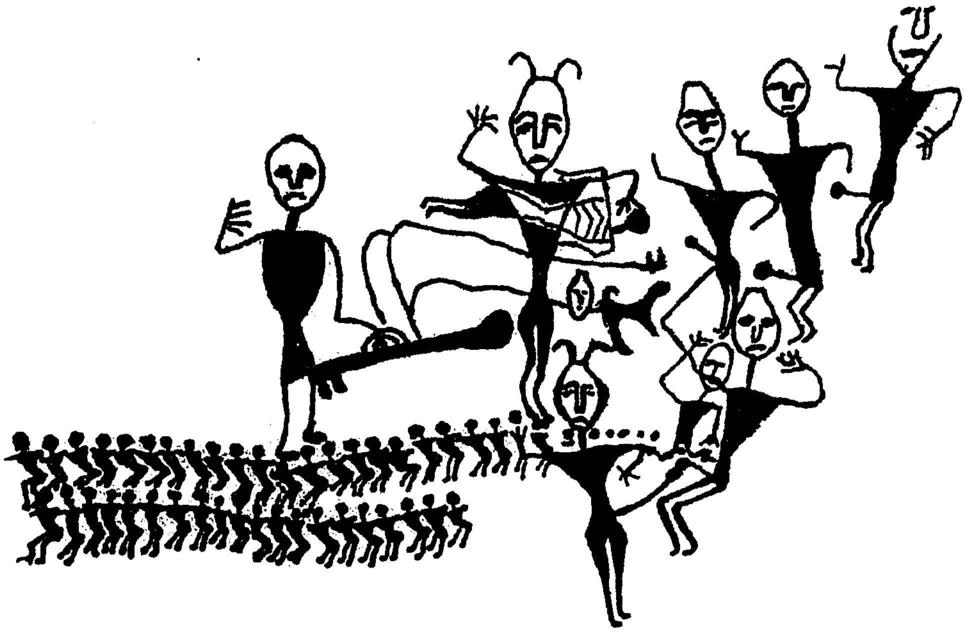


Figure 13
(Wang Binghua 1990, p.16, figure 7)

Wang (1990, 32-36; 45) speculates that these carvings were executed about 3,000 years ago. If this dating is correct, they are chronologically too far away from the *GSHJ* to have any significance in the present discussion. We should note, however, that Wang's dating is not based on very strong grounds, as he himself admits (ibid., p.35).

In any case, since phallicism is a fairly common phenomenon in ancient cultures, it may be difficult to draw any significant conclusion from the presence of these reliefs. Nevertheless, at least it would not contradict my hypothesis that the *GSHJ* was composed in the Turfan area. If the local people in Xinjiang had a tradition of phallicism from ancient times, they might not have hesitated to introduce highly phallic stories in their own text.

Concluding Remarks

After considering these possible sources, we can begin to see an outline of what was happening during the process of composition. As I have already mentioned several times, the anonymous Chinese author(s) of this text were not translating a single original. In the case of these phallic stories, the very basic motif of the display of the Buddha's hidden organ came from traditional Buddhist sources. Also, the imagery of the magnificent cosmic organ probably comes from Indian Shaivite traditions. The author(s) of the *GSHJ* seem to be mixing up these elements freely to compose their own version of the stories. Concerning this type of Buddhist-Hindu syncretism, the following observation by Chh. Haesner is suggestive (1987, 117):

> At Balawaste, situated on the southern Silk Route [near Khotan], Buddhism, Śaivism and Hindu Tantrism are amalgamated in a manner, as if Buddhism and Hinduism were combined to form one religion of Central Asia. Here the Buddhists have freely adopted many of the important and popular Vaiṣṇavitre and Śaivite deities.

Haesner observes similar phenomena in other areas of Central Asia as well and concludes that "syncretism seems to be the keynote of all Central Asian art" (ibid., 118). This syncretistic atmosphere in Central Asia, I believe, was behind the composition of such a hybrid text as the *GSHJ*.

However, we should further note that information about the Shaivite phallicism was probably not available through Chinese texts. The author(s) must have had direct contact with people from western regions who were followers of Shaivite traditions. At the same time, it is evident that they relied heavily on Chinese Buddhist texts. In doing so, the author(s) let their imagination roam freely from one text to another. Thus the final outcome seems entirely different from their sources. In other words, the very basic motifs are Indian, but the author(s) freely put together elements taken from Chinese Buddhist texts and invent their own stories. Perhaps we might be allowed to say that the *GSHJ* is "Indian wine put in a Chinese bag."

In considering these Indo-Chinese[45] hybrid phenomena of Indian and Chinese cultures, perhaps the sūtra pillars found in Dunhuang, Jiuquan 酒泉, and Turfan are suggestive. The following is one of these pillars from Khocho (Turfan), dated to the mid-fifth century:

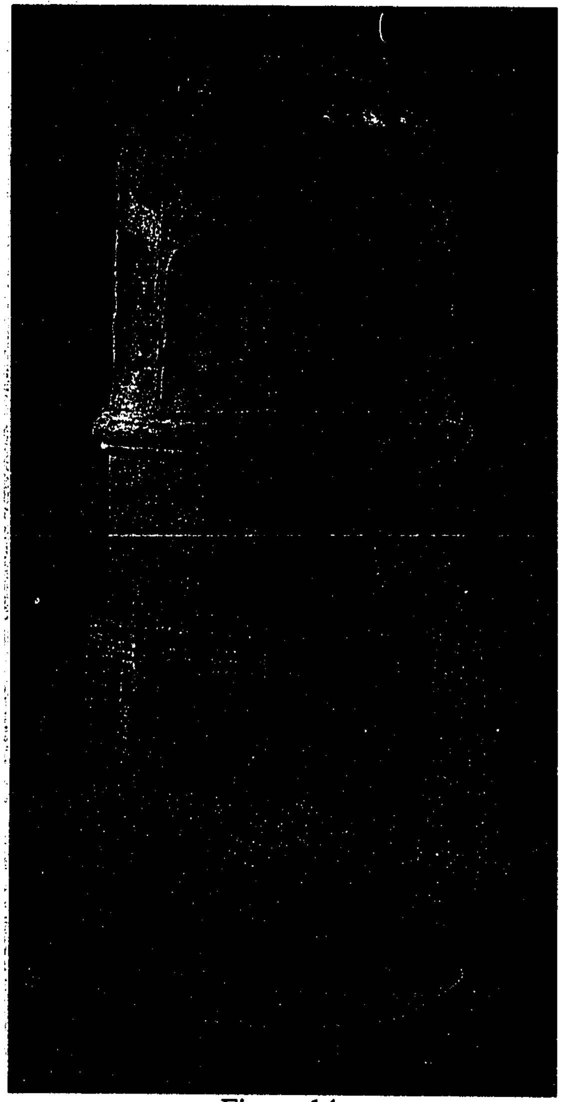


Figure 14
(After Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, p.65, plate 7)

45. The reader is reminded that I am using this expression in the literal sense and not in the sense of "Indochina" that refers to Vietnam, etc. See the Introduction of this dissertation.

According to Kuno Miki (1995, 268-69) who has discussed these pillars in detail, Indian guardian deities of the eight directions, together with the corresponding Chinese trigram for each direction, are carved on each side of these octagonal pillars,s. Kuno observes that, though the Indian deities of the eight directions are all male, where the Chinese trigrams indicate females, the males are replaced by female deities (ibid., p.287). Thus Kuno remarks: "In the course of the investigation of the carvings of these Northern Liang sūtra pillars, I was impressed by the fact that the fifth-century people of Turfan and Hexi were well familiar with Indian and Gandhāran cultures. It also impressed me that they had digested these foreign cultures very well and incorporated them into their own Central Asian and Han cultures" (p.287).

I do not, of course, claim that these eight deities have any direct connection to the matters we have discussed in this chapter. Nevertheless, I do believe that these pillars are suggestive of the atmosphere of the Turfan and Hexi areas during the fifth century. I strongly suspect that it was this cross-cultural atmosphere in these areas that could create such a hybrid text as our *GSHJ*.

4. Mural Paintings of Visualizing Monks at Toyok, Turfan

As we have seen, several scholars used artistic evidence to support their arguments. Ono Genmyō claimed that some of the descriptions of the Buddha's bodily marks in the *GSHJ* presuppose Gandhāran Buddhist statues ([1923]1977, 77-114). Alexander Soper saw a link between the story of the "Buddha Image Cave" and the cave motif (the Buddha sitting in a cave) prevalent in Gandhāran Buddhist art (1949a, 273ff.).

Further, Nakamura Hajime (1964, 206) suggested that the huge Buddhist statue at Bāmiyān was in the background of the visualization of the huge Buddha described in the *GWSJ*, while Fujita Kōtatsu claimed that the big statues in the Kuchā area are more directly relevant to the *GWSJ* (1985, 38-39).

These theories are briefly introduced by Julian F. Pas (1977, 196-98; 1995, 37-38).

The possible ties between the *GSHJ* and the Gandhāran culture proposed by Ono and Soper deserve full attention, but in the face of the strong evidence pointing to the apocryphal nature of the *GSHJ*, it is difficult to accept the Gandhāran theory. The influence of Gandhāran art was widespread in Central Asia. In particular, the motif of "meditation in Brahmā's cave," which is popular in Gandhāran art, is also frequently depicted in Qizil (Soper 1949a, 258-59; Miyaji Akira [1988-89]1992, 435-42). Therefore, Ono and Soper's points do not necessarily establish the Gandhāran origin of the *GSHJ*. Many of their points can be explained by the Central Asian Theory as well.

On the other hand, the association between the imagery of the gigantic Buddha in the *GWSJ* and huge statues is a rather vague one. Of course it is not impossible that the visualization of the *GWSJ* was indeed based on such statues, but it is equally possible that the description of huge Buddha in the text was simply an imaginary product. We cannot reach a definite conclusion based on such a general image.

Are there not any artistic evidence that can be more specifically linked to the *GSHJ*

and other cognate texts? If we can find such evidence, we could put our discussion of the origin of the *GSHJ* on a more solid basis.

Since we are dealing with visualization texts, our attention should be first directed to artworks that depict the scenes of visualization. In this regard, the mural paintings of visualizing monks at Toyok caves in the Turfan area are of utmost importance. The mural paintings of visualizing monks I am going to discuss in this chapter have not been introduced to the academic world outside of China until relatively recently,[1] and so they have not drawn much attention from Buddhist scholars thus far.[2] To date, the research on these paintings has been carried out mainly by art historians, most importantly by Jia Yingyi ([1985]1989), Sudō Hirotoshi (1989), and Miyaji Akira ([1988-89]1992; 1995a; 1995b; 1996).[3]

According to Sudō (1989, 12-20), "paintings of meditating monks," *zenzyō biku zō* 禅定比丘像, in which monks are painted simply in the posture of seated meditation without any particular object in front of them, are widely seen from Afghanistan to Japan. However, the distribution of "paintings of visualizing monks" 禅観比丘像, in which meditating monks are painted with the objects of visualization, is more limited. Sudō's list (ibid., p.14) indicates that they are mostly concentrated in Qizil (in the Kuchā area)[4] and

This chapter is partly based on the information I obtained during the field trip to Turfan (May 6-11, 1996) of the Silk Road Project organized by Professor Valerie Hansen. Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at the Second (June 21-22, 1997) and the Third (July 10-12, 1998) Silk Road Conference, both held at Yale University. I thank Professor Hansen and other participants of the project for their many constructive suggestions. Discussions with Victor H. Mair, Ma Shichang, and Sarah E. Fraser were particularly helpful, and I express my sincere gratitude to them. I have also greatly benefitted from exchanges with Professors Miyaji Akira and Sudō Hirotoshi during the preparation of this paper.

1. They were published in Zhongguo Meishu 1989 and in Zhongguo Bihua 1990.

2. For example, Sueki Fumihiko 1992 does not mention these paintings.

3. See also an important pioneering work by Liu Huida ([1978]1996, 334-35), though this article does not discuss the paintings at Toyok. Liu Hongliang 1990 is a helpful survey of the Toyok caves.

4. See also Miyaji [1988-89]1992, 428-31.

Toyok (in the Turfan area).

We should note here that, as Sudō observes (1989,15; 18), there is a clear stylistic difference between the paintings of visualizing monks in Qizil and those in Toyok.

In the paintings of visualizing monks at Qizil (see Miyaji [1988-89]1992, 414-35; Sudō 1989, 13-18), monks are scattered in natural sceneries and are painted in a very unstylized way.[5] They are looking at such items as a lotus pond, coiled snakes, a skull, and so forth. Also, old examples from this area are considered to be from a relatively early date (the fifth or sixth century; Miyaji [1988-89]1992, 412-14; Sudō 1989, 14). For these reasons, Sudō suspects that these types of paintings originated in this area (ibid., p.15).

By contrast, in Toyok (Caves 20 and 42), scenes of visualization are lined up horizontally and seem to presuppose detailed visualization manuals (ibid., p.18-19). They are under strong Chinese influence (ibid., p.17), and sometimes Chinese inscriptions are attached (ibid., p.18).

For the purpose of this chapter, we have to concentrate on the ones from Toyok. One of the features of the *GSHJ* and other closely related texts, namely, the *GWSJ,* the *CMJ,* the *ZCMF*, the *WCYF*, and so forth, is itemized systems of visualization.[6] As Sudō and Miyaji suspect, it is very likely that the lined-up paintings were linked to these visualization texts. In his recent and very valuable article on Toyok caves (1996), Miyaji

---

5. This point is also noted in Liu Hongliang 1990, 11.

6. A typical example is seen in the *GWSJ,* in which the objects of visualization are numerically itemized in the following way:

1. The Sun
2. Water
3. The Ground
4. [Jewel] trees
5. Water of Eight Superior Qualities
6. An Overall View
7. A Flower Seat
8. A Statue [of Amitāyus]
9. Physical Forms [of Amitāyus and All the Other Buddhas]
10. Avalokiteśvara
11. Mahāsthāmaprāpta
12. General Visualization
13. Miscellaneous Visualization

analyzed the relation between paintings and visualization texts in great detail. Referring to this helpful work, I would like to discuss the paintings in Toyok Cave 20 and 42 carefully from my own point of view.

Miyaji gave a preliminary version of his paper at an assembly of the Association of Art History (Bijutsushi Gakkai 美術史学会) held at Nagoya University on June 17, 1995. After the presentation, I had a useful discussion with Professor Miyaji and several other participants of the conference. At that time, I made a few suggestions to him. First, in his presentation Miyaji mainly focused on the *GWSJ* in interpreting the Toyok paintings, though he was not unaware of the existence of other meditation texts. I, on the other hand, emphasized the importance of the *GSHJ* and other closely related texts, most notably the *CMJ* and the *ZCMF*, for the study of the Toyok paintings. In order to exemplify my point, I gave him several relevant passages from these texts concerning the "demons with flames" image and the "burning jewel" image. Further, I pointed out to him that the motif of flying monks in the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* is incorporated into the *GSHJ*. This point very likely explains the coexistence of this motif and scenes of visualization in Toyok Cave 20. Also, I suggested that the disorganized arrangement and representation of these paintings of visualization may indicate that they were painted while the traditions of visualization texts were still unfixed.

After that, Miyaji published his paper in three parts, partly based on my suggestions (1995a; 1995b; 1996; my assistance is acknowledged in 1996, 83).

As Miyaji is an art historian, his main concern is in the development of artistic styles. Accordingly he does not discuss textual history in his papers. On the other hand, since I am primarily concerned with textual development, I intend to use artistic materials to find out the background of visualization texts. For these reasons, although many of our discussions overlap, I believe it is not redundant to discuss the Toyok paintings again in this chapter from my own point of view.

Recently, Chao Huashan (1993; 1996) claimed that Toyok Caves 20 and 42 are Manichean, not Buddhist. As I have discussed elsewhere (Yamabe 1997b), I believe that his arguments on this point are clearly groundless.[7] Therefore I disregard his claim in the following discussion.

Miyaji classifies the paintings in Toyok Caves 20 and 42 into the following three types: (1) the motif taken from the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*; (2) the meditation of "impurity"; (3) the meditation of the Pure Land.

On (1), my conclusion is essentially the same as his, but I would like to substantiate my observation that the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* is incorporated into the *GSHJ* and discuss its significance in interpreting the Toyok paintings. Concerning (2) and (3), I think he is using these concepts a little too widely. As for (2), the meditation on "impurity" (Skt., *aśubhabhāvanā*; Ch. *bujing guan* 不淨觀) usually refers to the meditation on a corpse and does not include the vision of demons that he includes in this category. As for (3), while the paintings of Cave 20 indeed seem to be closely linked to the Pure Land images as described in the *GWSJ*, the same is not necessarily the case with Cave 42. Furthermore, as Miyaji himself admits, even the paintings in Cave 20 cannot be interpreted exclusively from the point of view of the *GWSJ*.

My impression of the relevant meditation texts (*GSHJ*, *CMJ*, *ZCMF*, *WCYF*, and the *YL*) is that the most conspicuous feature of these texts is not the traditional meditation on impurity or devotional Pure Land faith, but rather supernatural, sometimes even quasi-esoteric, visions. This is in clear contrast to the more straightforward meditation manuals from the same period such as the *YBhB*, the *ZSJ*, and the *SLF*[8]

---

7. Chao 1996 is an English version of Chao 1993. I thank Professor Zhang Guangda for the reference to this English version. When I was preparing Yamabe 1997b, I could not refer to Chao 1996. This English version, however, does not affect my conclusion. See also Hans-Joachim Klimkeit 1996. I thank Dr. Zsuzsanna Gulácsi for kindly sending me a copy of this monograph.

8. Concerning the distinction between "straightforward" manuals and "mystical" manuals, see Section I.2 of this dissertation

I believe it is the former, more "mystical" meditation manuals to which the Toyok paintings should be linked. Though the *GWSJ* itself does not contain too many mysterious elements, historically it is closer to this "mystical" group. The *GWSJ* was in fact just one of a number of similar meditation texts, and we should not overestimate the role of the *GWSJ* in interpreting these paintings. The *GWSJ* exerted far greater influence in subsequent East Asian Buddhism than the *GSHJ* or any other kindred texts did, and as a result many of us are much more familiar with the content of the *GWSJ* than that of the other meditation texts. This situation, however, was not necessarily the case when these Toyok paintings were executed.

In what follows, I would like to discuss the paintings of visualizing monks in Cave 42 and those in Cave 20 separately. Finally I shall discuss the dating of these Toyok paintings.

a. Cave 42

Both Toyok Caves 20 and 42 are usually considered to be meditation caves (Jia [1985]1989, 66-67; Miyaji 1995a, 19). In particular, Cave 42 has the characteristic structure of meditation caves, consisting of a main hall and several side chambers (probably for individual meditation).[9] Note the plan shown in Figure 1.

9. "Meditation caves" in Central Asia are considered to stem from Indian *vihāra* caves (residential caves). In Central Asia, generally the side chambers attached to these types of caves are too small to live in, and thus scholars believe that the side chambers were used for individual meditation. See Mogi Keiichirō 1983, 11. See also Ma Shichang 1989, 47.

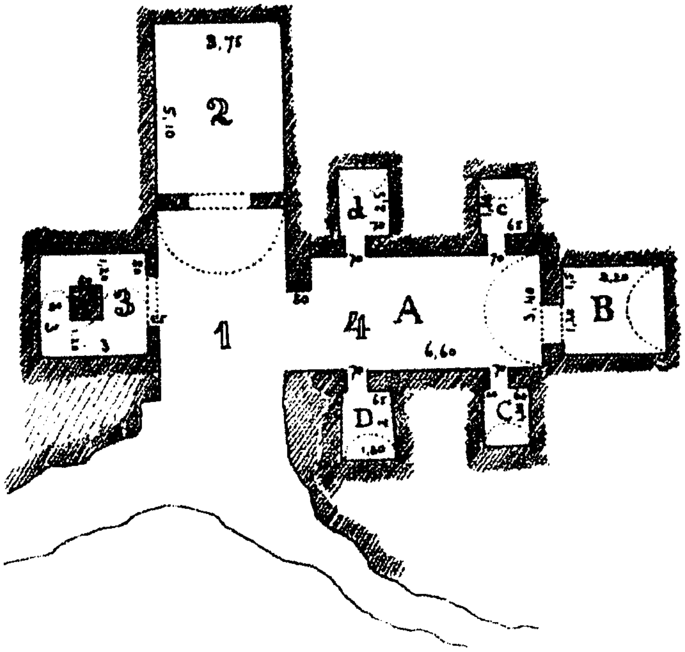


Fig. 658. Asketenhöhlen.

Figure 1
(After Albert Grünwedel 1912, p.327, figure 658)

This cave-complex is what Grünwedel calls Asketenhöhlen, "Ascetics' Caves," and in the system of Zhongguo Bihua 1990 that we follow in this chapter, Grünwedel's Caves 2, 3, and 4 are numbered respectively as Caves 41, 40, and 42.[10] It is the right-hand part of the plan (Cave 42 = Grünwedel's Cave 4) that we are going to discuss below.

Many of the paintings in this Cave 42 are accompanied with cartouches, but unfortunately none of them retains a legible inscription.[11] Therefore, we have to look for relevant textual passages by ourselves. Figures 2 and 3 shows the paintings on the right wall of this cave.

---

10. The roof of Grünwedel's Cave 1 has collapsed, and so this "cave" is now an open space; therefore the original cave-complex has now become three separate caves.
For the correspondence between the Chinese system and Grünwedel's, see Miyaji 1995a, 18.

11. Perhaps (some of) the cartouches may never have been filled at all. Cf. Sarah E. Fraser 1996, 24; 89; and Jacque Giès 1994, 313.

Figure 2
(Picture taken by the author on May 7, 1996)

Figure 3
(Picture taken by the author on May 7, 1996)

i). Demons and Flames

In Cave 42, there are two paintings of demons apparently threatening the meditator (II.1, III'.1; see Miyaji 1996, 49-50).[12] Figures 4 and 5 show painting No.II.1, while Figure 6, painting No.III'.1.

Figure 4
(Picture taken by the author)

Figure 5
(Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.29, figure 13)

12. Concerning the numbering of the paintings, I follow the system used by Miyaji (1995a; 1995b; and 1996). In this system, the rows are numbered in Roman numerals from above to below, and the columns in Arabic numerals from rear to front. Grünwedel (1912, 331-32) reports that the back chamber and side chamber C of Cave 42 and Klementz Cave 38, hall B also had paintings of demons, but they are not extant.

Figure 6
(Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14)

Particularly noteworthy is the former painting (II.1) in which two black demons are dancing in front of a seated meditating monk. They are holding sticks (?) in their hands, and big flames are coming up from their heads (mouths?). This is a very peculiar image and is hard to interpret without referring to the following passages:[13]

時火焰端有五夜叉手執利劍，頭有四口吸火而走．(*GSHJ,* T15:657c8-9)

Then at the tip of the flames there are five *yakṣas* holding sharp swords in their hands. They have four mouths in their heads, and sucking the fire, they run.

有諸夜叉，住火山中．動身吸火． (*CMJ*, T15:248b28-29)

There are *yakṣas* residing in a fire mountain who move their bodies and suck the fire.

有夜叉鬼，頭上火起．(ibid., T15:249a6)

There is a *yakṣa* demon, on whose head fire arises.

13. For a few other similar passages, see Miyaji 1996, 50.

一一鳩槃荼，吐諸山火. (ibid., T15:249b7-8)

Each *kumbhāṇḍa*[14] spits out mountainous fire.

見諸夜叉裸形黑瘦. 雙牙上出. 頭上火燃. 首如牛頭，角端雨血. (ibid., T15:264c19-21)

[The practitioner] sees *yakṣa*s who are naked, black, and skinny. Two fangs go upward, and fire burns on their heads. Their heads are like those of oxen, and the tips of their horns rain blood.

復見餓鬼，其形長大十億由旬. 吐毒吐火. (*ZCMF*, T15:339a28-29)

[The practitioner] also sees a hungry demon as big as one billion *yojana*s spitting out poison and fire.

數息靜處鬼魅所著. 見一鬼神，面如琵琶. 四眼兩口，擧面放光. . . . 令於行者心不安所. . . . 若見此者，當急治之. 治之法者，. . . 一心閉眼，陰而罵之. 而作是言. 我今識汝. 知汝是此閻浮提中食火嗅香. . . . 鬼便却行匍匐而去 (ibid., T15:341a29-b9)

They were counting their breaths in a silent place and were taken by demons. They saw one demon whose face was like a lute, with four eyes and two mouths. The whole face was emitting light. . . . making the mind of the practitioner uneasy. . . . If one sees such [a scene], one should remedy it quickly. The way to remedy it is, . . . [The practitioner] shuts his eyes and secretly scolds him, saying: "I now recognize you. I know that you are the one who eats fire and smells scent in Jambūdvipa. . ." Then the demon will withdraw at a crawl.

Apparently, while practicing meditation one sometimes sees such terrifying scenes. These types of scenes are usually called *moshi* 魔事, "monstrous experiences," and are well known in East Asia through the descriptions in the Guan moshi jing 觀魔事境, "observation of monstrous experiences as meditative objects," chapter of the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀,

14. Name of a class of demons.

"*The Great Calming and Contemplation*" (T46:114c22-17a20 [No.1911]).[15]

Of course it is well known that the Buddha, while in meditation, was assaulted by troops of demons just before his awakening.[16] Further, if we look at the Māra-saṃyutta and the Bhikkhunī-saṃyutta of the *Saṃyuttanikāya* (PTS, ed., 1:103-35), we can find many stories of *māra* approaching the Buddha and his disciples in meditation to threaten and tempt them. The *māra* in these contexts appears as a major tempter. Although the *māra* does show some frightening scenes to the meditators, he invariably states some words of temptation after that and tries to distract the mind of the meditators from pure practice. Therefore, in a way, this type of *māra* is a personification of temptations we feel in our mind.[17] On the other hand, in the visualization texts under discussion, no such temptations are stated and demons just appear as mysterious and frightening figures. It should be noted that the atmosphere is not the same in these early sources and in the visualization texts. In addition, we cannot find passages that agree as nicely as the lines of Chinese visualization texts quoted above in the Māra- and Bhikkhunī-saṃyutta of the *Saṃyuttanikāya*. In the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, the *māra* appears in the shape of elephant, serpent, ox, and so forth, but not in the form of black demons spitting out fire.

The concept of *moshi* itself is not absent from Indian Buddhist texts (see Ōno Hideto 1994, 514-34). For example, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, "*The Perfection of Wisdom of Twenty-Five Thousand Lines*," has a section on these types of experiences (Kimura Takayasu ed., 4:34.28-43.27). This section corresponds to the Moshi ping 魔事品 of the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經, "*The Sūtra on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*," (T8:318b-20b [No.223]); and by a comparison of the text we can confirm that *moshi* is a translation of *mārakarma*, "working of a *māra*." In this text,

15. This text was based on Zhiyi's 智顗 lectures delivered in 594 C.E.

16. For various sources recounting this story, see Lamotte [1949]1981, 880-82, n.1.

17. See Masutani Fumio [1969]1974, 183.

however, what is mentioned as examples of *mārakarma* is things such as yawning or laughing while copying the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.[18] In other words, in this text the expression *mārakarma* is used in a very figurative way and refers to anything that hinders the progress of practice.

The *Śrāvakabhūmi*, *"The Stages of Śrāvakas,"* also discusses *mārakarma* (Karunesha Shukla ed., 345.22-347.8; T30:448a7-b4), but here again, this expression is used in a very general sense. Most of the examples listed there are just daily experiences. Though this text does mention a few frightening visions one encounters in the wilderness, the description is very simple and is nothing comparable to the above-quoted passages. The same essentially can be said of the portion of the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, "*A Treatise on the Great Perfection of Wisdom*," (T25:533a-38b [No.1509]) commenting on the Moshi ping of the *Mohe bore boluomi jing*.

On the other hand, although the Moshi ping of the *Mohe zhiguan* is closely linked to the *Da zhidu lun*, the *Mohe zhiguan* does mention some mysterious experiences literally caused by demons. We should note here that the descriptions of one of the demons in the *Mohe zhiguan* (T46:115a22-26; 116a12-20) are based on the portion of the *ZCMF* (T15:341a25-c9) that I partly quoted above.[19]

We should further note that this *ZCMF* passage has a strongly Chinese flavor. See again the last part of the quotation:

> 一心閉眼，陰而罵之．而作是言．<u>我今識汝</u>．知汝是此閻浮提中食火嗅香．．．．<u>鬼便却行匍匐而去</u>
>
> [The practitioner] shuts his eyes and secretly scolds him, saying: "<u>Now I recognize you</u>. I know that you are the one who eats fire and smells scent in this Jambūdvīpa. . ." <u>Then the demon will withdraw at a crawl</u>.

---

18. See Kobayashi Nobuhiko 1989, 2.

19. See the last quotation. The relation between these texts is pointed out in Ōno 1994, 539.

Compare this with the following line from the *Baopuzi Neipian* 抱朴子内篇, "*The Inner Sections of Baopuzi*," (Wang Ming [1982]1985, 308), a Taoist text from the Jin 晉 period (early fourth century):[20]

其次則論百鬼錄，知天下鬼之名字，及白澤圖・九鼎記，則衆鬼自却.

Next, consult the *Record of One Hundred Demons*, the *Chart by Baize*,[21] and the *Record of Nine Caldrons*[22] and learn the names of the demons in the world. Then the demons will withdraw by themselves.

According to Miyai Rika (1996, 726-27), the idea of repelling demons by knowing their names is already found in a charm excavated from a tomb from the Latter Han period. The same idea, according to her, is also found in other Taoist texts and Chinese apocryphal Buddhist sūtras. See the following example from the *Zhoumei jing* 呪媚經, "*The Sūtra on Being Charmed against Demons*" (ibid., pp.708-9), an apocryphal Buddhist sūtra:[23]

吾知汝姓名，知汝姓字．不得停止．急去他方.

I know your name. I know your appellation. You cannot stay [here]. Go

---

20. A Japanese translation is found in Honda Wataru [1990]1992, 367. I thank Ms. Miyai Rika for providing relevant materials on the *Baopuzi Neipian* and the *Zhoumei jing* 呪媚經.

21. Baize is the name of a legendary animal. The *Chart by Baize* is a record of one thousand five hundred and twenty spiritual beings explained by a legendary creature Baize, "White Marsh," for the Yellow Emperor. See *Dai kanwa jiten* 8:24d-25a.
There are two fragments of the *Chart by Baize* in Dunhuang manuscripts (S.6261; P.2682). These fragments are discussed in Jao Tsong-yi, Pierre Ryckmans, and Paul Demiéville 1978, 1:27; 2:49-50. I thank Professor Victor H. Mair for referring me to this work.

22. "Nine Cauldrons" were legendary ritual objects "supposedly possessed in turn by the kings of Xia, Shang, and Zhou" (Robert Bagley 1998, 222). See Wu Hung 1996. Again, I thank Professor Mair for the references..

23. The quotation is corrected according to Miyai's corrections.

away right now!

We notice, therefore, that Chinese people were particularly concerned about repelling demons, and at least the passage from the *ZCMF* quoted above seems to reflect such a Chinese interest.[24]

Although further investigation would be required, after the survey of relevant Indian texts, I have not been able to locate passages that explain these paintings as nicely as the lines of the Chinese visualization texts quoted above. These passages seem to have a somewhat distinctive flavor, and at least in the case of the *ZCMF*, we notice a strong Chinese influence.

On the basis of these observations, I strongly suspect that these paintings were specifically linked to the passages quoted above. In this connection, it is suggestive that there was another painting of a demon with a club running away in front of an "ascetic" (*Asket*) in the back chamber B according to Grünwedel (1912, 331; this painting is not visible now). See, once again, the last passage from the *ZCMF* (see this chapter, p.437), in which a demon runs away when his identity is revealed. Again, we do not have an inscription attached to this painting,[25] but even without an inscription, this painting, to my mind, also strongly suggests close ties between the Toyok caves and the visualization texts with which we are concerned.[26]

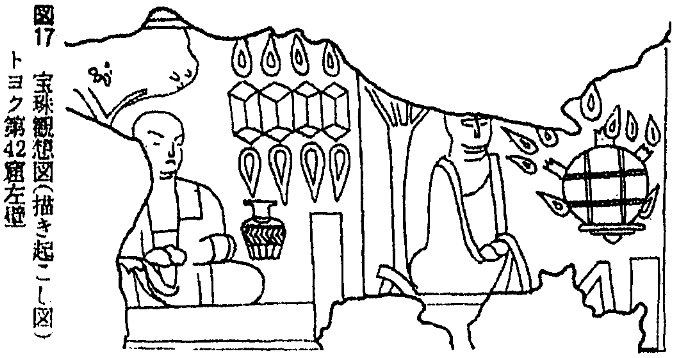
24. One might refer to the Āṭānāṭiya-suttanta, where the names of many *yakkha* generals are listed for the sake of protection (*Dīgha-nikāya* 3:204-5). They, however, are good *yakkha*s to be called on for protection. Therefore, the direction is the opposite from the Chinese sources, where the names of the demons are called for the sake of repelling them. I thank Ms. Nagao Kayoko for referring me to this text.

25. Grünwedel 1912, 330-31 reports the existence of many graffiti in this chamber, but he does not mention formal Chinese inscriptions.

26. In his contribution to the Silk Road Project (The Taoist Community and Popular Cults in Turfan during the Tang Period), Rong Xinjiang points out the existence of Taoist/Chinese indigenous beliefs in Turfan already in the Northern Liang period (early fifth century). The octagonal sūtra pillar from Turfan that combines Chinese Eight Diagrams and Indian deities mentioned by Rong is also discussed in detail by Kuno Miki (1995; see Section III.3 of this dissertation). Considering this example, it would have been possible that the type of Buddhist/Taoist interfusion that we observed in the *ZCMF* ook place in Turfan.

ii). Burning Jewels

Cave 42 has three paintings of burning jewels (I.6, I.7, II'.6; Miyaji 1996, 58-59).[27] Figure 7 shows painting Nos.I.6-7, while Figure 8, painting No.II'.6.



I.7 I.6

Figure 7
(After Miyaji 1996, p.58, figure 17)

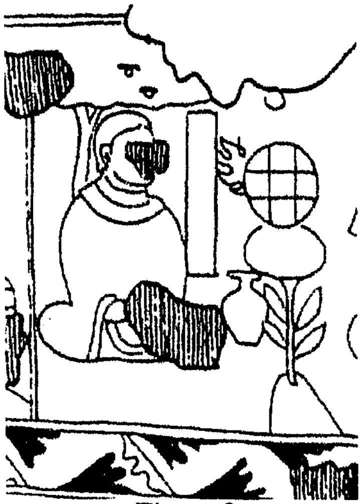


Figure 8
(Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14)

---

27. Similar paintings are also found in Cave 20, but I'll discuss them separately later.

The imagery of a burning jewel itself is not a rare one, but as an object of visualization, it is not a common motif.

Here again, no inscription is left in the cartouches. Fortunately, however, we have fragments of a very similar motif found in Stein Cave IV.vii (see Nakamine Masanobu 1980, 33-38; Miyaji 1995a, 38; and Figure 18 below), which retain a legible inscription.

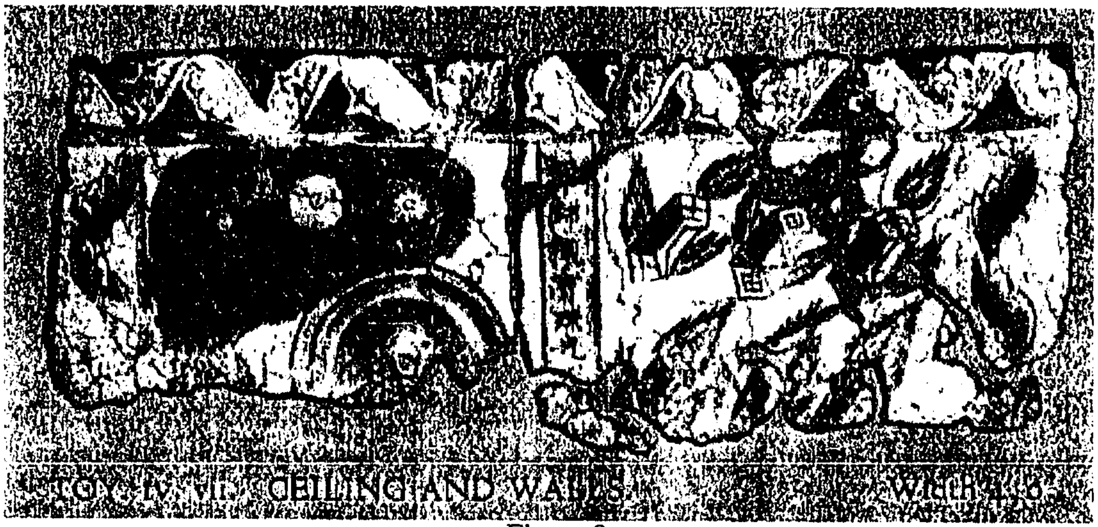


Figure 9
(Part of Fred H. Andrews 1948, plate 9)

This appears to be fragments of a painting of a meditating monk, who is watching six burning square-column jewels, very similar in shape to those seen in I.7. The important point here is that we can read the following inscription in this painting (see Nakamine 1980, 34):

禪師<u>觀寶珠光</u> +[28]

28. + represents an illegible character. Similarly below.
According to the observation by Professor Ma Shichang (personal discussion during the Third Silk Road Conference, July 10-12, 1998), this inscription seems to be from the fifth or sixth century (i.e., before the Sui period) judging from the calligraphic style. He further observed that stylistically this inscription is close to those in Toyok Cave 20.

The meditator visualizes rays of a jewel.

This inscription is very significant, because we can confirm that (1) these paintings are scenes of visualization, and that (2) the burning columns in I.7 are indeed jewels.[29]

As possible textual sources that can be linked to these paintings, I would like to suggest the following:

有四悪蛇含一寶珠，從火焔出凌雲[30]飛逝.（*GSHJ*, T15:664c28-29)

There are four venomous snakes holding a jewel in their mouths. They come out of flames and fly away over clouds.

觀内火時，自見心火．常有光明．過於百千萬億明月神珠．心光清淨．亦復如是．出定入定，如人持明火珠行．．．復見大海水中摩尼珠王．其摩尼珠王焔出諸火．（*CMJ*, T15:262c12-20)

When [the practitioner] visualizes the inner fire, he sees the fire of the heart. It always has light that surpasses one hundred billion bright moons or divine jewels. The purity of the light of the heart is also similar. When he enters or comes out of *samādhi*, it is as if a man were walking carrying a bright burning jewel . . . . Further he sees the king of *maṇi* jewels in the water of the great ocean, which emits flames.[31]

洗心觀者．先自觀心令漸漸明．猶如火珠．(*ZCMF*, T15:333b27-28)

In order to visualize the purification of one's heart, one should first visualize the heart and make it clearer and clearer like a burning jewel.

一梵王持摩尼鏡，照行者胸．爾時行者自觀胸如如意珠王．明淨可愛火珠爲心．(*ZCMF*, T15:333c1-3)

---

29. Concerning the burning jewel (Skt. *cintāmaṇi*), see also Moriyasu Takao 1991, 13-15, which reports the existence of this motif in a Buddhist-Manichean double cave, Bezeklik Cave 25 (early ninth to early tenth century; ibid., p.32).

30. The text has *xu* 虚, but I read as *yun* 雲 according to the variant given in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

31. See Miyaji 1996, 58.

A Brahmā king holds a *maṇi* mirror and illuminates the chest of the practitioner. Then the practitioner sees his own chest as if it had become a wish-granting jewel, which is clear, lovely, and has a burning jewel as the heart.[32]

想諸火光, 作如意珠, 從毛孔出. (*ZCMF*, T15:333c25-26)

One should imagine that the rays of fire become a wish-granting jewel, which comes out of pores.

云我見大海水. 其中有摩尼珠. 其珠焔出如火. (*WCYF*, T15:329a5-6)

[The practitioner] says: "I see water of a great ocean, in which there is a *maṇi* jewel. Flames come out of the jewel as if from a fire."

The important point here is that these passages describe not just burning jewels in general, but jewels seen in meditation. Here again, therefore, we can observe close ties between the quoted passages and the paintings.

iii). A Child in a Flower

Cave 42 has a curious painting in which a monk is looking at a small child appearing in a flower that grows from a pool. See Figure 10, showing painting No.II'.8.

32. Namely, the meditator's heart is visible like a burning jewel in his chest, which is like a clear wish-granting jewel.

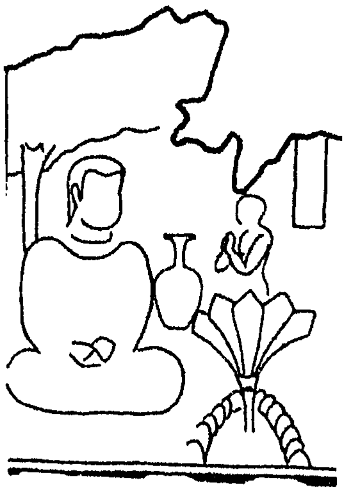


図27 蓮華化生観想図（描き起こし図）トヨク第42窟右壁

Figure 10
(After Miyaji 1996, p.66, figure 27)

This type of painting is usually considered to depict a birth by transformation (Skt. *upapāduka*; Ch. *huasheng* 化生). Miyaji (1996, 66-68) interprets this painting (and another similar one in Cave 20) as somebody being born in the Pure Land.

Paintings of births by transformation are widely attested from India to Japan (Yoshimura Rei [1964]1983, 55; [1979]1983, 138-51). Since there are even inscriptional and textual sources that clearly mention paintings of births by transformation (Yoshimura [1960]1983, p.52, n.1), the interpretation of this painting does not seem to present any problem. Further, if we consider the existence of similar paintings in Dunhuang Cave 220 (early Tang period), in which a small person appears on a lotus flower growing from the pond of Sukhāvatī (see below), Miyaji's interpretation would seem even more plausible.

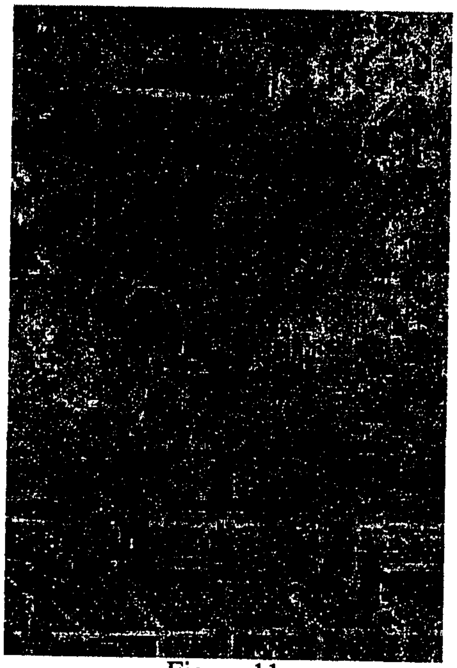


Figure 11
(Part of Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 1981, plate 24)

In addition, when we consider Toyok Cave 42, painting II'.8, we should also take into account Toyok Cave 20, painting III.4, in which a baby is appearing from a flower on a small building. In this case, to which we shall come back later (p.470), it is very likely that the painting depicts the scene of rebirth in Sukhāvatī, because there is an inscription specifying the content of the painting, and because other paintings in the same cave are also connected to the *GWSJ*.

In the case of Cave 42, on the other hand, there is the possibility of an alternative interpretation. The other paintings of the same cave (at least most of them) do not seem to be linked to the *GWSJ* or Sukhāvatī.[33] I feel rather that we should interpret Toyok Cave 42, painting II'.8, in the context of visualization texts in general. For example, the following

---

33. A possible exception is the trees in seven columns and rows painted on the rear wall of this cave. This may well be a representation of the trees in the Pure Land. However, again this is not the only possible interpretation. Trees in seven rows also appear in the descriptions of Kusāvatī (the capital city of King Mahā-Sudassana), Uttara-Kuru, the Trāyastriṃśa heaven, and Gandhavatī city (where Bodhisattva Dharmodgata resides). See Fujita Kōtatsu 1970, 474-505; Kagawa Takao 1993, 163-71.

passage can be a good explanation of the painting (*ZCMF*, T15:333c1-12; partly quoted above, p.444):

> 一梵王持摩尼鏡，照行者胸．爾時行者自觀胸如如意珠王．明淨可愛火珠爲心．大梵天王掌中，有轉輪印．轉輪印中有白蓮華．白蓮華上有天童子．．．．然後想一乳池．有白蓮花，在乳池中生．
>
> A Brahmā king holds a *maṇi* mirror and illuminates the chest of the practitioner. Then the practitioner sees his own chest as if it had become a wish-granting jewel, which is clear, lovely, and has a burning jewel as the heart. In the palm of the Brahmā king, there is a preaching *mudrā*; in the *mudrā* there is a white lotus. On the white lotus there is a heavenly boy. . . . After that, the practitioner imagines a milk pond. There is a white lotus flower that grows in the milk pond.

The text does not state that a child appears in a lotus flower growing in a pond, but we can observe both the "boy on a lotus" image and the "lotus growing in a pond" image. In addition, we should note that in this passage the "fire jewel" image appears just before the "boy on a lotus" image. As we have seen, there are three paintings of "fire jewels" in the same cave, and one of them (II'.6) is arranged near the painting of a child under discussion (II'.8; see Figure 11).

In addition, we see another painting of a lotus growing from a pool (II'.4) in the same row (see Figure 11). The upper part of this painting is damaged, but according to Grünwedel (1912, 330), there was a white disk (which he suspects to be a mirror; the lower part is still visible) on the lotus covered with a parasol. If this is indeed a mirror, it is possible that this mirror is facing the meditator and reflecting his chest. Even though the mirror is not held by Brahmā, it is still very likely that this series of paintings was significantly linked to the quoted passage of the *ZCMF*.[34]

Let us look at one more passage from the same *ZCMF*, which can be closely associated with the paintings in question (T15:334b18-c19):

---

34. Just before the quoted passage, a mirror, by which the meditator observes himself, appears at T15:333b9-10.

> 於梵瓶中，生白蓮華．九節九莖九重．有一童子，隨梵王後，從初蓮華出．其色白色，如白玉人．．．．心上作三蓮花．三花之中，有三火珠．
>
> In the Brahmā's jar grows a white lotus, which has nine nodes and nine stems and is ninefold. There is a boy who follows the Brahmā king and emerges from the first lotus flower. The color [of the boy] is white like a white jade man.... In the heart [of the meditator], he creates [images of] three lotus flowers. In these three flowers, there are three burning jewels.

In this case, lotus flowers grow in a jar. Let us note that we can find a painting of flowers growing from a pot (II'.5) also in the same row (see Figure 11 below). In addition, we see the "burning jewel in a flower" image both in the text and in the painting (II'.6). We might even add that the phrase "emanation Buddhas on flowers" (華上化佛, *ZCMF*, T15:334a25), which might explain painting II'.7, is mentioned in the same *ZCMF* just before the portion I have quoted just above (p.449). See Figyure 12 that shows painting Nos.II'.4-8.

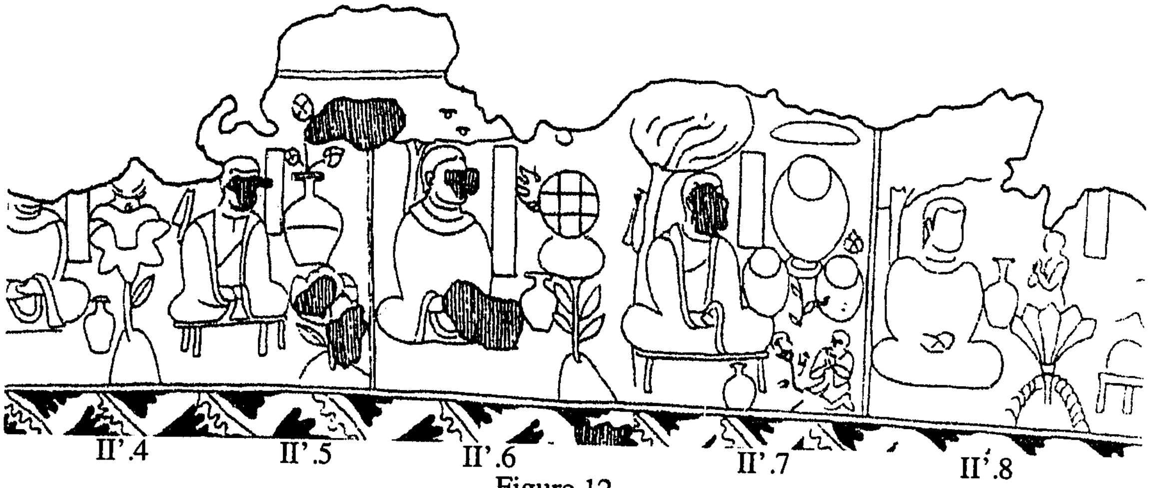


Figure 12
(Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14)

Furthermore, we should perhaps add that *bāladāraka*, "a young boy," is a

prominent image in the *Yogalehrbuch*, which shares many characteristic elements with the *GSHJ*. I cannot find the exact image of a boy in a flower, but the following passage is perhaps worth quoting (80.3-4):

> bā[ladārakaś] (c)a sarvaśākhābhir niḥsṛtaḥ sarvabuddhānām upari paṭṭacchatraṃ kṛtvā tiṣṭhati (/)

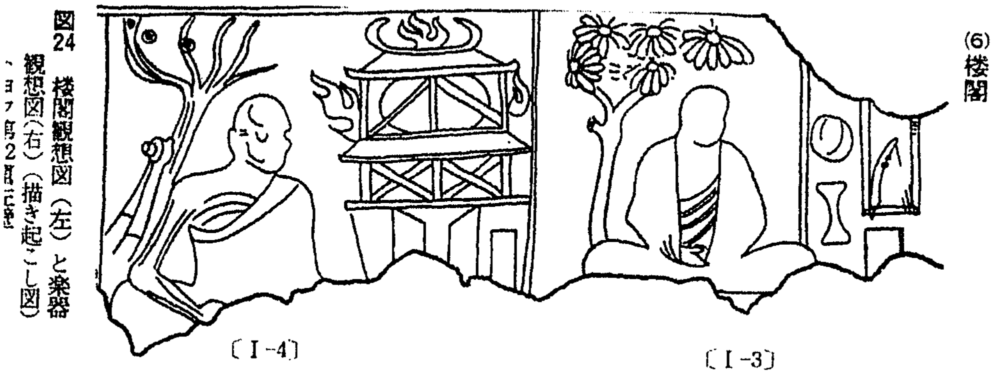
> A young boy coming out from all the branches [of the aforementioned tree] stands holding a silk-parasol over all the Buddhas.

The text does not mention a boy in a flower, but at least the text has an image of plant ("all the branches"). It might be merely coincidental, but let us note that in II'.8 also, a parasol is painted on Buddhist statues.

I admit that the link between the *YL* and these paintings is rather tangential, but I have a strong impression that the types of mystical scenes of visualization that are described in the *ZCMF* were closely tied to the Toyok paintings under discussion. In other words, I do not see particularly strong reasons to interpret this child in a flower as a person being born in the Pure Land.

iv). A House

There are two paintings of two-/three-storied houses in Cave 42 (I.4; II'.3), the former of which is burning. See Figure 13 (painting No.I.3-4) and Figure 14 (painting No.II'.3).



I.4 I.3

Figure 13
(After Miyaji 1996, p.63, figure 24)

Figure 14
(Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14)

In particular, the burning house of I.4 is a curious scene, and we wonder what is intended here. In Buddhism in general, the most famous source of the scene of a burning house would be the Aupamyaparivarta 譬喩品, "The Chapter on a Simile," of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, *"The Lotus Sūtra,"* (Wogihara and Tsuchida ed., pp.59-94; in Kumārajīva's version, *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, T9:10b-16b [No.262]), but in this

particular cave, there is no other element that suggests specific ties to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. I believe, here again, we should look for possible sources in meditation texts, and the following passage might be a good candidate (*CMJ*, T15:266a18-22):

> 觀火大者．自觀身内，心華樹端，諸華葉間，有微細火．猶如金光，從心端出．遍滿身内．從毛孔出，漸漸廣大，遍滿一床．滿一床已，滿一房内．滿一房已．漸漸廣大．滿一庭中．
>
> Visualization of the fire element is as follows: One visualizes the inside of the body. At the tip of the flower tree of the heart, among the flowers and leaves, there are minute flames just like the golden light that is emitted from the tip of [the flower tree] of the heart. [The flames] fill the body and go out through the pores. [Then the flames] gradually grow larger and fill a bed. After filling the bed, they fill a chamber. After filling the chamber, they grow gradually larger and [eventually] fill a garden.

Miyaji (1996, 63; p.81, n.86) points out the following passage from the *GSHJ* as a possible source of this scene (T15:666a9-11):

> 於衆水中有恒沙寶樓．衆寶樓下有一寶城如乾闥婆城．於寶樓上有大寶樹．其樹枝葉一切火起，其火光焔上下倶燒．
>
> In many waters there are as many jewel towers as the sands of the Ganges River. Under the jewel towers there is a jewel city like the city of Gandharvas.[35] Above the jewel towers there is a great jewel tree. Fire arises from all the branches and leaves of the trees, and the flames burn everything above and below [the jewel towers].

In addition, we might refer to the following passage from the *WCYF* (T15:331a23-b21):

> 教更觀之．若言我見地獄四邊高壍起中有膿血池．池中四處忽然火起燒諸罪

[35]. *Gandharvanagara* usually means "mirage," but I am not sure if it is the intended meaning here. Since the *GSHJ* is apocryphal, there is no guarantee that the person who wrote this passage was familiar with the usage of this Sanskrit word.

人. . . . 池四面便有火起. . . 教觀池四邊. 若言我見池四邊便有樓閣自然而出與華相接. 令諸人等趣此樓上快得休息.

[A master] further teaches [the meditator] to visualize this. If [the meditator] says: "I see that there are ponds of blood and pus in the high hills on the four sides of the hell. In four spots of the ponds, fire arises abruptly and burns the sinners. . . ." [The master teaches the meditator to visualize that] on the four sides of the ponds, fire arises. . . [Then the master] teaches [the meditator] to visualize the four sides of the ponds. If [the meditator] says: "I see that on the four sides of the ponds towers naturally appear, and [the towers] contact flowers"; [then the master should teach the meditator] to make people quickly climb these towers to take a rest.

We should further note that *kūṭāgāra*, "vaulted house,"[36] which is usually translated in Chinese as *louge* 樓閣 or *tai* 臺, and so forth (thus, the *baolou* 寶樓, "jewel towers," must also refer to a *kūṭāgāra*), is a prominent image in the *YL*. Although I cannot find the image of a burning house in the *YL*, in this text we can find scenes in which various things (e.g., lotus pond, the whole world, the sea, etc.) burn. The "burning" imagery seems to have been popular among meditators in Central Asia.

v). Musical Instruments and Ponds

There are two paintings of musical instruments in Cave 42, namely, I.3 (Figure 12) and I.1. Figure 15 shows painting Nos.I.1-2.

36. Concerning the meaning of this word, see Willem B. Bollee 1986. This word was discussed in Section III.1 of this dissertation.

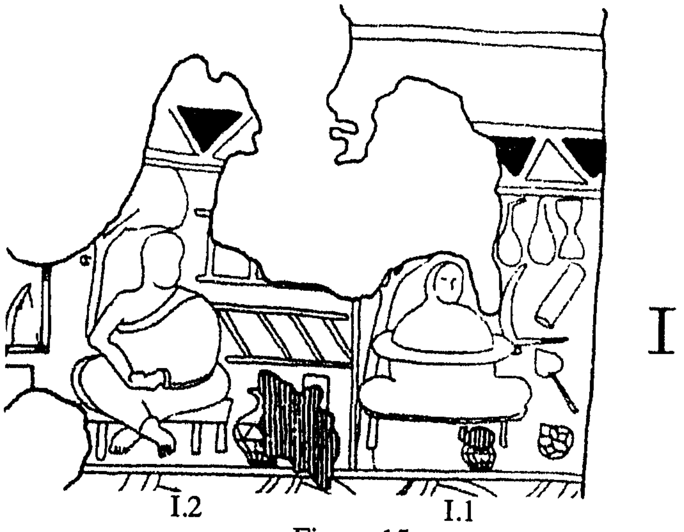


Figure 15
(Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.29, figure 13)

Considering that I.3 appears just beside a painting of a house (I.4; see Figure 12), as Miyaji suggests (1996, 64), the following passage might be a possible explanation (*WCYF*, T15:331c14-16):[37]

> 須臾之頃見花臺樓. 皆作金色七寶合成. 於上便有無盡寶藏. 衣服飲食微細柔軟. 箜篌樂器, 須隨意所欲得充足已.

> Instantaneously I see a flower tower, which is entirely gold in color and made of seven jewels. On it, there is an inexhaustible treasure store. Delicate and soft clothes, food, and drink, as well as a harp [and other] musical instruments, can all be obtained as one wishes.

I would also like to note here that I.1 is painted beside a strange ladder-like pattern (I.2; a similar object is found in the upper-right corner of II'.3; see Figure 13). Miyaji is uncertain about the interpretation of this painting (1995a, 28), but I think, if we compare the partitioned rectangular object on the ground with a similar painting from Dunhuang Cave

37. We should note that the house is burning in I.4, but that point is not mentioned in the quoted passage.

45 (shown in Miyaji 1996, 57), this object probably represents ponds of water of eight superior qualities.[38]

Figure 16
(Part of Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 1981, plate 138)

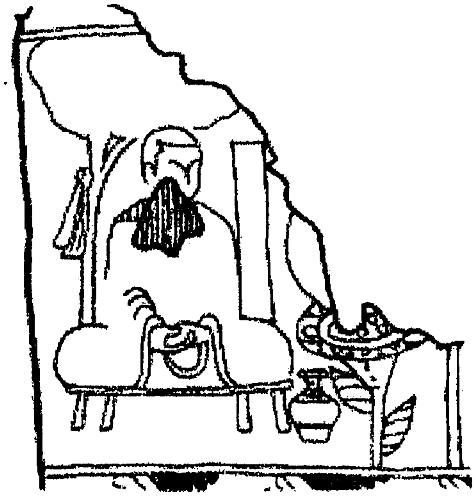
If that is the case, it would be reasonable to refer to the following passage from the *Guan mile pusa shangsheng doulütian jing* 觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經 (T14:419a16-22 [No.452], *GMSJ*):

> 一一蓮華上有無量億光．其光明中具諸樂器．如是天樂不鼓自鳴．．．．時諸園中有八色瑠璃渠．一一渠有五百億寶珠而用合成．一一渠中有八味水．八色具足．
>
> On each lotus flower there are boundless hundreds of millions of rays of light. In those rays there are various musical instruments. They sound by themselves without being beaten. . . . At that time, in the gardens there are ditches of *vaidūrya* of eight colors. Each ditch is made of fifty billion gems. In each ditch there is water of eight tastes with eight colors.

It would not be redundant to recall here that the *GMSJ* is one of the sutras that was very likely compiled in the Turfan area (see Section I.2 of this dissertation).

38. Zhongguo Bihua 1990, 3 states that this can be "either a water-pond or the ground."

vi). Nimbuses and Mandorlas without Statues



〔Ⅱ′-1〕
Figure 17
(After Miyaji 1996, p.54, figure 11)

There are two painting of nimbuses and mandorlas without statues in Cave 42 (II'.1 [Figure 17], II'.7 [Figure 11]).[39] These paintings are difficult to interpret, though, as we have already discussed, "emanation Buddhas on flowers" (華上化佛, *ZCMF*, T15:334a25; see p.449 of this chapter) might be a possible explanation. Miyaji, on the other hand, associates these paintings with the visualization of the bodies of the Buddha (1996, 65-66).

39. II'1 is partly damaged now, but Grünwedel (1912, 330) reports that there was a lotus, on which an empty *Buddhamaṇḍala* with a halo was found.

vii). A Bowl Covered with a Cloth

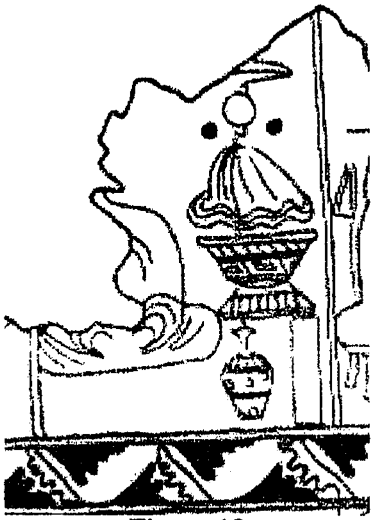


Figure 18
(Part of Miyaji 1995a, p.31, figure 14)

Grünwedel (1912, 330) describes the object depicted in painting No.II'.2 (Figure 18) as a cup like those used to present robes and so forth to monks in Thailand, covered with a cloth. I am not sure what is intended by this painting. Miyaji does not give any interpretation of this one either.

viii). A Corpse

Needless to say, the meditation on a corpse is one of the most traditional methods of Buddhist meditation. In the main hall of Cave 42 we cannot find this motif, but in the side chambers there are three paintings on this subject (a skeleton in side chamber C; a naked

female corpse in side chamber c, a half-skeletal body in side chamber d).[40] Since this is such a common subject in Buddhist texts, it is difficult to pinpoint particular sources. Needless to say, in the meditation texts we are concerned with, this motif is discussed frequently. On the characteristic half-skeletal body, see Yamabe 1997b, 256-59.

ix). An Overall Examination of the Paintings in Cave 42

From the foregoing discussions, I would like to draw a few tentative conclusions. First, I believe that no painting in this cave can be unambiguously linked to the *GWSJ*. The ties are much closer to the *GSHJ*, the *CMJ*, the *ZCMF*, and other closely related meditation texts. In some cases these texts and the paintings share very characteristic images, and so it is difficult for me to deny that there were specific links between these texts and paintings.

We should note, at the same time, that these agreements are observed only in individual elements and not in the overall structure. These lined-up paintings appear to presuppose some system of meditation prescribed in a particular text (see p.429 of this chapter). Since, as I said there, an itemized system of meditation is one of the conspicuous features of the meditation texts with which we are concerned, this impression is even more enhanced. Nevertheless, the overall sequence of these paintings does not agree with the system of any extant meditation texts of which I am aware. How, then, can we explain this point?

One possible answer is that the paintings of Toyok Cave 42 were based on some text not extant now. We should consider, however, that in Cave 20 also, where several

40. See Grünwedel 1912, 331.
Ma 1989, 47 states that originally there were no paintings in side chambers. Though he does not give reason to this claim, judging from the basic structure of Buddhist visualization I discussed in the Introduction of this dissertation (the practitioner first observes some object and then withdraw to a chamber and meditate; see also Liu Huida [1978]1996, 334), it is quite possible that meditation chambers themselves did not have paintings.

elements are very likely linked to the *GWSJ*, the overall structure does not agree with the system of this sūtra (see p.485 ff.). I have the impression, therefore, that, rather than the paintings in Cave 42 being based on some unknown text, the traditions of these meditation texts were not yet fixed when these paintings were completed.

In this regard, we should also note that the traditions of these texts are very chaotic even in the present Taishō canon. The text of the *WCYF* is mixed up with another text, the *SLF*. The *GWSJ* is known for a wide range of variant texts.[41] The *GSHJ* and the *CMJ* share many elements and even parallel passages, but the overall structures are entirely different (see Section I.2 of this dissertation). We might add that even the *YL* (the Sanskrit meditation manual apparently related to the *GSHJ*) was transmitted in widely variant versions (Yamabe 1997a, 35-36).

I have the impression, therefore, that there were a certain number of characteristic meditative methods popular among Central Asian Buddhist meditators (especially, for the present purpose, among practitioners in the Turfan area). We might say that they were "ingredients" for the "dishes" of meditative systems. The "ingredients" were widely available in the Turfan area (in other words, popularly practiced there), but what "dish" to cook was to a large extent up to individual practitioners (or painters, if they were different from practitioners). Thus I feel that the divergent systems that these texts and paintings display emerged from the same milieu of the same area. If people had been using texts that were established elsewhere and imported as sacred texts, probably people would have attempted to follow the texts more faithfully (p.486 ff.). Because these texts were compiled by the local residents themselves, I suggest that they felt free to diverge from these texts. I believe we can observe the same phenomenon among the paintings of Cave 20.

---

41. See Fujita 1985, appendix.

b. Cave 20

Toyok Cave 20 forms a part of a large temple complex on the western cliff of the river. The plan of the entire complex is as shown in Figure 19.

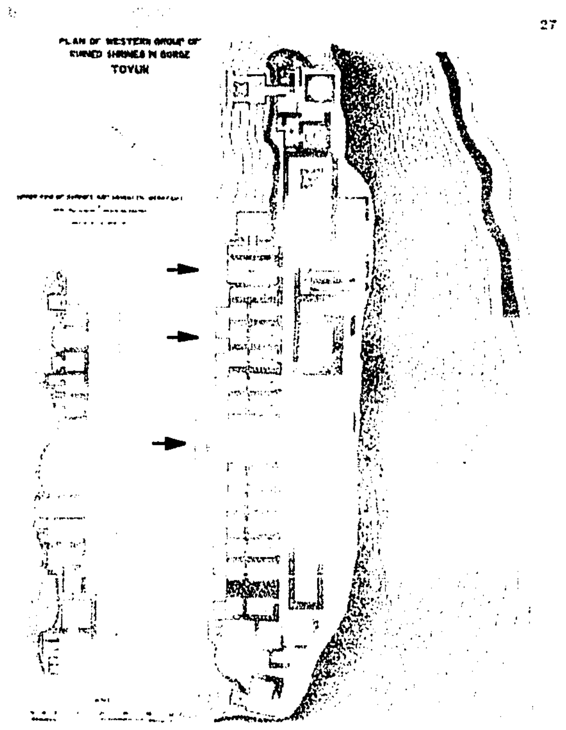


Figure 19
(After Stein 1928, 3:27)
(Upper Arrow: Stein Cave VI.vii; Middle Arrow: Cave 20; Lower Arrow: Cave 12)

Here, in addition to Cave 20 that retains mural paintings of visualizing monks, Cave 12 has paintings Buddhas and bodhisattvas.[42] Further, fragments of paintings taken from Stein Cave VI.vii are reproduced in Fred H. Andrews 1948. An enlargement of Cave 20 is shown in Figure 20.

42. See Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu Bowuguan 1990, 161-68.

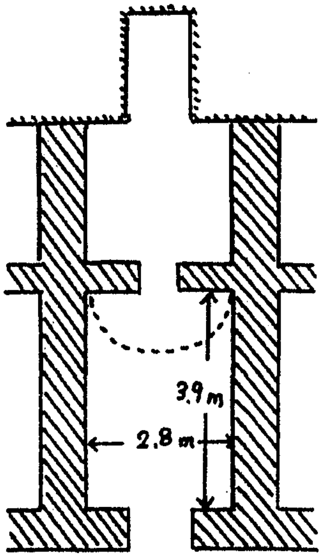


図1　トヨク第20窟平面図
（スタインによる）

Figure 20
(After Miyaji 1995b, p.15, figure 1)

Usually this cave is considered to be another meditation cave.[43] The content of the mural paintings of this cave also suggests that the cave was used for meditation.

The important point about this cave is that there are four legible inscriptions, all of which can be traced back to the *GWSJ*. On the left-hand wall of the cave, we see the following paintings shown in Figures 21 and 22.

43. Unfortunately Cave 20 was not accessible when we visited Toyok caves. Therefore I have had to rely on the reports of former scholars.

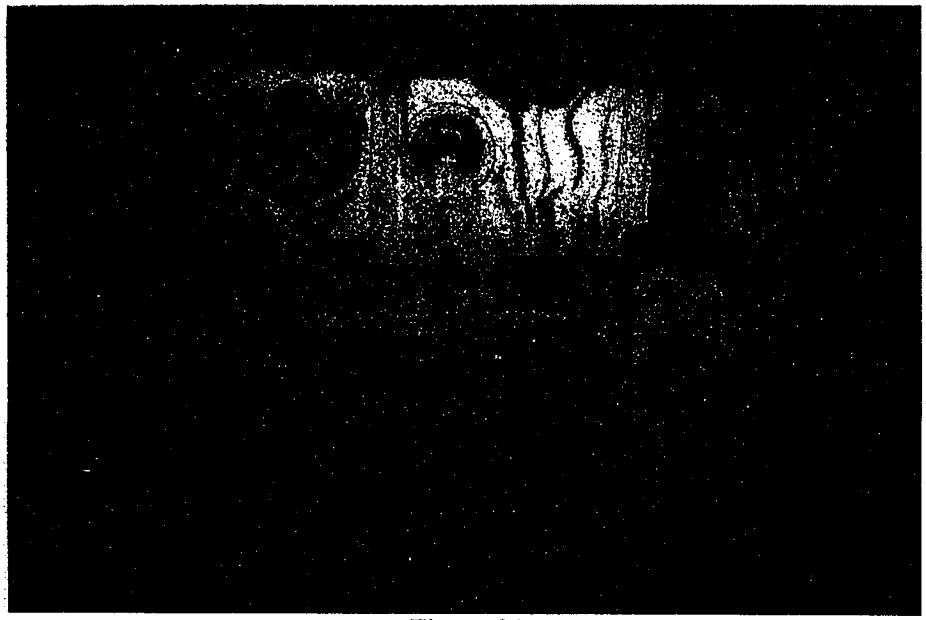
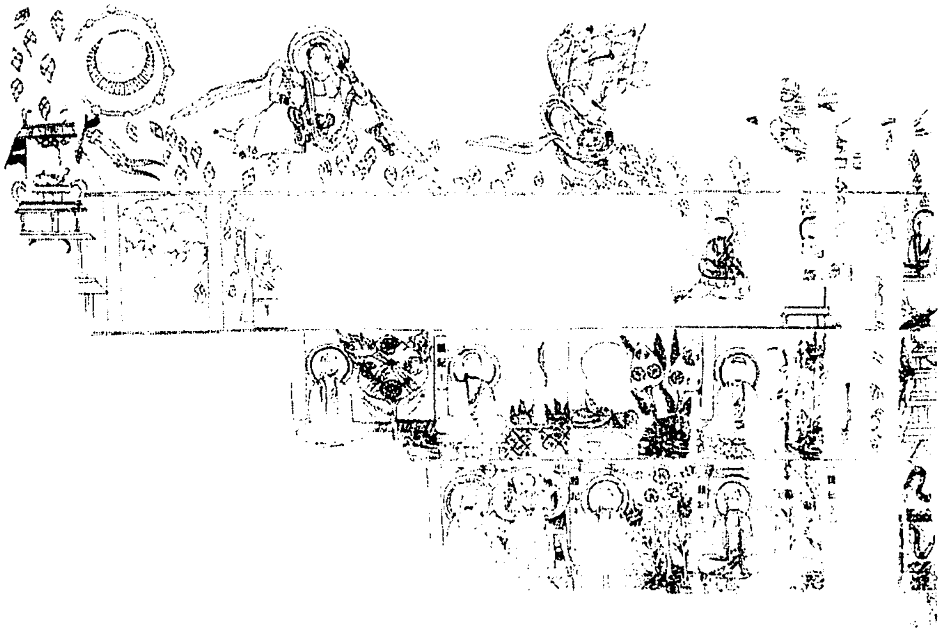


Figure 21
(After Miyaji 1995b, plate 2)



口絵3　トヨク第20窟左壁描き起こし図

Figure 22
(After Miyaji 1995b, plate 3)

In what follows, I would like to discuss first the paintings with inscriptions, and then those without inscriptions.

i). A Burning Tree

The first legible inscription is attached to II.5 (Figure 23).

[II-5]

Figure 23
(Part of Miyaji 1996, p.56, figure 13)

The inscription is deciphered as follows (Miyaji 1995b, 24):

> [行]者觀+寶樹上七重網一一網間有 . . .
>
> The practitioner visualizes sevenfold nets on the jewel tree. In each net, there is . . .

Miyaji identifies this inscription with the following passage from the fourth item of

visualization ("the image of [jewel] trees"樹想) in the *GWSJ* (T12:342b7-9):

> 妙眞珠網彌覆樹上．一一樹上有七重網．一一網間有五百億妙華宮殿．如梵王宮．
>
> Marvelous pearl nets cover up the trees. On each tree, there are sevenfold nets. In each net, there are fifty billion palaces of marvelous flowers, like the palace of a Brahmā king.

As Miyaji correctly observes (1995b, 24), however, the problem here is that the inscription and the painting do not exactly agree. Perhaps the cross-shaped object on the tree might have been intended as "nets," but we do not see the palaces that should appear, if we assume that the illegible part of the inscription was the same as the quoted line from the *GWSJ*.

In my opinion, the most conspicuous point here is that in the painting the tree is clearly burning, but the *GWSJ* does not state such a thing. On the other hand, the imagery of a burning tree is a prominent motif in other visualization texts. Though we have already seen some of these passages, since this point is important, let us quote them again.

> 於寶樓上有大寶樹．其樹枝葉一切火起，其火光焰上下倶焼．(*GSHJ*, T15:666a10-11)
>
> Above the jewel towers there are great jewel trees. Fire arises from all the branches and leaves of the trees, and the flames burn everything above and below [the jewel towers].
>
> 爾時杵端，自然出火．焼此樹盡．唯有樹心．(*CMJ*, T15:254b24-25)
>
> At that time, fire naturally arises from the tip of the cudgel. [The fire] completely burns this tree and leaves only the core of the tree.
>
> 心華樹端．諸華葉間．有微細火，猶如金光，從心端出．(ibid., T15:266a18-19)

At the tip of the flower tree of the heart, among the flowers and leaves, there are minute flames just like the golden light that is emitted from the tip of [the flower tree] of the heart.

見自心內，衆華樹端，漸漸火起，燒金剛雲. (ibid., T15:266b20-21)

[The meditator] sees the inside of his own heart. Fire gradually arises from the tips of flower trees and burns the diamond-like clouds.

爾時心樹諸妙花端，自然火起，燒諸華葉. 樹上四果墮行者頂. (ibid., T15:267b1-2)

At that time fire naturally arises from the tips of marvelous flowers of the tree of the heart and burns the petals. Four fruits on the tree drop on the head of the practitioner.

In particular, considering the fact that in the painting the burning tree grows in a pond, the following passages are noteworthy:

其水溫暖. 水中生樹. 如七寶樹. 枝葉蓊鬱. 上有四菓. 菓聲如鈴. 演說苦空無常無我.[44] . . . 忽然之頃復有火起. (*CMJ*, T15:261b9-13; quoted in Miyaji 1996, 56)

The water is warm. In the water a tree grows. It is like a tree of seven jewels, and the branches and leaves are thick. On the tree there are four fruits, which ring like bells and preach suffering, emptiness, impermanence, and selflessness. . . . Suddenly fire arises again.

教尋觀前池. 若言我觀見水池池中蓮花樹枝葉茂盛. 見此事已. 自身入水叢樹邊坐. 自觀身中火出滿於池中. (*WCYF*, T15:328b12-14)

[The master] teaches [the disciple] to observe, then, the pond in front of him. If [the disciple] says that he sees a pond, in which there are lotus flowers and trees with thick branches and leaves, after seeing this, [the disciple should] enter the water by himself and be seated by the trees. He [should] visualize that fire arises in his body and fills the pond.

44. Cf. 其摩尼水流注華間尋樹上下. 其聲微妙演說苦空無常無我諸波羅蜜. (*GWSJ*, T12:342b29-c1).

Therefore, it is very likely that the painting in question was not exclusively based on the *GWSJ* but was heavily influenced by other visualization texts. We shall notice similar phenomena with other inscriptions as well.

In the same row, there is another painting of trees with flames growing in a pond in the same row with a blank cartouche (II.3; see Figures 24 and 25). Concerning the point that the trees are in flames, again we cannot explain it by referring to the *GWSJ*. We have to refer to the passages quoted above.

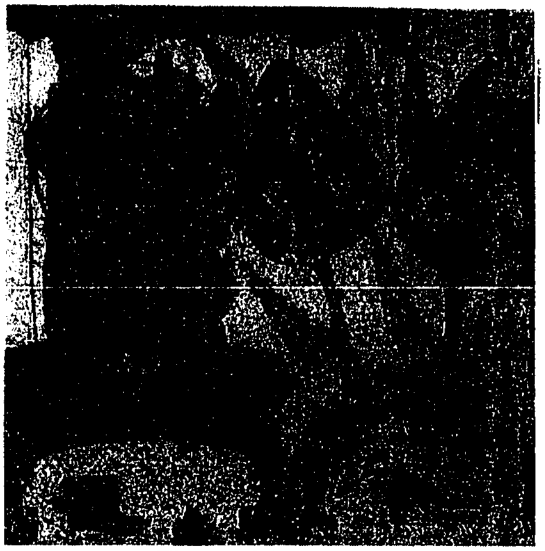


Figure 24
(Part of Zhoungguo Meishu 1989, figure 194)

[II -3]

Figure 25
(Part of Miyaji 1996, p.56, figure 13)

ii). Flowers with Strips

The next legible inscription is attached to painting III.2. The painting is shown in Figure 26:

[Ⅲ-2]

Figure 26
(Part of Miyaji 1996, p.55, figure 12)

According to Zhongguo Bihua 1990, 19, it reads as follows:

> 行者觀臺上有四柱寶幢幢上寶+四夜摩天宮.[45]
>
> The practitioner visualizes that there are four pillars of jewel banners on the platform. The jewel [curtains] on the banners are [like] four palaces of Yama deities.

As Miyaji suggests, we can identify the inscription with the following passage from the seventh visualization ("the image of a flower seat" 花座想) of the *GWSJ* (T12:343a3-5):

> 於其臺上，自然而有四柱寶幢．一一寶幢如百千萬億須彌山．幢上寶幔[46]如夜摩天宮.

---

[45]. Jia [1985]1989, 70-71 reads it as: 行者觀臺上有四柱寶幢之上方++夜行[摩]天宮. Miyaji (1995b, 25) reports that he could read only up to 四柱寶幢. Cf. also the *GSHJ* (T15:688c15-17): 當文珠上即變化成四柱寶臺. 於其臺內有四世尊.

[46]. The text has 縵, but I follow the variant given in the footnote of the Taishō canon.

On the platform, naturally there are four pillars of jewel banners. Each banner is like a hundred thousand *koṭis* of Sumeru mountains. The jewel curtains on the banners are like palaces of Yama deities.

Here again, the inscription does not neatly correspond to the content of the painting. We do not see a platform or columns in the scene, and the cloth strips tied to the flowers do not look like banners. Perhaps we should note that *paṭṭa*, "strip," is a common motif in the *YL*.

iii). A Flower Tree with Banners

The third legible inscription is attached to III.3 (Figures 27 and 28).

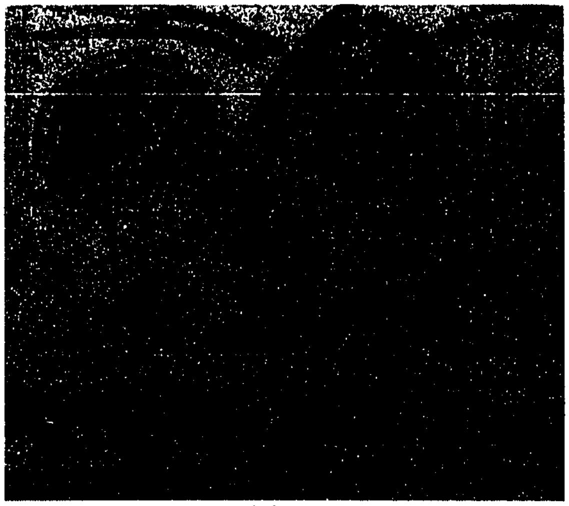


Figure 27
(Part of Zhongguo Meishu 1989, figure 194)

Figure 28
(Part of Miyaji 1996, p.56, figure 13)

According to Zhongguo Bihua 1990, 19, the inscription is as follows (emphasis added):

行者觀想樹葉一一樹葉作百寶念具樹兩邊有二寶幢.[47]

> The practitioner visualizes the leaves. Each leaf becomes one hundred jewels. On each side of the tree bestowed with mindfulness(?),[48] there are two jewel banners.

We cannot find a passage in the *GWSJ* that agrees exactly. Although the agreement is only partial, as Miyaji suggests, we should trace the inscription to the following line from the fourth item of visualization ("the image of [jewel] trees" 樹想; T12:342b13-15):

> 於衆葉間生諸妙花. 花上自然有七寶果. 一一樹葉, 縱廣正等二十五由旬. 其葉千色有百種畫.

> Among the leaves, marvelous flowers grow. On the flowers naturally there are fruits of seven treasures. Each leaf is twenty-five *yojana*s in length and width. The leaves have one thousand colors and one hundred kinds of patterns.

On the other hand, I am not sure about the source of the note in small characters, and in the first place, the meaning of this note is not entirely clear (we should keep in mind that the reading of the inscription itself is uncertain). Significantly, however, the note mentions two banners, which are indeed depicted in the painting (but not in the *GWSJ* in this context).

Also, we clearly see burning jewels on the flowers, but again we cannot find such descriptions in the *GWSJ*. Rather, we recall the following passage from the *ZCMF* (T15:334b22-c19), which was quoted above (p.449):

---

47. Jia [1985]1989, 71 transcribes the inscription as: 行者觀想樹葉++[一一]樹葉. Miyaji (1995b, 26) also transcribe only up to 一一 樹葉. Zhongguo Meishu 1989, fig.194 shows that the characters after 一一 樹葉 are written in two lines as a note (though the characters are not clear in the picture).

48. The meaning is unclear to me. Probably the inscription itself is faded, and as a result one cannot be sure how accurate the provided transcription is.

心上作三蓮花. 三花之中、有三火珠.

In the heart, he creates [images of] three lotus flowers. In these three flowers, there are three burning jewels.

In Cave 20 the inscriptions and paintings do not always agree, and these disagreements make us sometimes suspicious of the nature of these inscriptions. In particular, such an example in which a note not supported by the *GWSJ* itself agrees well with the painting is very suggestive. We shall discuss this point again in this chapter (p.485).

iv). A Baby in a Lotus Flower

図28 普観想（描き起こし図）
トヨク第20窟左壁

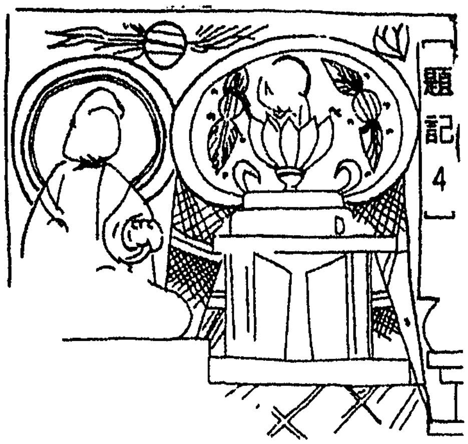


Figure 29
(After Miyaji 1996, p.67, figure 28)

Figure 29 shows painting No.III.4. The inscription attached to this painting is as follows (Miyaji 1995b, 27; emphasis added):

行者當起自心生於西方極樂世界於蓮 . . . [49]

The practitioner should give rise to his own mind [and imagine that he is] reborn in a lotus flower in the Blissful World to the west.

This inscription is identified with the following line in the *GWSJ* (12. "the image of universal visualization" 普觀想; T12:344b14-16):

當起想作心自見[50]生於西方極樂世界. 於蓮華中結跏趺坐. 作蓮華合想. 作蓮華開想.

One should imagine and see oneself being reborn in the Blissful World to the west, seated cross-legged in a lotus flower. One should make the image of a closed lotus and an open lotus.

In this case, the inscription and the painting agree well.

Note also that only in this painting, instead of a monk, Vaidehī (the heroine of the *GWSJ*) seems to be depicted as the meditator (see Miyaji 1996, 67).

49. Zhongguo Bihua 1990, 19 transcribes 自心 as 息 and adds 花 after 蓮.

50. The *Shinshū shōgyō zensho* edition (1:59) has 當起自心 instead of 當起想作心自見. According to Fujita 1985, 30 (in this book, the appendix is paginated separately from the main text, and here the page number refers to the page in the appendix), other than the Korean edition and the Sung edition possessed by the Imperial Household Agency, all the editions and manuscripts support 當起自心, which agrees with the inscription.

v). Jewel Ground

図19 瑠璃地観想図（描き起こし図）
トヨク第20窟左壁

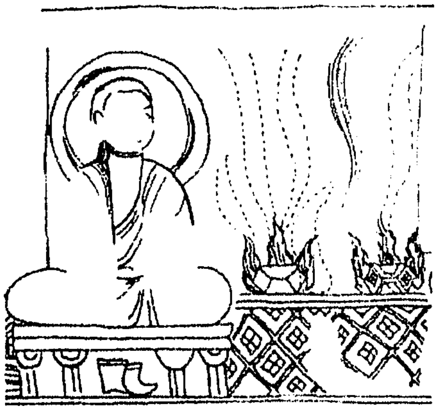


Figure 30
(After Miyaji 1996, p.60, figure 19)

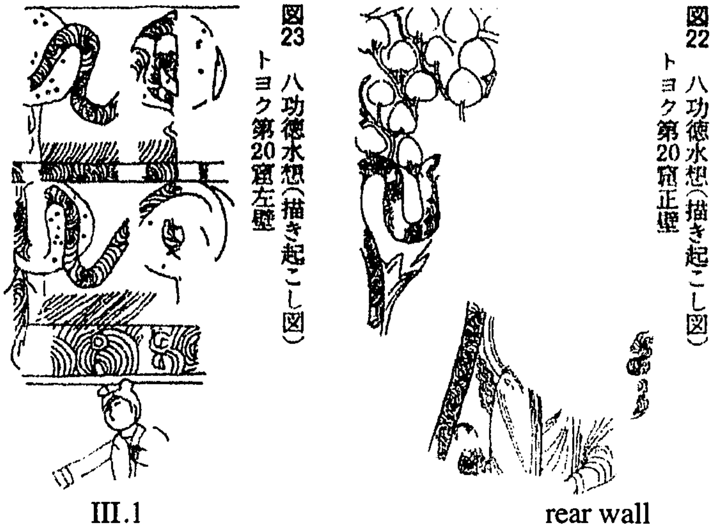
In painting No.II.4 (Figure 30), a meditator is looking at the ground with a checkerboard pattern, on which two jewels are burning. As Miyaji points out, this probably depicts the *vaiḍūrya* ground in the Sukhāvatī world described in the *GWSJ*. See the following line (2. "the visualization of water" 水想).

琉璃地上以黄金繩雜厠間錯. 以七寶界分齊分明. (T12:342a13-14)

> On the *vaiḍūrya* ground, golden ropes are crisscrossed. [The ground] is bordered with seven jewels; the boundaries are very clear.

Though there is no inscription, the quoted passage and the painting agree well, and so probably the painting was intended to depict the ground of Sukhāvatī. Here again, burning jewels are reminiscent of the aforementioned passages from other meditation texts.

vi). Water Going Up Trees



III.1 rear wall

Figure 31
(After Miyaji 1996, p.62, figures 22 and 23)

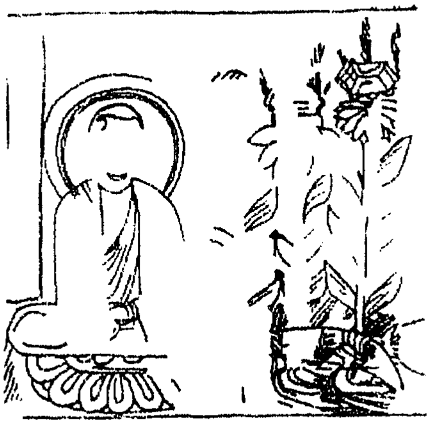
On the rear wall and in III.1 (Figure 31), streams of water are painted going up and down the trees. Though there is no inscription, as Miyaji suggests (1996, 62), these paintings probably depict the "*maṇi*-water"[51] going up and down the trees mentioned in the *GWSJ*. See below (from 5. "the image of the water of eight superior qualities" 八功德水想; T12:342b29-c1):

> 其摩尼水流注華間尋樹上下. 其聲微妙演說苦空無常無我諸波羅蜜.
>
> The *maṇi*-water flows among the flowers and goes up and down the trees. The sound it makes is subtle and preaches suffering, emptiness, impermanence, selflessness, and the pāramitās.

---

51. What this expression means is problematic. Tsukinowa (1971, 147) is suspicious of this expression (because *maṇi* is not liquid) and gives this as one of the reasons he believes the *GWSJ* to be apocryphal. Ryukoku University Translation Center (1984, 41), on the other hand, interprets this expression as "the water from the *maṇi* jewel."

vii). Flowers Growing in a Pond



〔II-2〕

図12「池・蓮華」観想図（描き起こし図）トヨク第20窟左壁

Figure 32
(Part of Miyaji 1996, p.55, figure 12)

In painting No.II.2 (Figure 32), two flowers (lotuses?) grow in a pond, on which we can see water birds. On the top of each flower, there is a burning jewel. There is no legible inscription attached to it.

Perhaps we should refer to the following passage from the *GWSJ* (5. "the image of the water of eight superior qualities" 八功德水想; T12:342b27-28):

一一水中有六十億七寶蓮花.

In each [body of] water there are six billion lotus flowers of seven jewels.

See also the passages quoted in Miyaji 1996, 56.

viii). A Tower with Musical Instruments

In painting No.II.1 (Figure 33), a monk (badly damaged) is looking at a tower with musical instruments floating in the air beside it.

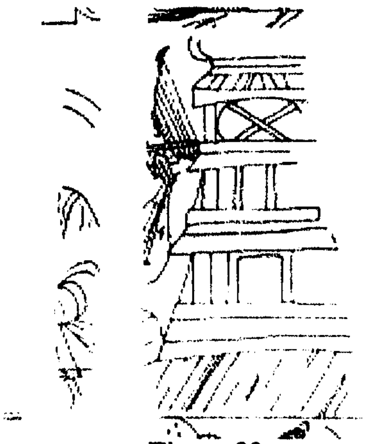


Figure 33
(Part of Miyaji 1995b, plate 3)

Concerning this painting, we should refer to the following lines of the *GWSJ*.

成光明臺樓閣．千萬百寶合成．於臺兩邊，各有百億花幢．無量樂器以爲莊嚴．
(T12:342a16-17; 2. "the image of water" 水想)

It turns into a tower of light. It is made of ten million [sets of] one hundred jewels. On each side of the tower, respectively, there are ten billion flower banners decorated with a boundless number of musical instruments.

其樓閣中有無量諸天，作天伎樂．又有樂器懸處虛空．如天寶幢不鼓自鳴．
(T12:342c7-9; 6. "general visualization [of Sukhāvatī]" 總觀想)

In the tower there are a boundless number of deities, who play heavenly music. Also, there are musical instruments hung in the air, which sound by themselves without being beaten, like heavenly jewel banners.

For similar paintings in Cave 42, see p.454 of this chapter.

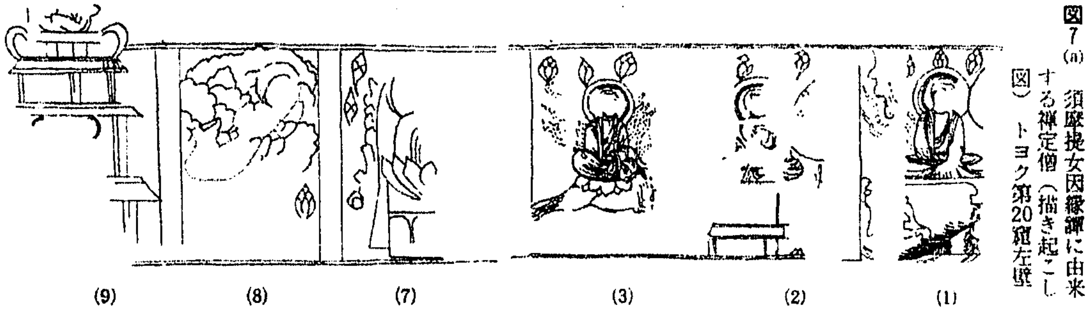
ix). The Visualization of a Corpse

On the right wall beneath the scene of "flying monks" apparently taken from the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* (see below, p.476 ff.), there is a painting of the meditation on a corpse (III'.3, see the bottom of figure 31). The painting to the left of this one may also depict the meditation on a corpse or a sick person (III'.2, Miyaji 1995b, 32; 1996, 50). We cannot find this type of motif in the *GWSJ*. The source must clearly be elsewhere. Since, however, the meditation on a corpse is common in Buddhist meditation texts, we cannot easily pinpoint the source. Considering, however, the fact that many paintings on the left wall of the same cave concern the visualization of the Sukhāvatī world of Amitābha, we should perhaps refer to the *SLF*, which describes the visualization of Amitāyus Buddha in the white rays of light emitted from visually-created white bones (T15:299c19-300a10).

x). The *Sumāgadhāvadāna*

The top rows of both the left and right side walls of Cave 20 are occupied by the paintings of monks riding various animals and flying in the sky. The paintings in the top row on the left-hand wall are shown in Figure 34 (painting Nos.I.1-9):[52]

52. Note that the paintings in the middle (I.4-7) have been cut off by somebody. Cf. figure 22. According to Professor Ma, the cut-off part is kept at the Hermitage Museum (personal conversation during the Third Silk Road Conference; I have not yet confirmed this information).



I.9 I.8 I.7 I.3 I.2 I.1

Figure 34
(After Miyaji 1996, p.46, figure 7a)

The paintings on the right-hand wall are as follows:

Figure 35
(After Miyaji 1996, plate 2)

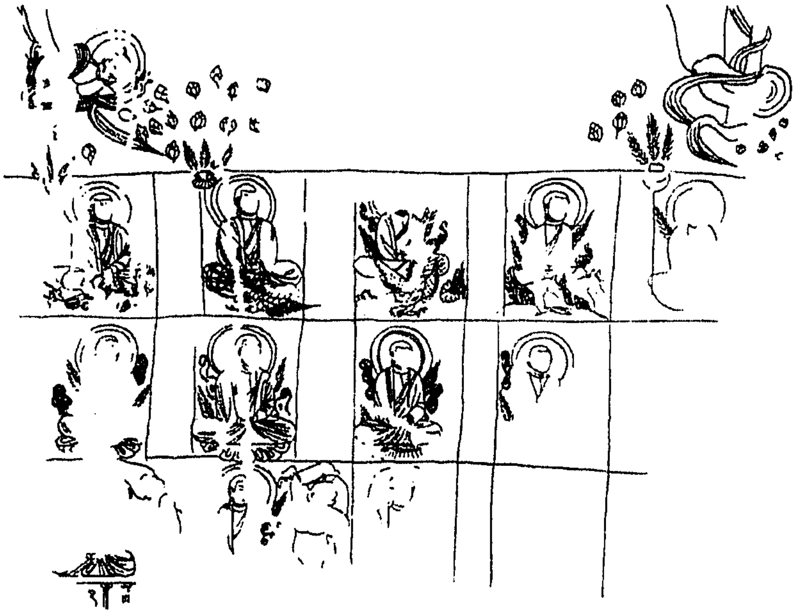


図16 同 描き起こし図

2 3 4 5 6

Figure 36
(After Miyaji 1995b, p.28, figure 16)

On this wall, the monks on the top row are riding animals, and the monks in the middle row are sitting on lotus seats. On the other hand, in the bottom row we see visualizing monks (III'.2-3).

As has been pointed out by Jia ([1985]1989, 71) and Miyaji (1995b, 20-21; 30; 1996, 42-48), these paintings seem to depict a scene from the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, "*The Sumāgadhā Story*." Similar paintings that can be safely identified as scenes from this *avadāna* are found in Qizil (Caves 178; 198; 205; 224) and Dunhuang (Cave 257), and so there is little doubt about the identification of the motif of these Toyok paintings. The following is the one at Qizil Cave 224:

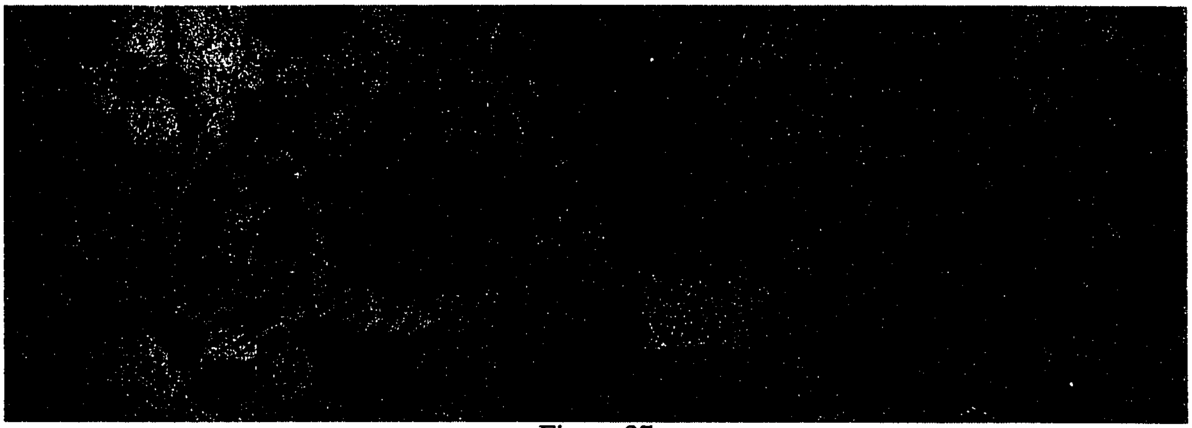


Figure 37
(Part of Zhongguo Meishu 1989, plate 112)

The problem here is why such a scene from a narrative story is combined with apparently unrelated scenes of visualization.

The outline of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* is as follows:[53]

> A rich merchant Anāthapiṇḍada (= Anāthapiṇḍika; a famous patron of Buddhism) in Śrāvastī had a beautiful daughter, Sumāgadhā by name. On the other hand, another rich merchant Mūśila in a distant city Puṇḍravardhana had a handsome son, Vṛṣabhadatta by name. Vṛṣabhadatta was still single. When he heard about Sumāgadhā from Jain ascetics, to whom he was devoted, he got deeply attached to her. Vṛṣabhadatta told his father Mūśila about her, and Mūśila requested Anāthapiṇḍada to give Sumāgadhā as his son's wife. Anāthapiṇḍada consented to the request, and Vṛṣabhadatta took Sumāghadā to Puṇḍravardhana.
>
> One day after their marriage, Vṛṣabhadatta's family invited some Jain ascetics for a meal. When invited to see the guests by her mother-in-law, Sumāghadā expected to see Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Ānanda, and other great Buddhist disciples. Sumāgadhā, however, was deeply dejected when she saw naked, dirty, and bad-smelling Jain ascetics instead.

---

53. This is a summary of the Sanskrit text of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*. This text is available in two editions (Tokiwai Gyōyū 1918; Iwamoto Yutaka 1959). A Tibetan version has also been edited by Iwamoto (1979). A versified version is included in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. For this one also, there is an edition in Iwamoto 1979. Corrections of Iwamoto's edition are found in J. W. de Jong 1979, 230-37.

In addition, there are four Chinese versions of the text: *Sanmojie jing* 三摩竭經 (T2:843a-45c [No.129]); *Xumotinü jing* 須摩提女經 (T2:835c-37c [No.128]); a part of the *Zengyi ehan jing* 增壱阿含經 (T2:660a-65b [No.125]); and *Jigu zhangshenü dedu yinyuan jing* 給孤独長者女得度因縁經 (T2:845c-54a [No.130]).

When asked about the cause of her dejection, Sumāgadhā asked her mother-in-law who should be considered evil if such people deserved offerings.

The mother-in-law asked if there was any other master who was greater than those Jain ascetics.

Sumāgadhā then talked about the greatness of the Buddha, and her mother-in-law also became interested in him and requested Sumāgadhā to show him to her family. Sumāgadhā, therefore, asked her mother-in-law to prepare food and promised to invite the Buddha the next day.

Sumāgadhā ascended to the roof of the house and offered flowers, incense, and water to the direction where the Buddha resided; this was her way to invite the Buddha to come. Then the flowers, incense, and water miraculously traveled to Śrāvastī and appeared in front of the Buddha.

The Buddha instantly understood the meaning of this event and ordered his great disciples to go to Puṇḍravardhana, which was one hundred and sixty *yojanas* away, the next day.

When the next day came, the mother-in-law of Sumāgadhā prepared good food, and the whole family awaited the Buddha on the roof of the house.

Then, Ājñātakauṇḍinya (one of the first disciples of the Buddha) approached them, riding a chariot of snakes and flying in the sky. Seeing him, Vṛṣabhadatta asked Sumāgadhā if this was the Buddha, but Sumāgadhā said that it was Ājñātakauṇḍinya and explained who he was.

In the same way, other great disciples of the Buddha flew to Puṇḍravardhana riding various vehicles and performing diverse miracles. Each time Vṛṣabhadatta asked Sumāgadhā if that was the Buddha, and each time Sumāgadhā explained who the disciple was.

Finally, after these disciples, the Buddha himself went to Puṇḍravardhana, emitting rays of light and surrounded by various deities. Since the city of Puṇḍravardhana had eighteen gates, he created eighteen emanation Buddhas and entered the city through the eighteen gates at the same time. He taught the people in Puṇḍravardhana and benefitted many of them. Finally the Buddha explained the merits Sumāgadhā had accumulated in her former life.

An interesting point here is that the motif of "flying monks" apparently taken from the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* is found in the *GSHJ* twice in stories completely different from the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*. One of these stories in Chapter 6 of the *GSHJ*, "The visualization of the four types of deportment [of the Buddha]," goes as follows (in summary, T15:679b7-81c2):

At one time in the state of Nagarahāra, five female demons resided in a cave. They transformed themselves into five female nāgas and copulated with venomous nāgas. The nāgas brought about hail and caused famine and epidemics, which lasted for four years. The King of the state

was horrified by this and sought assistance from various deities and magicians, but they could not offer any help. At that point, one brāhmaṇa recommended the King to have recourse to the Buddha. Pleased, the King knelt down with his hands in the *añjalī* position, and wished that the Buddha would discern his mind and come to his state. Then incense came to the monastery of the Buddha like a white *vaiḍūrya* cloud, encircled the Buddha seven times, and transformed itself into a golden parasol. The parasol spoke with a marvelous voice and invited the Buddha and monks. Then the Buddha told the monks who had attained the six miraculous powers to follow him and accept the invitation of the King *Puṣpabhūti of Nagarahāra.

Then Mahā-Kāśyapa magically created a mountain of *vaiḍūrya* with a cave, in which he took a seat and flew to Nagarahāra.

Mahā-Maudgalyāyana created a hundred-thousand coiled nāgas. The nāgas spat out flames, which transformed themselves into a golden pavilion. Seated in that pavilion, he flew to Nagarahāra.

Śāriputra created the Snow Mountain with a cave of white jade. Seated in that cave, he flew to Nagarahāra.

Mahā-Kātyāyana magically created a lotus flower with a golden parasol. Seated on that lotus flower, he flew to Nagarahāra.

Likewise, one thousand two hundred and fifty great disciples of the Buddha performed various miracles and flew to Nagarahāra like flying hawks.

Finally, the Buddha, followed by Ānanda and surrounded by various deities, walked in the sky and went to Nagarahāra. While doing so, he emitted golden rays of light, which became eighteen-thousand emanation Buddhas. The emanation Buddhas further emitted rays of light, each of which also became eighteen-thousand emanation Buddhas.

The Buddha subdued the evil dragons and left his image in their cave.[54]

Here the descriptions of the "flying monks" are very similar to those in the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, even though the overall story is completely different from that *avadāna*.

This similarity cannot be coincidental. We should note here the incense that mysteriously appeared in front of the Buddha in the *GSHJ* story. This emergence of incense is very abrupt in the *GSHJ* because the sūtra does not mention that the King offered incense. On the other hand, in the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* the story is very natural. The incense is first offered by Sumāgadhā and then goes to Śrāvastī to convey the message to the Buddha. Clearly the story in the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* is original, and the *GSHJ* is

54. This story is also discussed in Section II.3 of this dissertation.

adapting this well-known motif in a careless way.[55]

The motif of "flying monks" appears again in Chapter 7 of the *GSHJ*, which concerns the Buddha's hidden male organ. Here the Buddha and his disciples fly to a debate hall to confront a ring of prostitutes. I have discussed this story in detail in Section III.3 of this dissertation. As I have surmised there, the "debate hall," which is a very unnatural place to confront prostitutes, is probably taken from another well-known story of the "Śrāvastī Miracle" (considering the general affinity between the *GSHJ* and the *XYJ*, we should note the version in the *XYJ* [T4:360c-66a]).[56]

---

55. Perhaps the eighteen-thousand emanation Buddhas in the *GSHJ* is also a modification of the eighteen emanation Buddhas in the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, but this point is not certain.

56. It is also noteworthy in this connection that a scene of flying monks very similar to the one found in the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* is also found in the Pūrṇa legend in the *XYJ* (T4:395a-96b). The Pūrṇa legend in the *XYJ* is clearly related to the Pūrṇāvadāna, a Sanskrit version of which we can find in the *Divyāvadāna*.(E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil eds, pp.24-55).

If we compare the Sanskrit texts of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* and the Pūrṇavadāna, it is clear that these two were very closely related. When the Buddha makes Ānanda announce the invitation from a far-away patron, we find the following passage in the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* (Iwamoto 1959, p.9, lines 4-10):

> tataḥ sthavirasthavirāḥ śalākāṃ grahītum ārabdhāḥ / tatra Pūrṇo nāma sukuṇḍopadhānīyaḥ sthaviraḥ, so 'pi śalākāṃ grahītum ārabdhaḥ / āyuṣmatĀnandenocyate: sthavira, nedam Anāthapiṇḍadasya gṛhaṃ gantavyam, api tu Puṇḍravardhanaṃ nagaraṃ gantavyaṃ ṣaṣṭyuttarayojanaśataṃ yāvad ṛddhivikurvaṇaṃ kartavyam /
> tataḥ sasaṃbhramaṃ sthaviarḥ śalākāṃ chorayitvā, yāvad dvitīyasya bhikṣoḥ śalākā na dīyate, tāvat ṣaḍabhijñāṃ utpādya gajabhujasadṛśaṃ dakṣiṇaṃ bāhuṃ abhiprasārya śalākāṃ gṛhītvā kathayati /

Compare this with the following lines from of the Pūrṇāvadāna (p.44, lines 8-21)

> tena khalu samayenāyuṣmān Pūrṇaḥ kuṇḍopadhānīyakaḥ sthaviraḥ prajñāvimuktas tasyām eva pariṣadi saṃniṣaṇṇo 'bhūt / saṃnipatitaḥ so 'pi śalākāṃ gṛhītum [*sic*] ārabdhaḥ / tam āyuṣmān Ānando gāthayā pratyabhāṣata /
>
> naitad bhoktavyam āyuṣman Kośalādhipater gṛhe /
> agāre vā Sujātasya Mṛgārabhavane 'tha vā //
> sādhikaṃ yojanaśataṃ Sūrpārakam itaḥ puram /
> ṛddhibhir yatra gantavyaṃ tūṣṇī tvaṃ bhava Pūrṇaketi //
>
> sa prajñāvimuktaḥ, tena ṛddhir notpāditā / tasyaitad abhavat / yena mayā sakalaṃ kleśagaṇaṃ vāntaṃ charditaṃ tyaktaṃ pratiniḥsṛṣṭaṃ so 'haṃ tīrthikasādhāraṇāyāṃ ṛddhyāṃ viṣaṇṇaḥ / tena vīryam āsthāya ṛddhim utpādya yāvad āyuṣmān Ānandas tṛtīyasthavirasya śalākāṃ na dadāti tāvat tena gajabhujasadṛśaṃ bāhuṃ abhiprasārya śalākā gṛhītā / tato gāthāṃ bhāṣate /

This much similarity cannot be coincidental; clearly these are two versions of the same basic tradition. If we compare only these portions, the Pūrṇāvadāna is more detailed than the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*. However, in the crucial scene of flying monks, the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* describes every monk and every *vāhana* in detail, while the Pūrṇāvadāna gives only a summary. This gives me the impression that the Pūrṇāvadāna presupposes the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*. Further, in the Pūrṇāvadāna, since Pūrṇa is the person who invites the Buddha and his disciples, it is quite unnatural for another Pūrṇa to

Here again, the way great disciples magically create their vehicles and fly on them is clearly reminiscent of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*. Taken together with the former Nagarahāra story, the scene of flying monks in this prostitute story was also very likely taken from the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*.

The incorporation of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* into two places of the *GSHJ* is another indication of the composite nature of the *GSHJ*. The author(s) of the *GSHJ* must have picked up the scene of flying monks, which was popular in Central Asia, and used it in completely different stories invented by the authot(s) themselves.

For the present purpose, the important point is that this incorporation of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* into the *GSHJ* explains the strange coexistence of the scenes from the *GWSJ* and the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* in Toyok Cave 20. As Miyaji points out, in Toyok Cave 20, the scene of flying monks is painted independently from the scenes of its frame story. This fact suggests that this scene was treated not as a scene of a narrative story but as an exemplification of miraculous powers gained through meditative practice (Miyaji 1996, 47). If so, it is not surprising that the scene of flying monks is combined with the scenes of visualization.[57]

It is true that the text into which the scene of flying monks is incorporated is the *GSHJ*, and the scenes of visualization in Toyok Cave 20 are (basically) linked to the *GWSJ*, not to the *GSHJ* itself. We should, however, consider the facts that the *GWSJ* and the

---

appear at the head of the list of the monks who accepted the invitation. I have not checked all the available versions of these two stories, and we should note that in a short Chinese version of the Pūrṇa story in the *Faju piyu jing* 法句譬喻經, "*Avadānas Based on the Dharmapada*," (T No.211), a brief description of Pūrṇa's invitation and a miraculous trip of the Buddha's disciples appears. Therefore, it should be stressed that my argument here is only tentative, but as far as these two Sanskrit texts are concerned, I get a rather strong impression that the Pūrṇāvadāna adopted these lines from the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*. (On matters concerning the Pūrṇāvadāna, I have benefitted from personal discussion with Dr. Joel H. Tatelman, though the observation here is my own.)

Since the *XYJ* had close connections with, and was very popular in, Central Asia (see Sylvain Lévi 1925; Mair 1993), perhaps the emphasis on the motif of flying monks indicates the popularity of this motif in Central Asia. Although this is merely another tentative observation, this point seems to coincide with the apparent popularity of this motif we can observe in Central Asian mural paintings. I thank Professor Mair for kindly sending me his article (1993).

57. In the appendix 5, I have compared the list of vehicles described in various versions of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* and those depicted in paintings.

GSHJ were very closely related in their formative stages,[58] and that even the paintings in Toyok Cave 20 cannot be fully understood without referring to the *GSHJ* (and other closely related meditation texts). I believe that the coexistence of the scenes of flying monks and visualization is a very good piece of evidence to prove that the paintings in Toyok Cave 20 reflect the *GWSJ* at a formative stage at which the tradition of the *GWSJ* was inseparably connected to that of the *GSHJ*.

xi). An Overall Examination of the Paintings in Cave 20

Based on the foregoing discussions, now let us make overall observations about the paintings in Cave 20.

(1) First, many paintings on the left wall are very likely linked to the *GWSJ*. This point is supported by the fact that all of the four legible inscriptions can be traced to the *GWSJ*, and that the contents of the paintings generally agree with the inscriptions. This does not mean, however, that everything can be explained by referring to the *GWSJ*. On the contrary, the inscriptions and paintings do not exactly match, and several elements in the paintings are clearly not taken from the *GWSJ* (most notably the flames on the trees, which are mentioned in other meditation texts but not in the *GWSJ*).[59]

We should first consider that the artists who painted the murals and the scribes who wrote the inscriptions may well have been separate people.[60] Therefore, it is not entirely impossible to suspect that the inscriptions were added later to the painting by somebody

58. See Section I.2 of my dissertation.

59. We should also note that the inscriptions do not follow the text of the *GWSJ* word for word. Since, however, deviation of inscriptions from texts is not a phenomenon unseen elsewhere (Fraser 1996, 89-90), we should not put too much emphasis on this point. Perhaps the scribe of these inscriptions was referring to casual excerpts from the sūtra. See n.62.

60. Fraser (1996, 86-98) convincingly argues that this was the case during the Tang period.

who did not know exactly what was depicted in the paintings. This possibility cannot be easily dismissed because some of the cartouches in this cave may have originally been left blank.[61]

It is, however, difficult to assume that these paintings originally had nothing to do with the *GWSJ*, and that a later scribe filled some of the cartouches merely out of conjecture. The painting of water going up trees (p.472) and the one of a baby in a lotus flower (p.470), for example (especially the latter), give me a strong impression that these paintings were indeed tied to the *GWSJ*. This impression will be enhanced if the meditator who is looking at the baby in the lotus flower is indeed Vaidehī (see p.471 of this chapter).[62] If that was the case, it is significant that the paintings contain elements that are found not in the *GWSJ*, but in other visualization texts. It would be difficult to explain this point without assuming the general popularity of this type of mysterious visualization in this area.[63]

(2) A more significant point is that the order of the paintings does not follow the

---

61. Miyaji (1995b, 23) reports that he could not observe any trace of characters in the blank cartouches in this cave. See also n.11.

62. On the disagreements between the inscriptions and the paintings, and between the inscriptions and the *GWSJ*, Miyaji (1996, 69-70) considers two possibilities:(1) the inscriptions were added later based on insufficient knowledge, or, more likely, (2) there were collections of icons and passages excerpted from various texts intended as manuals for practice.

It is reported that there is indeed a casual excerpt from the *GWSJ* on the verso of S.2544, which apparently was used by the scribes. See Fujita 1985, 45-46 (the page numbers refer to those in the appendix; see n.50).

There are also a collection of cartouches (Pelliot 3304; Fraser 1996, 91) and sketchbooks (ibid., p.25ff.). Note that Pelliot 3304 verso also contains excerpts from the *GWSJ*.

63. We should also note that Toyok Cave 20 is not the only site where inscriptions and paintings do not perfectly agree. In Bezeklik Cave 9 (Grünwedel number = Cave 20 in the numbering of the Turfan Preservation Office), there are a few interesting discrepancies between the *pranidhi* paintings and the accompanying inscriptions. According to Marianne Yaldiz (1987, 135-36), Heinrich Lüders conjectures the cause of this problem in the following way (the original work by Lüders is not available to me): These paintings could not have been painted based on the inscriptions. The original work, based on which the paintings were done, was lost and was replaced by a younger one, from which the inscribed passages were taken. When people later wanted to provide the paintings with inscriptions, they chose verses based on the names of the Buddhas mentioned therein regardless of the content.

order of the visualization system of the sūtra.[64] It is particularly noteworthy that scenes corresponding to the same item in the *GWSJ* (No.4, "the image of [jewel] trees") appear twice (II.5; III.3) on the same wall. Other paintings are also arranged in quite an arbitrary way.

Table 1

Painting No.	**II.5**	II.4	II.3	II.2	II.1
Content of the Painting	a burning tree **(inscri-ption)**	checkered ground	two burning trees from a pond	two flowers from a pond	a tower, musical instruments
Corresponding Item in the *GWSJ*	4. jewel trees	2. water	*GSHJ*? *CMJ*?	5. water of eight superior qualities?	3. ground *or* 6. an overall view
Painting No.	(lost)	**III.4**	**III.3**	**III.2**	III.1
Content of the Painting	--	a baby in a lotus **(inscri-ption)**	a flower tree, two flowers **(inscri-ption)**	flowers with strips **(inscri-ption)**	trees with water streams
Corresponding Item in the *GWSJ*	--	12. general visualization	4. jewel tree	7. flower seat	5. water of eight superior qualities

If one looks at the numbers attached to the items of the *GWSJ*, which signify the position in the sequence of visualization, and which are given by the *GWSJ* itself, it will be evident how disorderly the arrangement of these paintings is.

Such a chaotic arrangement is in contrast to the *Guanjing bianxiang* 觀經變相 (widely seen from Dunhuang to Japan), in which the pictorial representations generally follow the structure of the *GWSJ*. See, for example, the following plan of (the published

64. See n.6.

part of) the paintings on the west wall of Dunhuang Cave 431:[65]

Table 2

12. general visualization	10. Avalokiteśvara	8. a statue
13. miscellaneous visualization	11. Mahāsthāmaprāpta	9. physical forms

This painting is considered to be one of the earliest examples of *Guanjing bianxiang* at Dunhuang (Katsuki Gen'ichirō 1994, 59), and the style of later *Guanjing bianxiang*, in which paintings of the frame story of the *GWSJ* and the items of visualization are combined with the central painting of Sukhāvatī (Matsumoto 1937a, 8), has not been established yet. Nevertheless, the arrangement of the paintings is far more natural than that at Toyok Cave 20. In Dunhuang, various types of *Guanjing bianxiang* were painted, but in general they follow the structure of the sūtra (Matsumoto 1937a, 1-35). There are some deviations from the text (ibid.; Fraser 1996, 23-24), but the degree of deviation is much smaller compared with those at Toyok Cave 20. Such a careful attitude would be natural if the painter was following the *GWSJ* already accepted as a scriptural authority. In this regard, the matter is completely different from the situation at Toyok. At Toyok, various "ingredients" seem to have been still in the process of being "cooked" indiscriminately in the minds of local Buddhists; thus one could freely combine elements seen in the *GWSJ* with other elements found in other texts. Such a liberal attitude was possible because, I think, the traditions of these meditation texts originated in the Turfan area and were still not fixed.

(3) The motif of "flying monks" taken from the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* appears together with the paintings tied to the *GWSJ* and other meditation texts. Since there is no visible link between the *GWSJ* and the *Sumāgadhāvadāna*, the coexistence of the motifs

65. See Matsumoto 1937a, 32-33; 1937b, plate 21a; Katsuki Gen'ichirō 1994, 59-60. The items correspond to those shown in n.6.

taken from these two texts would be hard to explain without considering (or assuming) the following two points: (a) The motif of "flying monks" in the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* is incorporated into the *GSHJ*. This is almost certain from the foregoing textual analysis. (b) To the mind of the person who planned the arrangement of the paintings at Toyok Cave 20, the *GSHJ* and the *GWSJ* were inseparable texts. In addition, we should consider Miyaji's suggestion (1996, 47) that the paintings of "flying monks" at Toyok Cave 20 do not have narrative elements and solely represent various miraculous powers of the Buddha's disciples acquired through deep meditation. They were interpreted not as narrative scenes but as meditative scenes, and that was why these paintings could be combined with the scenes of visualization without any sense of contradiction.

c. Dating of Toyok Paintings

One problem here is that these Toyok paintings tend to be dated to a later period than the meditation texts in question. If the paintings are much later than the period in which the relevant meditation texts appeared (early fifth century), I cannot put much emphasis on these paintings to support my argument. Therefore, I need to discuss the dating of these paintings here. However, since I am not an art historian, it is difficult to make my own judgement on this point. Below I shall review the arguments of art historians, adding a few of my own comments.

Since there is no dated inscription in the Toyok caves, the dating of the caves is not easy, but in general they are considered to be the oldest cave site in the Turfan area.

Jia Yingyi ([1985]1989, 75-78) points out that the style of the Chinese inscriptions in Toyok Cave 44 is similar to the calligraphy of documents from the period of Sixteen Kingdoms found in the Turfan area.[66] She further observes that the paintings of this cave

66. See also n.28.

are stylistically close to those in Dunhuang Mogao Cave 275, which is dated to the period of Northern Liang (397-439). Therefore, she concludes that Cave 44 must be from the same period. Cave 41 and 42 are slightly later and are from the early period of Northern Dynasties (mid-fifth century). Cave 20 is still younger and has a painting that is stylistically close to the one found in Dunhuang Mogao Cave 288, which dates from Western Wei (535-56).

Liu Hongliang (1990, 5) dates Cave 44 to the period of the "Turfan State of the Juqu Clan" (442-60), also based on the stylistic similarities between the paintings of this cave and Dunhuang Mogao Cave 275. Liu further points out that copies of sūtras donated by Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 are found in the Toyok caves. One of them has a colophon indicating 449 C.E., which, Liu believes, supports his dating. This dating, however, has one problem. Liu himself (ibid., p.5) observes that the paintings of Toyok Cave 44 are based on the *Za baozang jing* 雜寶藏經 (T4:447a-99a [No.203]). According to the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (T55:3b6-12 [No.2145]), however, this sūtra was translated by Jijiaye 吉迦夜 in 472 C.E. (延興二年; see also Tokiwa [1938]1973, 928-31).[67] Therefore, if the paintings of Cave 44 were indeed based on the *Za baozang jing*, they should be dated to a somewhat later period than Liu believes. In any case, he considers Toyok Cave 42 to be from the same period (Liu 1990, 6-7).[68]

On the other hand, Japanese scholars tend to date the Toyok paintings to a later period. Nakamine 1980, 35-37 dates the paintings of the burning jewels (taken from

---

67. Liu believes that Jijiaye (began the) translation of the text around 450. However, his logic here is not clear to me. He refers to the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記 (T49:85b17-27 [No.2034]), which states that the *Za baozang jing* was translated during the reign of Emperor Ming 明帝 (465-72) of the Song Dynasty. Based on this record, Liu conjectures that Cave 44 cannot be earlier than 450, but his reasoning is hard to follow. Since the older and more reliable *CSJ* specifies that the *Za baozang jing* was translated in 472, we should follow this record.

68. For the dating of these caves using C_{14}, see Liu 1993, 118-19.

Toyok Stein Cave IV.vii)[69] to the latter half of the seventh century. His judgement is based on the close similarity between these paintings and another one in the Kuchā area. Since the latter is considered to be from the latter half of the seventh century (Albert Von Le Coq and Ernst Waldschmidt 1933, 29), he argues that the former must be also from the same period. We should note here that the absolute date of the paintings in the Kuchā area (as almost anywhere in Central Asia) is not definite.[70] Further, we should consider that Nakamine himself reports the existence of a similar representation of a jewel in Yungang 雲岡 dated to the latter half of the fifth century (ibid., p.40, n.41). Since he considers that this style originated to the west (ibid.), it would follow that similar paintings could have existed in the Turfan area at an earlier date.

Sudō (1989, 20) also claims that neither Cave 42 nor Cave 20 can be older than the seventh century for stylistic reasons, but he does not give specific support for his claim.

Miyaji (1996, 73-77), on the other hand, observes strong stylistic similarities between paintings in Toyok Cave 20 and those of the "first Indo-Iranian style" at Qizil, which is dated to the period around 500 C.E. by Ernst Waldschmidt.[71] Miyaji considers the Toyok paintings to be later than these Qizil paintings, and thus the lower limit of the Toyok paintings is set at the sixth century.[72] Further, Miyaji believes that the Toyok paintings retain an older tradition than the *Guanjing bianxiang* at Dunhuang, which are from the

---

69. This cave belongs to the same temple complex as Cave 20. See figure 16.

70. Cf. Chao Huashan 1985, 249-53; Miyaji 1988, 50-55; [1988-89]1992, 412).

71. Von Le Coq and Waldschmidt 1933, 24-30. Waldschmidt's dating is based on an inscription in the "Archaic Turkistan Brāhmī" attached to one of the paintings of this style. According to Waldschmidt, Lüders dates this type of script to the 5-6 centuries, but Waldschmidt specifies the date at around 500 C.E. based on a comparison with similar scripts. Miyaji (1988, 50-55) is somewhat skeptical of this specification. See also the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1982, 46-49 and Chao 1985, 249-53.
On the other hand, Subai (1983, 174) classifies the Qizil caves into three types and dates the first type to the fourth century based on an examination using C_{14}.

72. If we consider the dating of the inscription by Lüders mentioned in the previous footnote (n.62), logically the lower limit could be about a hundred years earlier.

early-Tang period onward. Therefore, the upper limit of the Toyok paintings is the mid-seventh century.[73] Miyaji further points out that several copies of sūtras found at Toyok have postscripts indicating dates in the sixth century, which coincide with the above dating based on stylistic comparisons.

We should consider that the dating of the Qizil paintings is not certain, but concerning Toyok Cave 20, since Jia reaches a similar conclusion for different reasons, it would be difficult to put this cave much earlier than the mid-sixth century. On the other hand, although Liu's arguments have some problems, the existence of sūtra copies donated by Juqu Anzhou at Toyok deserves attention. Since Anzhou clearly promoted Buddhism after his move to Turfan, it would be quite possible that some of the early caves at Toyok were constructed under his rule. Until further evidence is provided, I would like to follow Chinese scholars' opinions and assume that Toyok Cave 42 dates back to the mid-fifth century and is thus approximately contemporary to the *GSHJ* and other relevant meditation texts.[74]

Concerning Cave 20, which seems to be later than the meditation texts we are concerned with, I would like to give attention to Sudō's observations. As we have seen in the introduction of this chapter (p.429), Sudō (1989, 18) observes that paintings of lined-up, visualizing monks are found almost exclusively in the Turfan area, although individual paintings of meditating monks are widely seen from Afghanistan to Japan (see also Jia [1985]1989, 73-74).[75]

---

73. Miyaji's dating is also partly based on a comparison of pearl-bordered medallions found in Toyok Cave 38A (Klementz's numbering) with the same motif found in Bāmiyān, and so forth. In our informal conversation during the Third Silk Road Conference (July 10-12), Professor Wu Ming 武敏, who did a detailed analysis of this motif in her contribution to the Silk Road Project, expressed her opinion that the medallions at Toyok Klementz Cave 28A can be dated to the seventh century.

74. Note that Miyaji does not specifically discuss Cave 42 in this context.

75. There are paintings of meditating monks lined up along the lower-edge of the vault of Dunhuang Mogao Cave 285. In Sudō's opinion, however, they are not scenes of visualization but are portraits of eminent monks for the sake of veneration (1989, 20-25). In Qumtura Cave 75, several meditating monks are lined up in a similar way as those of the Toyok caves. Nevertheless, in Sudō's opinion, they are very late (ninth to tenth century) and clearly under the influence of the Toyok paintings

Since, in Sudō's opinion, the Toyok paintings cannot be earlier than the seventh century, they cannot be the direct model for the *Guanjing bianxiang* established in the Central Plains from the Sui period (581-618) onward. Nevertheless, Sudō considers it unlikely that the Turfan visualization paintings were modeled after the *Guanjing bianxiang* in the Central Plains. Therefore, he suggests that such paintings of visualization were favored around Toyok from earlier periods and were later transmitted to the east (Central Plains) and the west (Qumtura) after the seventh century (ibid., pp.19-20).

Although I am no art historian, this hypothesis seems very reasonable to me. Even if the paintings in question at Toyok are relatively late, it is still significant that these types of paintings of lined-up, visualizing monks are seen only in Toyok. On the basis of the reasons given by Sudō, it seems indeed likely that these paintings reflect the local tradition of the Turfan area that existed from earlier periods.[76]

We should further consider the following point. In *Guanjing bianxiang*, usually Vaidehī is depicted as the person who visualizes the specified objects. This gives me the impression that these paintings were intended primarily as scenes of the narrative story in the *GWSJ*; they do not strike me as depictions of actual practice. On the other hand, the paintings in Toyok Cave 20, in which monks are looking at various objects, are clearly painted as scenes of actual visualization practice (and we should recall that Toyok Cave 20 itself is a "meditation cave"). The atmosphere of the Toyok visualization paintings is very practical (see Miyaji 1996, 70). These paintings give the impression that the practice of

---

(ibid., p.14; p.18).

76. In this regard, we should also consider that there is a fragment of a painting of Sukhāvatī brought from Toyok by the Otani Expedition (reprinted in Matsumoto 1937a, p.40, figure 12). According to Matsumoto, the style of this painting, dated to 771 C.E., is not at all different from that of Tang paintings, and we can observe no local features. We can confirm, therefore, that even at Toyok people followed the standard Chinese style in the eighth century. This fact also suggests earlier dates for the paintings we are concerned with.

visualization they represent was a living tradition in this area.[77]

On the basis of all these points, I would like to suggest that the paintings in Cave 20 retain the atmosphere of earlier periods even if the paintings themselves were painted a little late.

d. A Few Methodological Remarks

In the foregoing arguments, I have discussed the mural paintings mainly by matching the contents of the paintings with descriptions in relevant Buddhist texts. This, I believe, is a standard methodology followed by most art historians working on Buddhist art.[78] However, one might ask: The artists who executed these paintings may well have been illiterate. How much, then, do these apparent agreements between texts and paintings mean?[79]

This is a question concerning the exact relationship between art and text. Since I am

---

77. At the same time, we should note that in Cave 20, the monks are painted with halos, and that some of them are seated on lotus seats (just like the meditating monks at Dunhuang Mogao Cave 285; see n.75), neither of which is the case with Cave 42. Apparently in Cave 42, the monks are painted as purely human beings, but in Cave 20, the meditators seem to be somewhat "deified" (see Miyaji 1996, 68-70). This point seems to coincide with Jia's argument that Cave 20 is later than Cave 42.

On the other hand, in the oldest extant *Guanjing bianxiang* at Dunhuang Cave 431, the person who practices visualization is a monk, but in the later *Guanjing bianxiang*, the monk is invariably replaced by Vaidehī (Katsuki 1994, 59-60). In Toyok Cave 20, only one painting (III.4; figure 25) apparently shows Vaidehī as the meditator. The paintings of visualization seem to have been gradually transformed from scenes of actual practice to objects of veneration. We seem to observe the same trends at Dunhuang.

78. See, for example, Miyaji 1992, 9-12. Further, I think Geri H. Malandra (1996, 181-82) is worth quoting at this juncture:

> Among art historians of South Asia, there may be disagreement about which texts to connect to particular images, but not about the appropriateness of using visual and written texts "dialectically." . . . This should be an interactive process; visual evidence is analyzed until a pattern seems to emerge. The pattern can be checked with known documents or other sites for possible correlations. Ideally these will come from the same or a similar milieu. And, the more complicated the pattern of repetition among sites or sites and texts, the greater the likelihood that a similar pattern of meanings underlies them.

79. This was actually among the questions raised when I presented a draft version of this chapter at the Second Silk Road Conference held at Yale University (June 21-22, 1997).

not an art historian, a full discussion of this matter is beyond my competence. However, I would like to make a few tentative remarks on this point below.

It is of course quite possible that most artists were not literate enough to read and understand Buddhist scriptures by themselves.[80] At the same time, it is evident that works of Buddhist art at various places are closely linked to Buddhist traditions. If one looks at works of Buddhist art at, for example, Sāñcī, Ajaṇṭā, Gandhāra, and Qizil, nobody would doubt that these works closely reflect Buddhist legends, and sometimes even doctrines.[81] Therefore, if the artists themselves did not have sufficient knowledge of Buddhist traditions, they must have received instructions from somebody about the contents of their works. It would be natural, then, to assume that the instructor must have been a monk, and indeed there are studies that report that monks supervised artists in paintings murals.[82] If such instructions were indeed given, there is no difficulty in assuming close ties between Buddhist texts and art even if the artists themselves were illiterate.

We should also consider another possibility: namely it may have been monks themselves who painted the murals. Fraser argues that in the Tang period, it was professional artists, not monks, who executed Buddhist paintings.[83] Nevertheless, Fraser herself reports that in the case of esoteric art, monks executed paintings by themselves

---

80. Cf. Fraser 1996, 88.

81. As an example of an artwork reflecting doctrine, see the painting of the Buddhist Wheel of Existence at Ajaṇṭā discussed in Dieter Schlingloff [1987]1988, 167-74.

82. Stanley Kenji Abe (1989, 101-5) refers to several early examples (fourth to sixth century) in China of monks determining the contents of art and argues that monks must have also overseen the production of artworks (ibid., 105-8). I thank Dr. Janet Baker for drawing my attention to this point.

Fraser points out that monks supervised the production of paintings in the Tang-Song periods (1996, 244; cf. 93). She also reports the modern practice of monks supervising painters in the Qinghai province (ibid., 284-88).

83. Fraser (1996, 239-63) points out the existence of an academy of professional painters at Dunhuang in the ninth century. Further, she reports how monks and professional artists work together in the present Qinghai province (1996, 284-88) and argues that the system of cooperation was essentially the same when the Dunhuang caves were constructed (ibid., 270).

In Fraser's contribution to the Silk Road Project (Turfan Artists, Fifth to Ninth Centuries), she discusses documents that indicate that the same was the case in Turfan also.

(ibid., 197-203). Further, even more importantly, she observes that the paintings in Toyok Cave 42 look very amateurish compared with the better-organized paintings in Toyok Cave 20, and thus the paintings in the former cave may well have been painted by non-specialists of art, i.e., monks.[84] If that was the case, it is very natural that the paintings reflect the contents of relevant texts.

In either case, we should not simply assume that art was based on text, or, in other words, that texts served as authoritative guidelines, and artists had to follow their injunctions, either directly through their own reading or indirectly through the instructions of overseeing monks. In those days, the primary means of communication must have been oral communication. Primarily, stories must have been told, not read. Even instructions on meditation would also have been given orally.[85] In these types of situations, it is easily imaginable that within the large framework of common traditions, everybody talked about slightly different things. Thus, basically the same story would have been told in slightly variant versions by individual story-tellers.[86] Largely the same methods of meditation would have been taught in slightly variant forms according to the styles of respective masters.[87]

Therefore, we should not assume a simple one-way reliance of art on text. Rather, I think we should treat these texts and works of art as testimonies of various aspects of a

---

84. This point is also discussed in Fraser's contribution to the Silk Road Project.

85. Meditation manuals such as the *WCYF*, T15:325cff. and the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Shukla ed., p.351ff. record conversations between a novice and a master, suggesting that meditative instructions were given orally by the master to the disciple.
Also, I myself have some personal experiences in meditation in Japanese, Sri Lankan, and Taiwanese traditions. Everywhere initial instructions were given orally. I have even been expressly discouraged from reading books (even those on meditation) during retreats in Japan and Sri Lanka.

86. The many variant versions of basically the same stories we have in written texts must have been the result of variant oral traditions.

87. We experience this type of phenomenon in present-day Japanese Zen temples. Obviously the ways of practices are different in many ways between the Rinzai and Sōtō traditions. However, even within the same Rinzai or Sōtō tradition, every master has a distinct style slightly different from those of other masters.

large stream of oral tradition.[88] Once a living tradition has died out, we cannot directly access the oral tradition any more. However, if we have texts and pieces of art, as in the case we are discussing in this chapter, we can somehow reconstruct parts of the oral tradition, which has long since died out. I think an oral tradition is something like a big river flowing with many waves and ripples on its surface. Most of these waves and ripples have been irretrievably lost to us, and the river itself has dried out. However, several of these waves have been fortunately preserved to us through these visualization texts and the paintings of visualizing monks.

In order for this "river" simile to work well, the texts must still be in a fluid state. Once the texts get fixed, the freedom of artists will become more limited. In the case of our texts and paintings, however, they seem to have come from a period in which textual tradition was still active and texts were being created rather than simply accepted.[89]

Concluding Remarks

The *GSHJ* and many other visualization texts are very chaotic texts. Individual methods of visualization must have been popular techniques in those days, but these texts do not seem to have been compiled with a coherent intention. Rather, various methods of visualization seem to have been simply put together without a solid scheme. Naturally, various combinations of similar elements would have been possible, and this is exactly what we observe among the *GSHJ*, the *CMJ*, and the *ZCMF*, or among the *WCYF*, the *SLF*, the *Foshuo guanjing*, and the Mongolian manual (for the last two texts, see Section I.2 of this dissertation). It is also easy to imagine that there were many other variant texts in

88. Cf. Fraser 1996, 99: "The oral context unites a visual and written tradition rather than vesting narrative authority in the latter."

89. Fraser (1996, 23) discusses a similar dynamic relationship among oral tradition, paintings, and texts from a slightly different angle.

those days that are no longer available.

Therefore, it is not at all surprising that many elements of the Toyok paintings agree with the visualization texts but not the whole scheme, if Turfan was the area that nurtured the tradition of these texts. If a text was imported from elsewhere as an already established religious authority, one would have hesitated to modify the framework too radically. Such a text would have been venerated as it was as "the words of the Buddha." If, however, a text was a local product that had put together various techniques popular in that area, that text would have been simply one example of the many possible ways of systematization. In such a milieu, no single text could have claimed exclusive authority. Thus, I believe these paintings suggest that the traditions of visualization texts were local to the Turfan area.

Conclusion

Our long trip in search of the origin of the *GSHJ* has finally approached its end. To gather material that might further our search we have visited both Sanskrit and Chinese archives of classical texts. In addition, once we looked into a mysterious cave in northwest India, and at another time we examined an esoteric-seeming meditation manual found in a ruined library at Qizil. This journey ultimately led us to explore meditation caves of the Turfan oasis in Central Asia. In the fifth century, when the *GSHJ* was composed, Turfan was a thriving trade center. The multi-lingual and cross-cultural society of Turfan, then under strong Chinese influence, served as an ideal environment for the formation of a hybrid text such as the *GSHJ*. This point must be kept in mind as we review the conclusions reached thus far.

I believe that the materials examined in this study demonstrate that a Gandhāran origin of this sūtra is no longer a tenable theory. The language of the sūtra strongly suggests that the text was not translated from an Indian original. Furthermore, many elements of the text betray signs of transmission from other Chinese Buddhist texts rather than a direct transmission from Indian sources. A prime example is the list of the Buddha's bodily marks, which is a central topic of this sūtra. Close examination of this list points to the theory that it is a patchwork of elements taken from previous Chinese sources. Additional proof of this point comes from the detailed descriptions of the Buddha Image Cave. Ironically, these descriptions often led scholars in the past to argue for a Gandhāran origin for the text. However, careful analysis of the descriptions suggests that they were not based on first-hand knowledge of the site. Therefore, such accounts fail to provide persuasive evidence of a Gandhāran origin for the *GSHJ*.

The difficult (and interesting) point of this text is that such Chinese elements do not explain everything. Even in the descriptions of the Buddha Image Cave, though the author(s) of the *GSHJ* did not know how the cave was exactly situated, they were very

likely familiar with the Indian legends concerning that cave that were not translated in full at the time the sūtra was composed. We observed similar phenomena with regard to the *YL* and the *Maitreyasiṃhanādasūtra*, both of which show significant similarities with the *GSHJ*, but neither of which was available in Chinese to the author(s) of the *GSHJ*.

Further, stories about the Buddha's hidden male organ provide an interesting test case to exemplify the hybrid nature of this text. These strange stories look like a tapestry of the traditional motif of the Buddha's hidden organ interwoven with Shaivite *liṅga* worship, Buddhist imagery of nāga, passages taken from Chinese Buddhist texts, and perhaps local phallicism of Central Asia. Such a colorful tapestry could not have been woven in China proper. This type of tapestry could have been created only in a highly cross-cultural society like Turfan.

The paintings of visualizing monks at Toyok, Turfan also provide us with important material in assessing the origins of the *GSHJ*. Highly disorganized and very liberal representations of the scenes of visualization strongly suggest that the traditions of the relevant meditation texts were still not fixed. In other words, these paintings seem to indicate that the people in Turfan were not passive recipients but active creators of Buddhist scriptures.

In spite of its length, this dissertation is an analysis of just one, relatively unknown Buddhist text, the *GSHJ*. However, so many important problems seem to hinge on this single text. By carefully analyzing this text, I hope we have shed a new light on several important issues.

First, whether a given text is Indian or Chinese is not a simple either-or question. Generally speaking, it is true that Indian Buddhist texts should be used for the investigation of Indian Buddhist history, and Chinese apocrypha for the research of Chinese religious culture. There is, however, a third type of text. In the Introduction to this study I described this third type, and the *GSHJ* itself, as "hybrid apocrypha." Such texts are highly cross-cultural products. Many traces of cross-cultural interactions in Central Asia are preserved

in them. Thus, by carefully analyzing the *GSHJ* and the surrounding texts, we can attempt to reconstruct the hitherto unknown process of the composition of apocryphal texts in Central Asia.

Second, the much-debated origin of the *GWSJ* cannot be properly clarified without investigating other closely-related meditation texts, most importantly the *GSHJ*. Reflecting its importance in East Asia, much scholarly attention has been focused on the *GSHJ*, but a comparable amount of research remains to be done on the other meditation texts. A detailed study of the *GSHJ* should provide several important clues for the origin of the *GWSJ* as well.

The advantage of the *GSHJ* over the *GWSJ* is that the *GSHJ* can be more easily linked to several geographically identifiable objects. The *YL* from Qizil and Shorchuq, the paintings of ithyphallic Śiva found in Khotan and Dunhuang, and the paintings of meditating monks in Turfan will all serve as helpful anchors for identifying the geographical origin of not only the *GSHJ* but of the other related meditation texts as well.

Third, by carefully comparing the *GSHJ* with its possible Indian sources, we seem to be able to determine how much originality local Buddhists in Central Asia have exercised in the formation of Buddhist narratives. When people come across an unusual Buddhist text, people tend to jump to an easy conclusion that the text must have come from Central Asia, without giving specific reasons. Sometimes, it even seems that Central Asia is a "damping ground" to throw in all the strange elements found in Buddhist literature. In the case of the *GSHJ*, we can more safely link it to Central Asia and determine on a more solid ground how much local Buddhists have contributed to its formation.

Fourth, the *GSHJ* and the surrounding texts can be valuable material to investigate the early developments of esoteric Buddhism. Taken in conjunction with the corresponding elements in the *YL*, the many esoteric-seeming images in the *GSHJ* may well shed a new light on the early phases of esoteric Buddhism transmitted through Central Asia.

In addition, the *GSHJ* offers an excellent test case to re-examine the relationship

between art and text. When researchers study Buddhist art, often the assumption seems to be that works of art were based on texts, and a considerable portion of scholarly efforts seem to be directed to the identification of possible textual sources. In many cases this approach would be of course helpful, but it is not always valid. In the case of the relevant meditation texts and the Toyok paintings that we examined in this dissertation, it seems more appropriate that both art and texts were based on common oral traditions. We have also observed some cases in this dissertation that the text might have been inspired by art. The production of both art and text was a dynamic and complicated process, and much more research would be required in this respect.

Thus the *GSHJ* is a very important text in many respects, but it has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. As far as I am aware, this dissertation is the first book-length study entirely devoted to the *GSHJ*. I have made every effort to base my argument on factual evidence rather than conjecture and speculation. However, as a first work of its kind, many of my arguments regrettably stray into the area of the untested and the hypothetical. I hope that despite these flaws, this study might serve to promote further examination of the *GSHJ*.

Appendix 1

The Correspondences among the *GYYJ* and Other Chinese Buddhist Texts

This table is largely dependent on Soper 1959, 204; Fujita, 1970, 127-29; [1970]1990, 164-65; and Tsukinowa 1971, 86-101; supplemented by my own research.

GYYJ (T20)	*GWSJ*, etc.
一者慈心不殺. . . 二者孝養父母. (661a27)	(1) 一者孝養父母, 奉事師長, 慈心不殺. (*GWSJ* T12:341c9-10) (2) 孝養父母恭敬師長. (*GSHJ*, T15:690c9)
First, having a compassionate mind, one does not kill. . . Second, ne is filial to one's parents.	(1) First, one is filial to parents, serves masters and superiors, has a compassionate mind and does not kill. (2) One is filial to one's parents and respects masters and superiors.
命欲終時, 十方諸佛皆悉来迎. 随意往生他方淨國. (661b27-28)	命欲終時, 阿彌陀佛與觀世音及大勢至. 無量大衆眷屬圍繞, 持紫金臺至行者前讃言. . . . (*GWSJ*, T12:345a8-10)
When one is about to die, the Buddhas of the ten directions all come to welcome that person. That one can thus be reborn in a pure land in another realm as one wishes.	When one is about to die, Amitābha Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, surrounded by [a] boundless [number of] people and retinue, holding a pedestal of purple-gold, come to the practitioner, and praise [that practitioner], saying, . . .
是藥王菩薩身長十二由旬. 隋應衆生或十八丈或現八尺. 身紫金色三十二相八十隨形好如佛無異. 頂上肉髻有十四摩尼珠. 其一一珠有十四楞. 一一楞間有十四華. 以嚴天冠. 其天冠内有十方佛及諸菩薩. 皆悉影現, 如衆寶實. 眉間毫相白瑠璃色. 繞身七匝如白寶帳 . 身諸毛孔流出光明. 如摩尼珠數滿八萬四千. 其一一珠婉轉右旋. 如七寶城優鉢羅華. 一一華上 有一化佛. 方身丈六如釋迦牟尼. 一一如來有五百菩薩以爲侍者. 是藥王菩薩其兩脩臂如百寶色. 手十指端雨諸七寶. 若有衆生觀此菩薩十指端者, 四百四病自然除滅. 身諸煩惱皆悉不起. 其兩足下雨金剛寶. 一一珠化成雲臺. 其雲臺中有化菩薩. 無數諸天以爲侍者. 時化菩薩演説四諦苦空無常無我. 亦説甚深諸菩薩行. (662b25-c13)	觀世音菩薩. 此菩薩身長八十億那由他恒河沙由旬. 身紫金色. 頂有肉髻項有圓光. . . 頂上毘楞伽摩尼妙寶, 以爲天冠. 其天冠中有一立化佛高二十五由旬. 觀世音菩薩面如閻浮檀金色. 眉間毫相備七寶色. 流出八萬四千種光明. 一一光明有無量無數百千化佛. 一一化佛無數化菩薩以爲侍者. 變現自在滿十方界. 臂如紅蓮花色. . . (*GWSJ*, T12:343c12-23)

The height of this Bhaiṣajyarāja bodhisattva is twelve *yojana*s, but according to the sentient beings, he can appear as eighteen *zhang* high or as eight *chi* high. The body color is purple-gold, and his thirty-two major and eighty minor marks are no different from those of the Buddha. The protuberance on the head has fourteen *maṇi* jewels, and each jewel has fourteen edges. Each edge has fourteen flowers, which adorn the heavenly crown. In the heavenly crown there are the Buddhas of the ten directions and bodhisattvas, who all appear, as if [the crown] were packed with many jewels. The mark of tuft between the brows has the color of white beryl, which encircles the body seven times like a white jewel curtain. The pores of the body emit rays of light, like *maṇi* jewels, as many as eighty-four thousand. Each jewel turns clockwise like a city of seven treasures or a flower of *utpala* (blue lotus). On each flower there is an emanation Buddha who has an upright body of one *zhang* six *chi* tall like Śākyamuni. Each Tathāgata has five hundred bodhisattvas as attendants. The long forearms of this Bhaiṣajyarāja bodhisattva have colors like those of one hundred jewels. The tips of his ten fingers rain down seven jewels. If there are sentient beings who visualize the tips of the fingers of this bodhisattva, four hundred and four diseases will be naturally cured. Any defilements of the body will not arise. From under his feet diamonds rain down. Each jewel transforms itself into a tower of cloud. In each tower there are emanation bodhisattvas followed by numberless bodhisattvas as attendants. Then the emanation bodhisattvas preach the four truths, suffering, emptiness, impermanence, and no-Self as well as profound bodhisattva practices.	Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva. The height of this bodhisattva is as many *yojana*s as the grains of sand of eight billion *nayuta*s of the Gaṅgā Rivers. The body color is purple-gold. On the head there is a protuberance, and on the neck there is a halo. . . . On the head there is a marvelous jewel of Śakrābhilagnamaṇi[1] as a heavenly crown. In the crown there is one standing emanation Buddha as high as twenty-five *yojana*s. The color of the face of Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva is like that of Jāmbūnada gold. The mark of the tuft between the brows has the colors of seven jewels, which emit eighty-four thousand kinds of rays. Each ray has boundless and numberless hundreds of thousands of emanation Buddhas. Each emanation Buddha is followed by numberless emanation bodhisattvas as attendants. He transforms himself and freely appears in the worlds of the ten directions. The color of his forearms is like that of a red lotus flower . . .
是藥上菩薩身長十六由旬. 如紫金色. 身諸光明如閻浮檀那金色. 於圓光中有十六億化佛. 方身八尺結跏趺坐. 坐寶蓮華. 一一化佛有十六菩薩以爲侍者. 各執白華隨光右旋. 通身光內有十方世界. 諸佛菩薩及諸淨土皆於中現. 頂上肉髻如釋迦毘楞伽摩尼寶珠. 肉髻四面顯發金光. (663b8-15)	次觀大勢至菩薩. 此菩薩身量大小亦如觀世音. 圓光面各二百二十五由旬. 照二百五十由旬. 舉身光明照十方國. 作紫金色. . . . 一一臺中, 十方諸佛淨妙國土廣長之相, 皆於中現. 頂上肉髻如鉢頭摩花, 於肉髻上有一寶瓶, 盛諸光明普現佛事. 餘諸身相如觀世音等無有異. (*GWSJ*, T12:344a18-b1)

The height of this Bhaiṣajyasamudgata bodhisattva is sixteen *yojanas*. [The body color is] like the color of purple-gold. The rays from the body have the color of Jambūdāna [*sic*] gold. In the halo, there are one million six hundred thousand emanation Buddhas, with upright bodies of eight *chi*; and they are seated in cross-legged posture on jewel lotus flowers. Each emanation Buddha has sixteen bodhisattvas as attendants, each having a white flower with rays revolving clockwise. In the light from the whole body are the worlds of the ten directions, in which Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and all the Pure Lands appear. The protuberance on the head is like a Śakrābhilagna maṇi-jewel.[2] The four sides of the protuberance emit golden light.	Then one visualizes Mahāsthāmaprāpta bodhisattva. The height of this bodhisattva is like that of Avalokiteśvara. The surfaces of the halos [of these two bodhisattvas] are respectively two hundred and twenty-five *yojanas* [in diameter] and illuminating two hundred and twenty-five *yojanas*. The light from the whole body illuminates the lands in the ten directions and makes them purple-gold in color. . . . On each pedestal, all the scenes of vast pure lands of the Buddhas of the ten directions appear. The protuberance on the head is like a *padma* (lotus) flower. On the protuberance there is a jewel jar, which contains various rays and manifests the acts of Buddhas. The other bodily marks are the same as those of Avalokiteśvara.
閻浮檀那金色. (663b10)	閻浮檀那紫金. (*GSHJ* T15:695b28)
The color of Jambūdāna [*sic*][3] gold	The purple-gold from Jambūdāna [*sic*]
(a) 觀佛三昧海門. (T20:662c29; 664b15) (b) 即應入塔觀像禮拜. 於像前得觀佛三昧海 .(663a21-22) (c) 廣說如觀佛三昧海. (664c9-10)	(The title of the *GSHJ*)
(a) The gate of the ocean-like *samādhi* of the visualization of the Buddha. (b) Then one should enter a *stūpa*, observe and worship a statue. In front of the statue, one obtains the ocean-like *samādhi* of the visualization of the Buddha. (c) In full, it is as told in the *Guanfo sanmei hai [jing]*.	
(a) 惟無莊嚴. (T20:664b19) (b) 惟無三昧. (T20:664c5) (c) 惟無莊嚴. (T20:666a1)	惟無三昧. (*GSHJ*, T15:690a22; 666a4-5)[4]
(a) The ornament of *weiwu*. (b) The *weiwu samādhi*. (c) The ornament of *weiwu*.	The *weiwu samādhi*.
百千萬億旋陀羅尼門. (663a7)	無量百千陀羅尼門. (*GWSJ*, T12:345a4)
The gate of one hundred trillion *āvartadhāraṇīs*.	The gate of boundless hundred thousand *dhāraṇīs*.
除却八十萬劫生死之罪. (663a25)	除却八十億劫生死之罪. (*GSHJ*, T15:655b7)

It removes the transgressions [accumulated during] the transmigrations of eight hundred thousand *kalpa*s.	It removes the transgressions [accumulated during] the transmigrations of eight billion *kalpa*s.
能如是觀者，是名正觀．若異觀者，名爲邪觀．(663a27-28)	如此觀者名爲正觀．若異觀者名爲邪觀．(*GSHJ*, T15:649b16-17, and passim)
If one can visualize this way, it is called correct visualization. Otherwise, it is called wrong visualization.	If one visualizes this way, it is called correct visualization. Otherwise, it is called wrong visualization.
釋迦毘楞伽摩尼．(663b14)	釋迦毘楞伽摩尼寶．(*GWSJ*, T12:342b10)
Śakrābhilagnamaṇi[5]	Śakrābhilagnamaṇi jewel.[6]
此菩薩光． 或爲自在天像， 或爲魔天像，或爲帝釋像，或爲四天王像，或爲阿修羅像，或爲乾闥婆像，或爲緊那羅像，或爲摩Z羅伽像，或爲迦樓羅像，或爲人非人像，或爲龍像，或爲帝王像，或爲大臣像，或爲長者像，或爲居士像， 或爲沙門像，或爲婆羅門像，或爲仙人像，或爲祖父母像， 或爲父母像，或爲兄弟姉妹所愛妻子及諸親像，或爲良醫像，或爲善友像．(663b24-c4)	帝釋身．．．自在天身．．．天大将軍身．．．小王身．．．長者身．．．居士身．．． 宰官身．．．婆羅門身．．．比丘，比丘尼，優婆塞，優婆夷身．．．天，龍，夜叉，乾闥婆，阿修羅，迦樓羅，緊那羅，摩Z羅伽，人非人等身．(*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經，T9:57a28-b17)
The light of this bodhisattva sometimes takes the form of Maheśvara, sometimes the form of a *māra*, of Indra, of Four Heavenly Guardians, of an *aśura*, of a *gandharva*, of a *kiṃnara*, of a *mahoraga*, of a *garuḍa*, of a human/non-human being,[7] of a nāga, of an emperor, of a minister, of a rich merchant, of a layman, of a brāhmaṇa, of a sage, of grand parents, of parents, of brothers, sisters, beloved wife, children and other relatives, of a good physician, or of a good friend.	The body of Indra. . . the body of Maheśvara. . . the body of a great heavenly general. . . the body of a minor king. . . the body of a rich merchant. . . the body of a lay believer. . . the body of a minister. . . the body of a brāhmaṇa. . . the body of a *bhikṣu*, *bhikṣuṇī*, *upāsaka*, *upāsikā*. . . the body of a deity, nāga, *yakṣa*, *gandharva*, *aśura*, *garuḍa*, *kiṃnara*, *mahoraga*, all human and non-human beings. . .
三十五佛．(664b4)	稱三十五佛名．(*GXJ*, T13:677b27)
The thirty-five Buddhas	Chant the names of the thirty-five Buddhas.
三者．閻浮提中及餘他方有三惡趣名． 聞我名者永更不受三惡趣身．設墮惡趣我終不成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提．(T20:665b2-3)	設我得佛．國中人天， 壽終之後， 復更三悪道者，不取正覺．(*Wuliangshou jing*, T12:267c19-20 [No.360])
The third [vow]: In Jambudvīpa and other areas, there are the names of the three bad destinies. If one hears my name, one will never receive the bodies in the three bad destinies. If they ever fall into the bad destinies, I will not achieve the highest Awakening.	If I attain the buddhahood, and if the human beings and deities in [my] land further [return to] the three bad destinies after their death, I would not achieve Awakening.
如淨琉璃内外映徹．見佛色身亦復如是．(665b5-6)	如琉璃人表裏清徹．(*GSHJ*, T15:679c8-9)

Like pure beryl clear inside and outside, one sees the physical body of the Buddha in the same way.	He is clear inside and outside like a man of beryl.
大德衆僧爲我立號名曰藥王. 我今應依名定實. (665c16-17)	善哉阿難慈悲法子. 汝名歡喜依名定實. (*GSHJ*, 687c17-18)
Venerable monks have named me "The King of Medicine." I should now establish the substance according to the name.	Excellent Ānanda, the benevolent Dharma son, your name is "Rejoicing," so establish the substance according to the name.
世尊當云何名此經. 云何奉事之. (666b3-4)	(a) 世尊. 當何名此經. 此法之要當云何持. (*GSHJ*, T15:696b10-11) (b) 世尊. 當何名此經. 此法之要當云何受持. (*GWSJ*, T12:346b5-6)
O Blessed One, what should we call this sūtra, and how should we follow it?	(a) O Blessed One, what should we call this sūtra, and how should we uphold the essentials of this Dharma? (b) O Blessed One, what should we call this sūtra? How should we uphold the essentials of this Dharma?
佛語慎勿忘失. (666a22)	(a) 汝持此語慎勿忘失. (*GSHJ*, T15:666b11) (b) 汝好受持慎勿忘失. (*GSHJ*, T15:696b29) (c) 汝今善持、慎勿忘失. (*GSHJ*, T15:689c9)
Be careful not to forget the words of the Buddha.	(a) You uphold these words. Be careful not to forget [them]. (b) You uphold these words well. Be careful not to forget [them]. (c) Now you uphold [these words] well. Be careful not to forget [them].

[1] This item does not appear in the section of Bhaiṣajyarāja, but does in the section of Bhaiāsajyasamudgata of the *GYYJ*.

[2] See the section of Avalokiteśvara in the *GWSJ*.

[3] An error of Jambūnada. See Section II.1.

[4] As for T15:666a4-5, the text of the Taishō canon has *guanfo sanmei* 觀佛三昧. The Yuan 元 version, however, has *weiwu sanmei* 惟無三昧 and the Tenpyō manuscript at Shōsōin *weisu sanmei* 維無三昧 according to T15:666, n.1. Although the character is not very clear, Dunhuang manuscript in the *Dunhuang dazangjing* 敦煌大藏經 59:212b26 also seems to have *weiwu san* 維无三 (the last *mei* 昧 is missing). Since the Tenpyō manuscript and the Dunhuang manuscript agree, it is likely that *weiwu sanmei* 維無三昧 was the original reading here.

[5] See the section on Bhaiṣajyasamudgata above.

[6] See the section on Avalokiteśvara above.

[7] In the Sanskrit text (Wogihara and Tsuchihashi eds,) of the *Lotus Sūtra*, we cannot find an equivalent of "human and non-human beings" *ren feiren* 人非人 at the exactly corresponding place in Kumārajīva's version. Nevertheless, this is a stock phrase and elsewhere in the same chapter, we can find the expression *manuśyāmanuśya*, "human and non-human beings" (366, 18, etc.). This is a generic term comprising all the items starting with "deities," and it is not a category of existence by itself. Nevertheless, in the *GYYJ*, *ren feiren* is counted as one item by itself, not as an inclusive term. This word can also correspond to *kiṃnara*, but since this word has already appeared in the list of the *GYYJ*, in this case this interpretation is impossible. Such is another indication that the *GYYJ* is apocryphal.

Appendix 2

The Correspondences between the *GWSJ* and the *GSHJ*

This table is largely dependent on Fujita 1970, 127-29; [1970]1990, 164-65; and Shikii 1978, 536-43; supplemented by my own study.

Table

GWSJ (T12)	*GSHJ* (T15)
世尊．如我今者以佛力故見彼國土．若佛滅後諸衆生等，濁悪不善五苦所逼．云何當見阿彌陀佛極樂世界．(341c25-27)	世尊．佛是吾子，吾是佛父．今我在世見佛色身．．．．佛涅槃後後世衆生當云何觀佛身色相．如佛光明常行尺度．惟願天尊今當爲我及後衆生分別解說．(645c24-46a1)
O Blessed One, how can sentient beings, after the demise of the Buddha, afflicted by the five types of sufferings caused by evils, see the Sukhāvatī world of Amitābha Buddha as I have seen [it] now by the power of the Buddha?	O Blessed One, the Buddha is my son, and I am the Buddha's father.[1] Now I see the Buddha's physical body [because I live in the] period [he is] alive. . . . How should sentient beings in later periods after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha visualize the marks of the Buddha's physical body, such as the light of the Buddha always reaching the range of [considerable] length?[2] I wish the Blessed One would explain this point for me and for sentient beings in later periods.
作是觀者名爲正觀．若他觀者名爲邪觀．(342a29-b1, and passim)	如此觀者名爲正觀．若異觀者名爲邪觀．(649b16-17, and passim)
If one visualizes this way, it is called correct visualization. Otherwise, it is called wrong visualization.	If one visualizes this way, it is called correct visualization. Otherwise, it is called wrong visualization.
見瑠璃地内外映徹. (342a9-10)	如琉璃人表裏清徹．(679c8-9)
One sees the ground of beryl, which is clear inside and outside.	He is clear inside and outside like a man of beryl.
(a) 佛告阿難．汝好持是語．持是語者，即是持無量壽佛名．(346b15-16) (b) 佛告阿難．汝持佛語．(342a26)	(a) 佛告阿難．持是語者即持佛心．作是觀者，能觀佛心．(667a25-27) (b) 佛告阿難．汝持此語慎勿忘失．(666b11)

(a) The Buddha told Ānanda: "Uphold these words well. Upholding these words means upholding the name of Amitāyus Buddha." (b) The Buddha told Ānanda: "Uphold these words."	(a) The Buddha told Ānanda: "Upholding these words means upholding the Buddha's mind. If one visualizes this way, one can visualize the Buddha's mind." (b) The Buddha told Ānanda: "Uphold these words. Be careful not to forget."[3]
説是語時，無量壽佛住立空中．觀世音大勢至，是二大士侍立左右．(342c16-18)	作是語時，過去七佛像住立空中．各申右手摩阿難頂．囑累是事．(683a22-24)
When [the Buddha] said this, Amitāyus Buddha stood in the air flanked by two mahāsattvas, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāstāmaprāpta, to the right and left [respectively].	When he said this, the images of the past seven Buddhas stood in the air. Each extended his right arm, rubbed Ānanda's head, and entrusted this matter [to him].
毘陀論經説．劫初已来，有諸悪王貪國位故，殺害其父一萬八千．未曾聞有無道害母．(341a22-24)	毘陀經説．若有神人性質清淨，以梵行故身根平滿．(683b10-11)
Vedic scriptures say that from the beginning of the *kalpa*, there were eighteen thousand bad kings who, out of the craving for the status of the ruler, killed their fathers. [Even so] I have not heard of a person so immoral as to kill his mother.	Vedic scriptures say that if there is a divine person whose nature is pure, his bodily organ does not protrude because of his pure practice.
於圓光中有百萬億那由他恒河沙化佛．一一化佛亦有衆多無數化菩薩，以爲侍者．(343b21-23)	(a) 眉間白毛正長丈五．一一毛中出無量光．一一光中無量化佛. (654c11-12) (b) 生諸化佛．有化菩薩以爲眷屬．(649b14-15)
In the halo there are as many emanation Buddhas[4] as the grains of sand of one hundred trillion *nayuta*s of Gaṅgā Rivers. Each emanation Buddha also has innumerably many emanation bodhisattvas as attendants.	(a) The white tuft between the brows is one *zhang* five *chi* long. From each hair boundless rays come out. In each ray there are boundless emanation Buddhas. (b) It generates emanation Buddhas who have emanation bodhisattvas as their retinue.
無量壽佛有八萬四千相．一一相中各有八萬四千隨形好．一一好中各有八萬四千光明．一一光明遍照十方世界．念佛衆生攝取不捨． (343b23-26) 觀無量壽佛者，從一相好入．但觀眉間白毫．極令明了．見眉間白毫相者，八萬四千相好自然當見．(343c4-7)	爲諸菩薩説八萬四千諸妙相好． (687b11)

(a) Amitāyus Buddha has eighty-four thousand [bodily] marks. Each mark has eighty-four thousand minor marks. Each minor mark also has eighty-four thousand rays. Each ray universally illuminates the worlds in the ten directions. It embraces and does not abandon the sentient beings who call the Buddha to mind. (b) The visualization of Amitāyus Buddha begins with the [visualization] of one mark. One visualizes only the white tuft between the brows and makes it extremely clear. If one sees the white tuft between the brows, the eighty-four marks become spontaneously visible.	[The Buddha] taught the eighty-four thousand marvelous [bodily] marks for bodhisattvas.
但聞佛名二菩薩名、除無量劫生死之罪。何況憶念. (346b10-12)	若稱名者，除百千劫煩惱重障. 何況正心修念佛定. (687b23-24)
If one only hears the names of the two bodhisattvas, one can remove the transgressions [accumulated during] the transmigrations of boundless *kalpa*s. How much more so if one keeps [these bodhisattva's names] in mind.	If one chants the name, one can remove the karmic obstructions [accumulated during the transmigrations] of a hundred thousand *kalpa*s. How much more so if one practices the *nianfo samādhi* in a proper mind?
稱南無阿彌陀佛. (345c15; 346a19)	稱南無佛. (661a4)
Chant: "Homage to Amitābha Buddha."	Chant: "Homage to the Buddha."
除八十億劫生死之罪. (342a27-28)	除却八十億劫生死之罪. (655b7)
It removes the transgressions [accumulated during] the transmigrations of eight billion *kalpa*s.	It removes the transgressions [accumulated during] the transmigrations of eight billion *kalpa*s.
(a) 釋迦毘楞伽摩尼寶. (342b10) (b) 梵摩尼寶. (343a2)	(a) 毘楞伽寶珠. (648b26) (b) 梵摩尼光. (683a10)
(a) Śakrābhilagnamaṇi jewel. (b) Brahmā's *maṇi* jewel.	(a) [Śakra]abhilagna[maṇi] jewel. (b) The light of a Brahmā's *maṇi*.
閻浮檀金色. (342b16)	閻浮檀金色. (648c6)
The color of Jambūnada gold.	The color of Jambūnada gold.
阿彌陀如來與觀世音及大勢至 . . . 至行者前. (344c17-20)	臨命終時，諸佛世尊必来迎接. (693c1-2)
Amitābha Tathāgata with Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta . . . appears in front of the practitioner.	When [such a person] is about to die, Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, definitely come to receive that person.
演說苦空無常無我諸波羅蜜. (342c1)	略說苦空無常諸波羅蜜. (684c16)

He preaches suffering, emptiness, impermanence, no-Self, and the various *pāramitās*.	He teaches briefly suffering, emptiness, impermanence, no-Self, and the various *pāramitās*.
孝養父母奉事師長慈心不殺. (341c9)	孝養父母恭敬師長. (690c9)
One is filial to the parents, serves masters and superiors, has a kind mind, and does not kill.	One is filial to the parents and respects masters and superiors.
(a) 閉目開目皆令明了. (342a3-4)[5] (b) 心眼得開了了分明. (343a25-26)	(a) 閉目得見. 以心想力了了分明. (649a10) (b) 心眼即開. (650a24) (c) 閉目開目恒見諸佛. (665b21)
(a) Make everything clear whether the eyes are open or closed. (b) If the eye of the mind opens, [everything becomes] perfectly clear.	(a) One can see [it] with the eyes closed. By the power of imagination, it becomes perfectly clear. (b) The eye of the mind opens immediately. (c) Whether one's eyes are open or closed, one always sees Buddhas.
諸佛現前三昧. (346b3)	諸佛現前三昧. (693c6-7; 695b10)
The *samādhi* in which Buddhas appear.[6]	The *samādhi* in which Buddhas appear.
多陀阿伽度, 阿羅呵, 三藐三佛陀. (343a23-24)	多陀阿伽度, 阿羅呵, 三藐三佛陀. (688a15-16)
Tathāgata, *arhat*, *samyaksaṃbuddha*.	Tathāgata, *arhat*, *samyaksaṃbuddha*.[7]
譬如壯士屈伸臂頃. (345c4-5)	譬如壯士屈申臂頃. (647a19-20)
As in the time it takes a robust man to bend and stretch his forearm.	As in the time it takes a robust man to bend and stretch his forearm.
世尊, 當何名此經. 此法之要當云何受持. (346b5-6)	世尊, 當何名此經. 此法之要當云何持. (696b20-21)
O Blessed One, what should we call this sūtra? How should we uphold the essentials of this Dharma?	O Blessed One, what should we call this sūtra? How should we uphold the essentials of this Dharma?

[1] The speaker is King Śuddhodana.

[2] According to *Dai kanwa jiten* 4:129a, *chidu* 尺度 means, (1) a ruler, (2) length, size.

[3] As is pointed out by Tōdō (1960b, 404), a very similar phrase is also found in the *CMJ*, which is another indication of the close relationship between the *GSHJ* and the *CMJ*.

[4] "Emanation Buddhas" is a common topic in Mahāyāna sūtras, but according to Shikii 1978, 538, among the sūtras on Amitābha, it is only the *GWSJ* that emphasizes emanation Buddhas.

[5] See the introduction of this dissertation.

[6] This is one of the Chinese ways of translating the word *pratyutpannasamādhi*. See Fujita

1985, 128; Harrison 1990, p.3, n.1.

[7] These are standard epithets of the Buddha, but note here that the transcriptions of the epithets agree in both texts.

Appendix 3

The *Sūtra on the Major and Minor Bodily Marks of the Buddha*

In conjunction with the bodily marks of the Buddha described in the *GSHJ*, there are a group of manuscripts found in Dunhuang and Turfan that draw our attention. They seem to be manuscripts of a liturgical text based on the *GSHJ*. Since it appears to be a text later than the *GSHJ*, we cannot use it to discuss the textual background of the *GSHJ*. Nevertheless, it is a precious source to clarify one aspect of the later use of the *GSHJ*. We may be able to shed a new light on the intricate problems of the relation between visualization and chanting in terms of *nianfo*.

In this appendix, I shall first discuss the bibliographical/philological issues of this text. Even though this chanting manual seems to have been later than the *GSHJ* itself, this manual contains some elements apparently older than the current version of the *GSHJ*. This is a curious point in considering the textual transmission of the *GSHJ*-related texts, and therefore we shall have to pay attention to this problem.

Then I shall attempt to put it in the context of historical development of chanting rituals in China. It is clear that this manual was closely related to the other chanting manuals of Chinese Pure Land traditions, and some of these manuals suggest that chanting and visualization were not two separate, mutually exclusive issues even in the mid-Tang period. In the course of this examination, another aspect of cross-cultural interaction, in this case between China and Tibet, will also come up in our discussion.

a. Text

These manuscripts first came to my attention by the catalogue of the Stein collection

of Dunhuang manuscripts compiled by Lionel Giles (1957).[1] This catalogue lists a manuscript that bears the title *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 but "does not agree with N[anjo] 430" (namely our *GSHJ*). He further reports that the manuscript has another title at the end: *Foshuo xianghao jing* 佛說相好經, *"The Sūtra on the Major and Minor Bodily Marks As Spoken by the Buddha."* (Giles 1957, 159 [S.4678]). In addition, Giles lists three other manuscripts that have identical or very similar titles (*Foshuo xianghao jing* 佛說相好經 [S.2686]; *Fo xianghao jing* 佛相好經, *"The Sūtra on the Major and Minor Bodily Marks of the Buddha,"* [S.2461]; *Xianghao jing* 相好經, *"The Sūtra on the Major and Minor Bodily Marks"* [S.22]). According to Giles, S.22 and S.4678 are the same text, so are S.2461 and S.2686, but the first two and the latter two are not the same.

Intrigued by these statements, I checked the Stein manuscripts, first by the copies of the printouts of the microfilms possessed by Kyoto University, and then by the microfilms themselves owned by Cornell University.[2] Then I found that they are clearly a manual for some communal chanting ritual very closely related to the descriptions of the Buddha's bodily marks in the *GSHJ*.

In addition to these Stein manuscripts, Jiang Liangfu 姜亮夫 (1956, 73) mentions another Dunhuang manuscript in the National Library of Beijing (閏字 555 [=B.245]) as a "variant translation" of the *GSHJ*.[3] The manuscript in question reproduced in the *Dunhuang baozang* 敦煌寶藏 (57:429-30) clearly shows that it represents the same

---

1 Hereafter, I mark Stein numbers by "S."

2 The printouts of the microfilm were first made available to me by Professor Aramaki Noritoshi of Kyoto University, who kindly sent me copies from Japan. Later I checked the microfilms themselves, which I got through interlibrary loan from Cornell University. I thank Professor Aramaki and all others who helped me to gain access to these manuscripts.

3 The manuscripts at the National Library of Beijing are numbered in two ways. One is the catalogue number of the National Library of Beijing using the traditional "One Thousand Characters" 千字文, and the other is the consecutive numbering given to the microfilms of the beijing manuscripts. In principle I use the latter system and mark the number by B (=Beijing).

chanting manual. In addition, Hirokawa Gyōbin (1984, 461) reports that a manuscript (P.2130)[4] that copies portions of many liturgical texts in a row contains *Foshuo Guanfo sanmei hai jing benxing pin diba* 佛說觀佛[5]三昧海藏經本行品第八 at the end. Here again, the microfilm of the Pelliot collection[6] clearly shows that this is in fact another manuscript of the same chanting manual (not the *GSHJ* itself).

Furthermore, German Turfan collection at Berlin has one leaf of a "recitation text based on the *Guan fo san mei hai jing*" (Ch.819; Thomas Thilo 1985, 74).[7] Here again, it is clear from the photoreprint attached to Thilo's catalogue (ibid., Plates 39-40; Abb.58-59)[8] that this is also a part of the same text.

Among these manuscripts, only S.4678 and P.2130 are complete.[9] The other Stein manuscripts (22, 2461, 2686) all lack the beginning part. In addition, the top portion of S.22 is damaged, and thus several characters are lost in the beginning of every line. On the other hand, B.245 covers only the first part of the text, and Ch.819 retains only several lines in the middle of the text.

All these manuscripts represent essentially the same text. Actually B.245 seems to have belonged to the same original manuscript as S.2686. This point is confirmed by the

---

4 "P" stands for the serial number of the Pelliot collection.

5 The character *fo* 佛 is missing in the manuscript.

6 I used the microfilm of the Pelliot collection possessed by Yale University.

7 Here "Ch." indicates the serial number of the Chinese manuscripts in the German Turfan Collection.

8 "Abb" is attached to the photoreprints of the fragments in the original catalogue. Probably "Abb" stands for *Abbruch*, "fragment."

9 As I mentioned, P.2130 is a manuscript on which portions of many texts are copied one after another. The beginning part of this manuscript is missing, but the copy of the chanting manual in question itself is complete.

fact that these two share the same format and that S.2686 begins immediately where B.245 leaves off. As we have seen, Giles noticed that the text represented by S.22 and S.4678 and the one represented by S.2461 and S.2686 are not the same. This is certainly the case, but in fact the difference between the former (together with P.2130) and the latter is only that the former have a few extra paragraphs towards the end. A comparison of the variant readings also shows that S.22, S.4678, and P.2130[10] form one group and that S.2461[11] and B.245-S.2686[12] form another. Hereafter, I shall refer to the first group "the long recension" and the second group as "the short recension." Since Ch.819 is so short, it is not clear whether it is the "long recension" or the "short recension."

In B.245-S.2686 (the short recension) and P.2130 (the long recension), the formula "*nianfo* three times" (*san nianfo* 三念佛) appears after every bodily mark.[13] On the other hand, in S.22 and S.4678 (the long recension), we have "three times chant *namo Amituofo*" (*sancheng namo Amituofo* 三稱南无阿彌陀佛), only once at the end of the list. Another point to note is that only S.22 has interlinear notes on the pronunciation of characters (*fanqie* 反切).

The three manuscripts that have the beginning part (S.4678, B.245, and P.2130) have the head title *Guanfo sanmei hai (zang) jing Benxing pin diba* 觀佛三昧海(藏)經本行品第八, *"The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Buddha Visualization, Chapter 8: Acts*

---

10 The first two manuscripts are described as a "good MS" by Giles [1957, 159]. S.22 and S.4678 often share the same reading, so do S.4678 and P.2130. It is to be noted, however, that the readings of S.22 and P.2130 are not necessarily similar.

11 Giles (ibid.) describes this as a "mediocre MS." Indeed it is copied very carelessly.

12 Giles (ibid.) describes S.2686 as an "indifferent MS." To me this manuscript looks to be well-written.

13 In the case of B.245-S.2686, after the first item, there appears a more complete formula "chant *[namo] Amituofo* three times" (*sannian Amituofo* 三念阿彌陀佛).

Ch.819 contains only the end of item 59 and the beginning of item 60 (see the transcription below). Therefore, the entire format is not clear, but item 59 does have the formula "*nianfo* three times" (*san nianfo* 三念佛).

in Former Lives." This title, however, is a little problematic. Although towards the end of these manuscripts there are a few paragraphs agreeing with the beginning of Chapter 8 of the *GSHJ*, most parts of the manuscripts have corresponding elements in either Chapter 2 or 3. Therefore, in spite of the head title, these manuscripts cannot be copies of a single chapter of the *GSHJ*.

It is also very unlikely that the manuscripts represent "a variant translation" of the *GSHJ*, as Jiang suggests. As we have already discussed, the text[14] represented by these manuscripts is most probably a manual for some chanting ritual practiced in China; it is extremely unlikely that such a text was a direct translation of an Indian original. The nonexistence of variant translations was one of the reasons Tsukinowa doubted the authenticity of the visualization sūtras (1971, 44). Therefore, if this text was indeed a variant translation of the *GSHJ*, this could call into question the validity of Tsukinowa's argument. This possibility, however, is very slim. The text represented by these manuscripts should be treated as a text distinct from the *GSHJ* itself. Hereafter, I shall refer to the long and short recensions inclusively as the *Xianghao jing* [*XJ*]. Since, to my knowledge, the *XJ* has not been edited to date, I give an edition of the complete text in the next appendix.

Apparently this *XJ* corresponds to the *Guanfo xianghao jing* 觀佛相好經 listed in the *KSL* (T55:654a24). The *KSL* notes that the text "is found in the new compilation of the *Guanfo sanmei hai jing*, fascicle one" (*Chu Guanfo sanmei hai jing xingbian shang* 出觀佛三昧海經新編上). What "the new compilation of the *Guanfo sanmei hai jing*" 觀佛三昧海經新編 refers to is not clear, but since this is in the section on abridged sūtras, probably this "new compilation" is a digest version of the *GSHJ*. It follows that the *KSL* considered that

---

[14] As will be discussed below, I regard the "long recension" and the "short recension" the two different recensions of essentially the same text.

the *Guanfo xianghao jing* was excerpted from the *GSHJ*.[15]

Strictly speaking, this statement cannot be accepted without further examination, for the *XJ* contains elements missing from the *GSHJ*. The *XJ* is much better organized than the chaotic *GSHJ*, and on the first look it seems also possible that the *XJ* was one of the sources of the *GSHJ*, and that the compilers of the latter made use of the former in a careless way. This is an attractive hypothesis (since we can identify a direct precursor of the *GSHJ*), but in fact this hypothesis is very difficult to maintain. In addition to the aforementioned record of the *KSL*, we should note the following points. (1) The available manuscripts are all very late.[16] (2) The *XJ* presupposes the devotion to Amitābha as a matter of course, but in the *GSHJ*, Amitābha is hardly mentioned. In the *GSHJ*, the central figure is Śākyamuni Buddha himself, and when rebirth of a practitioner is mentioned, the focus is on Maitreya's Tuṣita Heaven, not Amitābha's Sukhāvatī. Since the general movement in Chinese Buddhist history is from the Maitreya cult to the Amitābha cult, if the

---

15 Further, the *LSJ* (T49:78c12) lists a one-fascicle *Guanfo sanmei jing* 觀佛三昧經, "*Sūtra on the Samādhi of Buddha Visualization,*" among the translations of Kumārajīva. The attribution to Kumārajīva is probably baseless because it is not supported by either the *CSJ* (T55:10c-11a) or *GSZ* (T50:330a-33a). Perhaps this one-fascicle text with the title *Guanfo sanmei jing* refers to our *XJ*. If this is the case, it follows that the *XJ* was known in China proper at the time the catalogue was compiled (597). This point, however, is extremely hypothetical.

We can further find somewhat similar titles in sūtra catalogues as follows: the *Sanshier xiang jing* 三十二相經, "*The Sūtra on the Thirty-Two Major Bodily Marks,*" and the *Bashi zhong hao jing* 八十種好經, "*The Sūtra on the Eighty Minor Marks,*" (*CSJ* T55:17a5-6). The *Fajing lu* 法經錄 mentions the *Sanshier xiang yinyuan jing* 三十二相因緣經 and the *Pusa sanshier xiang jing* 菩薩三十二相經 (T55:125a8-10). Though we cannot confirm the contents of these non-extant texts, probably they have no direct connection with our *XJ*.

16 According to Professor Aramaki Noritoshi,who has kindly examined the manuscripts on my request, all the Stein manuscripts of this text cannot be older than the mid-Tang period. Ch.819 is also dated to period D (the ninth to tenth century; Thilo 1985, 74; Gerhard Schmitt and Thilo 1975, 12). P.2130 bears a note indicating that the manuscript belonged to the Sanjie-si 三界寺, which was established about 830-40 in Dunhuang under Tibetan rule (Fujieda Akira 1966, 20). Since this note is written by a separate hand, it does not necessarily indicate the date of the original copying of this manuscript. Nevertheless, it at least does not positively speak for an early date.

XJ was a source of the *GSHJ*, it reverses this usual course of development.[17] (3) The *XJ* has the head title: *"The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of Buddha Visualization, Chapter 8: Acts in the Former Lives"* (*Guanfo sanmei hai jing Benxing pin diba* 觀佛三昧海經本行品第八). Thus, the current form of the *XJ* clearly presupposes the existence of the *GSHJ*.

Therefore, as the record of the *KSL* indicates, probably we should consider the *XJ* as a later excerpt from the *GSHJ*. It is unlikely that the *XJ* was one of the sources of theå *GSHJ*, but as a material to clarify how the *GSHJ* was used in later Chinese Buddhism, the *XJ* is a very interesting material.

In this appendix, I would like to first compare the *XJ* with the corresponding portions of the *GSHJ* and then move on to the discussion of its significance in Chinese Buddhist history.

b. Comparison between the *XJ* and the *GSHJ*

The correspondences between the *XJ* and the *GSHJ* are as follows:[18]

---

17 It is, however, also possible to suspect that the formula "*nianfo* three times" was not an original component of the text. If these formulae were secondary additions, this point is cannot be a decisive reason to conclude that the *XJ* was later than the *GSHJ*.

18 In the left column I give the paragraphs of the *XJ* in the original order. The Arabic numbers are mine. For the original Chinese text, I have omitted any critical apparatus, for which readers are referred to the edition in the next appendix.

In the right column, I first quote relevant phrases from the tables of contents in Chapter 2 of the *GSHJ*. In general, these serial numbers correspond to those in the first part of the third list (Table 3 in Section II.2). If the quotation corresponds to the other lists (Tables 1, 2, and 4), I indicate that in parenthesis in front of the Arabic number. For example, "(Table 1) 17" means that the item corresponds to no. 17 of Table 1. Sometimes one item of the *GSHJ* is split into two in the *XJ*. In such a case, I indicate this by putting an additional decimal after the section numbers of the *GSHJ*. E.g., 56.1 and 56.2. When one item of the *XJ* corresponds to several consecutive items of the Chapter 2 of the *GSHJ*, I give inclusive reference after the first item.

After the quotation from Chapter 2, I cite texts from the substantial discussion in Chapter 3. References are all to Taishō vol. 15. As the references in parentheses indicate, the passages from the *GSHJ*

Table 1

XJ	*GSHJ*
	24. 頭相 (648a27) The mark of the head.
(1) 佛如來頂上宍髻．團圓勇起．猶如合拳．其上平偃猶如天蓋． 三念阿彌陀佛 A round protuberance on the head of the Buddha Tathāgata soars like a clenched fist. Its top lies flat like a heavenly canopy. Chant [*namo*] *Amituofo* three times.	Cf. 如來頂骨團圓猶如合捲．其色正白． (648C25-26) The head bone of the Tathāgata is round like a clenched fist. Its color is pure white.
	25. 八萬四千髮相 (648a27-28) The mark of the eighty-four thousand hairs.
(2) 佛如來頭上有八万四千髮．一一髮長一丈三尺五寸．猶如黒絲．分齊分明四觚分明．毛皆兩靡右旋而生．如紺瑠璃色．右旋婉轉卷成蠡文．在佛頭上一一毛孔．旋生五光入諸光中． 三念佛	如來今者頭上有八万四千毛．皆兩向靡右旋而生．分齊分明四抓[1]分明．一一毛孔旋生五光入前十四色光中．．．．今當更量．即申量之，長一丈三尺五寸．(649a18-27)
There are eighty-four thousand hairs on the head of the Buddha Tathāgata. Each hair is like black silk, one *zhang* three *chi* five *cun* long. They are clearly separated and have four clear planes (?). All flow to both sides and curl clockwise. The color is like that of navy-blue beryl. Curling clockwise, hairs turn in the pattern of conch-shells. Each pore on the Buddha's head emits five revolving rays of light, which enter various [other] rays of light.[2] *Nianfo* three times.	Now on the head of the Tathāgata are eighty-four thousand hairs. All flow to both sides and curl clockwise. They are clearly separated and have four clear planes (?). Each pore on the head emits five revolving rays of light, which enter the aforementioned fourteen rays of light.... "Now I shall measure again," [saying so, Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī] extended [the Buddha's hair] and measured it. It was one *zhang* three *chi* five *cun* long.
(3) 佛如來頭皮黄金色．亦生衆光入脳光十四色中． 三念佛	28. 頭皮 (648b1) The skin of the head.
The skin of the head of the Buddha Tathāgata is golden. It also emits various rays of light, which enter the rays of fourteen colors from the brain.[3] *Nianfo* three times.	髮下金色亦生衆光．入十四色中． (649a1-2) [The skin] under the hair is golden, which also emits rays of light. They enter the fourteen colors.

are not arranged in the original order.

For the sake of comparison, in this table I tried to translate the texts as literally as I could, though this was not always possible. The *XJ* and the *GSHJ* do not seem to be very carefully composed texts, so sometimes phrases are obscure in the original Chinese. In those cases, I did not attempt to put them into clear English by conjectural paraphrasing.

	29. 肉髻骨 (648b2) The bone of the protuberance on the head.
(4) 佛如來頭頂骨. 其色正白如頗黎. 雪山不得爲譬. 三念佛 The head-bone of the Buddha Tathāgata is pure white like crystal. Even the Snow Mountains are not comparable to it. *Nianfo* three times.	如來頂骨團圓猶如合捲. 其色正白. (648c25-26) The head bone of the Tathāgata is round like a clenched fist. Its color is pure white. Cf. 49. 骨色鮮白頗梨雪山不得爲譬. (649c1-2) The color of the bones is so clearly white that crystals or the Snow Mountains are not comparable [to that].
	30. 脳 (648b2) Brain.
(5) 佛如來脳紅頗黎色. 有十四脉衆畫具足. 一一畫有十四光明了了於脳脉中旋生諸光. 上衝頭骨乃至髮際. 光有十四色圍繞衆髮. 三念佛 The brain of the Buddha Tathāgata has the color of red crystal. It has fourteen veins complete with various lines. Each line has fourteen clear revolving rays of light arising [from] within the vein (?). [The rays of light] hit the head bone and reach the bottom line of the hair. The rays have fourteen colors and encircle the hairs. *Nianfo* three times.	脳頗梨色. 有十四脈衆畫具足. 亦十四光其光如脈分明了了. 於脳脈中旋生諸光上衝頭骨. 從頭骨出乃至髮際. 有十四色圍遶衆髮. (648C27-49a2) The brain has the color of crystal. It has fourteen veins with various lines. There are also fourteen rays of light, which are clearly visible like veins. Revolving rays of light arise [from] within the veins of the brain and hit the head bone. They go out of the head bone and reach the bottom line of the hair. The rays have fourteen colors and encircle the hairs. 脳中亦有十四光. 現諸脈中. 中外俱徹明顯可愛. 踊出白光紅紫間錯. 其色微細從枕骨出. 亦遶前者三匝. (655C15-16) In the brain also there are fourteen rays of light appearing in the veins. They penetrate inside and outside; they are manifest and lovely. White light mixed with red and purple jumps out. [The light] whose color is subtle goes out of the back of the neck and encircles the former three times.
	3. 髮際 (648a6) The bottom line of the hair.

(6) 佛如來髮際. 如赤真珠色婉轉下垂. 有五千光. 間錯分明皆向上靡. 圍繞衆髮從頂上出. 生諸化佛. 三念佛	髮際. 如赤真珠色婉轉下垂. 有五千光. 間錯分明皆向上靡. 圍繞諸髮從頂上出. 遶頂五匝. 如天畫師所作畫法. 團圓正等細如一絲. 於其絲間生諸化佛.
The bottom line of the hair of the Buddha Tathāgata has the color of red pearls and smoothly goes down. It has five thousand rays of light, mixed, clear, and all flowing upwards. They encircle the hairs, go out of the crown, and generate various emanation Buddhas. *Nianfo* three times.	The bottom line of the hair has the color of red pearls and smoothly bends down. It has five thousand rays of light, mixed, clear, and all flow upwards. They encircle the hairs, go out of the crown, and encircle the head five times. [The circle of the light is] round, even, and as thin as a thread of silk like the drawing of a divine painter. Among those threads emanation Buddhas arise.
	4. 額廣平正相 (648a6-7) The mark of the wide and flat forehead.
(7) 佛如來額廣平正. 額上諸毛毛皆上靡. 其毛根下梵磨尼色. 毛端流光如融紫金. 光相上靡入於髮際. 婉轉下垂至耳輪邊. 然後布散, 入諸髮間. 圍繞蠡文數百千匝. 從枕骨出. 如金蓮華日照開敷. 適衆生意. 三念佛	顯發額廣平正之相. 額上諸毛毛皆上靡. 其毛根下梵磨尼色. 適衆生心. 毛端流光如融紫金. 光相上靡入於髮際. 婉轉垂下至耳輪邊. 然後布散, 上入髮間. 圍遶蠡文數百千匝. 從枕骨生. 如金蓮華葉日照開敷. (654c14-19)
The forehead of the Buddha Tathāgata is wide and flat; all the hairs on it flow upwards. [The skin] at the roots of the hairs has the color of Brahmā's *maṇi*. From the tips of the hairs flow rays of light like melted purple gold. The marks of the light flow upwards and enter the bottom line of the hair, smoothly bend down and reach the ear-circles. Afterwards, they scatter, enter among the hairs, and encircle the conch-shell patterns several hundred thousand times. They go out of the back of the skull and please the people like golden lotus flowers blooming in the sunshine. *Nianfo* three times.	[The light] manifests the mark of the wide and flat forehead, on which all the hairs flow upwards. [The skin] at the roots of the hairs has the color of Brahmā's *maṇi* pleasing to the mind of the sentient beings. From the tips of the hairs flow rays of light like melted purple gold. The marks of the light flow upwards and enter the bottom line of the hair, smoothly bend down and reach the ear-circles. Afterwards, they scatter and enter upwards among the hairs, encircle the conch-shell patterns several hundred thousand times. They arise from the back of the skull like the petals of a golden lotus flower opening under the sunshine.[4]
	額廣平正相. . . . 上妙金色之光. . . . 婉轉下垂至于耳輪. 上散入髮. 遶髮七匝. 從枕骨出遶前蓮華相. (655c6-11)

	The mark of the wide and flat forehead. . . . superb golden light. . . . smoothly bends down and reaches the ear-circles. It scatters upwards and enters the hairs. It then encircles the hair seven times, goes out of the back of the skull and encircles the mark of the lotus flower in front.[5]
	5. 眉間白毫相 (64817) The mark of the white tuft between the brows.
(8) 佛如來白毫相. 長一丈六尺十楞分明. 如白瑠璃筒中外皆空. 右旋婉轉在佛眉間. 圍如三寸如白頗黎珠. 十方光現暎蔽衆目. 如億万日不可具見. 於毛端出五色光明還入毛孔. 三念佛	菩薩初生時白毫相光. . . . 今試看之. 即舒白毛見毛正直如白琉璃筒. 於其毛端出五色光明還入毛孔. (649b26-29)
The mark of the white tuft of the Buddha Tathāgata is one *zhang* six *chi* long with ten clear corners. It is empty both inside and outside like a cylinder of white beryl; curling clockwise smoothly it rests between the brows of the Buddha. It looks like a white crystal ball about three *cun* in circumference. Rays of light appear in the ten directions and overwhelm people's eyes like one billion suns impossible to look at together. Rays of light of five colors come out from the tip of the hair and return to the pore. *Nianfo* three times.	The light of the mark of the white tuft when the Bodhisattva was first born. . . . "Now I shall try and see." [Thus thinking Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī] stretched the white tuft and saw that the hair was straight like a white beryl cylinder. Rays of light of five colors come out from the tip of the hair and return to the pore.
	6. 眉 (648a8) The brows.
(9) 佛如來左右二眉形如初月. 繞生諸毛稀稠得所. 眉光兩靡散入諸髪. 其色艶紫, 紺瑠璃. 蜂翠, 孔雀色无異類. 猶如聚墨比瑠璃光. 眉下三畫及眼眶中 旋生四光青黄赤白. 上向焔出入眉骨中. 出眉毛端. 三念佛	如來眉相. 左右二眉形如月初. 卷生諸毛稀稠得所. 隨月形轉. 其色艶紫,毛端紺青琉璃妙光色無與比. 眉光兩靡散入諸髪. 既入髪已上至髪杪. 其光蠡起. 蜂翠, 孔雀色无以類. 猶如聚墨比瑠璃光. . . . 眉下三畫及眼眶中旋生四光青黄赤白. 上向焔出入眉骨中. 出眉毛端亦如前法. (655c20-29)

The shape of the Buddha Tathāgata's left and right brows are like that of a new moon. [The brows are] covered with hairs that are thin and dense in the proper places. Rays of light from the brows flow to both sides and diffusely enter the hairs. The color is glamorous purple like that of navy-blue beryl and is no different from the green of bees or the color of peacocks. It is like dense ink and is comparable to the light of beryl. In three lines under the brows and in the eyelids arise four revolving rays of light: blue, yellow, red, and white. Flames come out upwards, enter the bones under the brows, and come out of the tips of the brows. *Nianfo* three times.	The mark of the brows of the Tathāgata. The left and the right brows are like that of a new moon. Curling hairs are thin and dense in the proper places and curve in the shape of the moon. The color is glamorous purple, and the tips of the hairs are navy blue. Even the wondrous light of beryl is not comparable to them. Rays of light from the brows flow to the both sides and diffusely enter the hairs. After entering the hairs, they reach the tips of the hairs. Revolving light arises. [Even] the green of bees or the color of peacocks is not comparable to that. It is like dense ink and is comparable to the light of beryl. . . . In three lines under the brows and in the eyelids arise four revolving rays of light: blue, yellow, red, and white. Flames come out upwards, enter the bones under the brows, and come out of the tips of the brows as before.
(10) 佛如來眼睫上下各生五百毛. 柔軟可愛如優曇鉢華鬚. 三念佛 The upper and the lower eyelashes of the Buddha Tathāgata have five hundred hairs respectively. They are soft and lovely like the filaments of a *uḍumbara* flower. *Nianfo* three times.	(None in the table) 如來眼睫. 上下各生有五百毛. 柔軟可愛如優曇鉢華鬚. (656a5-6) The upper and the lower eyelashes of the Tathāgata have five hundred hairs respectively. They are soft and lovely like the filaments of a *uḍumbara* flower.
(11) 佛如來眼如四大海水. 青白分明. 白者白於白寶. 青者勝青蓮華. 上下俱瞬如牛王目. 目雙眦頭旋生二光. 如青蓮花. 三念佛 The eyes of the Buddha Tathāgata are like the water of the four great oceans. The blue and white [parts] are clearly separated. The white part is whiter than a white jewel. The blue part surpasses a blue lotus flower. The upper and lower [eyelids] blink together like the eyes of an ox king. Two revolving rays of light from the two exterior corners of the eyes come out like blue lotus flowers. *Nianfo* three times.	7. 牛王眼相 (648a9) The mark of the eyes like those of an ox king. 佛眼青白. 白者過於白寶. 百億萬倍. 青者勝青蓮華及紺琉璃. 百億萬倍. 上下俱眴如牛王目. 眼雙眦[6]頭旋生二光. 如青蓮花極爲微細. (656a10-13) The eyes of the Buddha are blue and white. The white part surpasses a white jewel by a hundred trillion times. The blue part surpasses a blue lotus flower and navy-blue beryl by a hundred trillion times. The upper and lower [eyelids] blink together like the eyes of an ox king. Two revolving rays of light from the two exterior corners of the eyes come out, which are extremely refined like blue lotus flowers.

	31. 耳普垂睡 (648b3-5) Wide hanging ears. 32. 耳輪郭相 The mark of the contours of the ears. 33. 耳旋生七毛相 The mark of the seven curly hairs growing from the ears.
(12) 佛如來耳普垂埵相. 兩耳孔中旋生七毛. 輪郭衆相如寶蓮花懸處日光. 兩耳内外出生蓮華. 及耳孔七毛流出諸光. 光有五百支支有五百色. 三念佛	佛耳普垂埵旋生七毛輪郭衆相. 及生王宮初穿耳時, 令兩耳孔内外生華. 此蓮華中. 及耳七毛流出諸光. 有五百支支五百色. (656b14-17)
The mark of the wide hanging ears of the Buddha Tathāgata. Seven curly hairs grow in the holes of the ears. Various marks on the contours of the ears are like jewel lotus flowers hanging in the sunlight. Lotus flowers grow inside and outside of both ears. Further, various rays of light flow out from the seven hairs in the holes of the ears. The rays have five hundred branches and each branch has five hundred colors. *Nianfo* three times.	The marks of the wide hanging ears, seven curly hairs, and the contours of the ears of the Buddha. [When the Buddha] was born in the royal palace and had his ears first pierced, he made flowers grow in and out of the holes of both ears. In these lotus flowers and [from] the seven hairs of the ears flew out rays of light. [The rays] had five hundred branches, and the branches had five hundred colors.
	(None in the table)
(13) 佛如來方頰車相. 頬上六畫. 左右正等. 有妙光色輝艶倍常. 如淨金色. 譬如和合百千日月. 三念佛	如來方頰車相. 如來頬上六畫中. 左右正等. 有妙光色輝艶倍常. 閻浮檀金光色遍照令佛面相如淨金色. 譬如和合百千日月. (656c3-6)
The mark of the square jaws of the Buddha Tathāgata. On the cheeks there are six symmetrical lines. There is a shining color even more resplendent than usual[7] like the color of pure gold. It is as if a hundred thousand suns and moons were put together. *Nianfo* three times.	The mark of the square jaws of the Tathāgata. On the cheek of the Tathāgata there are six symmetrical lines. There is a shining color even more resplendent than usual. The color of the light of the gold [dust] from the Jambūnada River universally illuminates and turns the marks on the Buddha's face into a pure golden color as if a hundred thousand suns and moons were put together.
	8. 修直鼻相 (648a9-10) The mark of the long straight nose. 9. 鷹王觜相 The mark of the [nose like] the beak of a hawk king.
(14) 佛如來鼻高脩直如鑄金梃當于面門. 其孔流光上下灌注. 三念佛	如來鼻高脩而且直當于面門. 如來鼻端如鷹王觜. 鼻孔流光上下灌注. (656c20-22)

The nose of the Buddha is high, long, and straight like a cast golden stick pointing to the mouth. Light flows out of the holes and pours upwards and downwards. *Nianfo* three times.	The nose of the Tathāgata is high, long, and straight directly pointing to the mouth. The tip of the Tathāgata's nose is like the beak of a hawk king. Light flows out of the holes of the nose and pours upwards and downwards.
(15) 佛如來髭鬚如蝌斗形. 於其毛端頭開敷三光. 紫紺紅色, 直從口邊旋頸上照, 圍繞圓光作三種畫. 其畫分明色中上者. 三念佛 The mustache of the Buddha Tathāgata is like the shape of [two] tadpoles. Three rays of light spread from the tips of the hairs: purple, navy blue, and red. They revolve directly from around the mouth, shine on the neck, encircle the halo, and make three kinds of lines. These lines are clear and have supreme colors. *Nianfo* three times.	10. 髭鬚如蝌斗形流出光明 (648a11) Moustache like [two] tadpoles emitting light. 如來髭. 諸髭毛端開敷三光. 紫紺紅色. 如是光明, 直從口邊旋頸上照, 圍繞圓光作三種畫. 其畫分明色中上者. (657a5-7) The mustache of the Tathāgata. Three rays of light spread from the tips of the hairs of the mustache: purple, navy blue, and red. Such rays revolve directly from around the mouth, shine on the neck, encircle the halo, and make three kinds of lines. These lines are clear and have supreme colors.
(16) 如來師子欠相. 佛張口時如師子王口, 方正等. 口兩吻邊流出二光. 其光金色. 三念佛 The mark of the lion-like yawn of the Buddha Tathāgata. When the Buddha opens his mouth wide, it is a true square like the mouth of a lion king. Two rays of light flow out from around the two corners of the mouth. The light is golden. *Nianfo* three times.	(None in the table) 如來師子欠相. 佛張口時如師子王口, 方正等. 口兩吻邊流出三光. 其光金色. 過踰前光百千萬倍. (656c10-12) The mark of the lion-like yawn of the Tathāgata. When the Buddha stretches the mouth, it is a true square like the mouth of a lion king. Three rays of light flow out from around the two corners of the mouth. The light is golden and surpasses the previous light by one billion times.
	11. 脣上齶際 (648a12-15) The border between the upper lip and the gum. 12. 脣色赤好如頻婆果 The red color of the lips like that of a *bimba* fruit. 13. 下脣如鉢頭摩華莖者其色紅赤上入頻婆果色中 The lower lip like the stalk of a lotus flower, whose red color enters the color of a *bimba* fruit upwards.

(17) 佛如來脣色紅赤，如頻婆菓．於上下脣及斷齶間和合出光．其光團圓猶如百千赤真珠貫．從佛口出入於佛鼻．從佛鼻出入白毫中．從白毫出入諸髮間，暎飾諸花．三念佛	如來脣色赤好，如頻婆菓相．於上下脣及與斷齶和合出光．其光團圓猶如百千赤真珠貫．從佛口出入於佛鼻．從佛鼻出入於白毫．從白毫出入諸髮間．從髮間出入圓光中，暎飾諸花．(657a14-18)
The color of the lips of the Buddha Tathāgata is red like a *bimba* fruit. Rays of light come out all together from between the upper and lower lips and the gums. The light is round like one hundred thousand stringed red pearls. It comes out of the Buddha's mouth and enters the Buddha's nose. It comes out of the Buddha's nose and enters the white tuft [between the brows]. It comes out of the white tuft, enters among the hairs and illuminates various flowers. *Nianfo* three times.	The mark of the nice red color of the lips of the Tathāgata like a *bimba* fruit. Rays of light come out all together from between the upper and lower lips and the gums. The light is round like one hundred thousand stringed red pearls. It comes out of the Buddha's mouth and enters the Buddha's nose. It comes out of the Buddha's nose and enters the white tuft [between the brows]. It comes out of the white tuft and enters among the hairs. It comes out of the hairs and enters the halo. [It thus] illuminates various flowers.
	14. 口四十齒相 (648a15-18) The mark of the forty teeth of the mouth. 15. 齒白齊密相 The mark of the white and even teeth without gaps. 16. 齒上印文相 The mark of the seals on the teeth. 17. 齒畫界 Lines between the teeth.
(18) 佛如來口四十齒．齒印文上生光．其光紅白光光相照．照四十齒．令四十齒听然齊白如頗黎壁色．上下齊平无參差者．其齒間之畫流出諸光亦紅白色．如是衆色佛在世時暎曜人目．三念佛	口四十齒．印上生光．其光紅白光光相照．照四十齒，令四十齒根自然齊白如頗黎壁．上下齊平无參差者．齒間文畫流出諸光亦紅白色．如是衆色佛在世時暎曜人目．佛滅度後，當以心眼觀見此色．(657a18-23)

The forty teeth of the Buddha Tathāgata's mouth. Rays of light arise above the seals on the teeth. The rays are red and white illuminating one another. They [further] illuminate the forty teeth and make them look smiling and nicely white like a crystal wall. The upper and lower teeth are even, and there are none that are uneven. The lines between the teeth emit various rays of light, also red and white in color. When the Buddha was alive, these various colors were resplendent to people's eyes. *Nianfo* three times.	The forty teeth of the mouth. Above the seals [on the teeth] arise rays of light. The rays are red and white and illuminate one another. They [further] illuminate the forty teeth and make the roots of the forty teeth naturally white like a crystal wall. The upper and lower teeth are even, and there are none that are uneven. The patterns and lines between the teeth emit various rays of light, also red and white. When the Buddha was alive, these various colors were resplendent to people's eyes. After the passing away of the Buddha, one should contemplate these colors with the *mind's eye*.
	18. 如來上齶相者, 八萬四千畫了了分明 (648a19-20) The mark of the upper gum of the Tathāgata; eighty-four thousand clear lines. 19. 下斷如優曇鉢華莖色 The lower gum has a color like that of the stalk of a *uḍumbara* flower.
(19) 佛如來上齶有八万四千畫了了分明. 下{齶}如優曇鉢華莖色. 三念佛 The upper gum of the Buddha Tathāgata has eighty-four thousand clear lines. The lower gum has a color like that of the stalk of a *uḍumbara* flower. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion)
	21. 廣長舌相蓮華葉形, 上色五畫五彩分明, 舌下十脈衆光流出, 舌相廣長遍覆其面. (648a22-24) Wide and long tongue in the shape of a petal of a lotus flower. On its upper side are five clear lines and five colors. On its lower side are ten veins from which rays of light flow out. The mark of the wide and long tongue covers the whole face.
(20) 佛如來廣長舌相. 佛舌出時如赤蓮華葉. 上至髮際. 遍覆佛面. 其舌根下及舌兩邊有二寶珠. 流注甘露滴舌根上. 諸天世人十地菩薩无此舌相亦无此味. 其舌上五畫五綵分明如寶印文. 其舌下十脉衆光流出. 如此上味入印文中. 流注上下入瑠璃筒. 諸佛笑時動其舌根. 此味力故舌出五光五色分明. 三念佛	如來廣長舌相. 如來舌者是十波羅蜜十善報得. 其舌根下及舌兩邊有二寶珠. 流注甘露渧舌根上. 諸天世人十地菩薩無此舌相亦無此味. 舌上五畫如寶印文. 如此上味入印文中. 流注上下入瑠璃筒. 諸佛笑時動其舌根. 此味力故舌出五光五色分明. 遶佛七匝還從頂入. 佛出舌時如赤蓮華葉. 上至髮際. 遍覆佛面. (657a29-b7)

The mark of the wide and long tongue of the Buddha. When the Buddha puts out his tongue, it is like a petal of a red lotus flower. Upwards it reaches the bottom line of the hair and completely covers the Buddha's face.[8] Under the tongue and on both sides of the tongue there are two gems, which release drops of ambrosia on the tongue [and make everything taste good]. Various deities, worldly people, and even bodhisattvas of the tenth stage have no such mark of the tongue nor such taste. On the tongue there are five lines, of which five colors are clear like those of the mark of a jewel seal. Under the tongue are ten veins, from which various rays of light flow out. Such supreme taste enters the mark of the seal, pours upwards and downwards, and enters the beryl cylinder. When various Buddhas smile, they move the roots of their tongues. Owing to the power of this taste, the tongue emits fine rays of light of five colors, which are clear. *Nianfo* three times.	The mark of the wide and long tongue of the Tathāgata. The tongue of the Tathāgata is the retribution of the Ten Perfections and the Ten Good Deeds. Under the tongue and on both sides of the tongue there are two gems, which release drops of ambrosia on the tongue [and make everything taste good]. Various deities, worldly people, and even bodhisattvas of the tenth stage have no such mark of the tongue nor such taste. On the tongue there are five lines like the patterns of jewel seals. Such supreme taste enters the pattern of the seal, pouring upwards and downwards, enters the beryl cylinder. When various Buddhas smile, they move the roots of their tongues. Owing to the power of this taste, the tongue emits rays of light of five colors, which are clear. [The rays] encircle the Buddha seven times and enter the head. When the Buddha puts out his tongue, it is like a petal of a red lotus flower. Upwards it reaches the bottom line of the hair and covers the Buddha's face completely.
(21) 佛如來咽喉相．光淨可愛如金翅鳥眼．三念佛 The mark of the throat of the Buddha Tathāgata. It is brilliant and lovely like the eyes of a *garuḍa* bird. *Nianfo* three times.	23. 咽膺相如金翅鳥眼 (648a26) The mark of the neck like the eyes of a *garuḍa* bird. (No substantial discussion)
(22) 佛如來喉嚨如瑠璃筒．状若累蓮華，節節相重．三念佛 The larynx (?) of the Buddha Tathāgata is like a beryl cylinder. Like piled-up lotus flowers, lines[9] are piled up. *Nianfo* three times.	20. 咽喉如琉璃筒，状如累蓮華相 (648a21-22) The mark of the neck like a beryl cylinder whose shape is like that of piled-up lotus flowers Cf. 22. 咽喉節中有三相 (648a25) Three marks between the lines the neck. (No substantial discussion)

	(Table 1) 7. 學觀佛心者 (647b26) One who studies visualizing the Buddha's heart.
(23) 佛如來心如紅蓮華. 金花暎飾妙瑠璃筒懸在佛胸. 團圓如心. 開如不開合如不合. 紅華金光有八万四千脉. 猶如天畫. 一一畫中有八万四千光. 一一光明有八万四千色. 一一色中有无量微塵數化佛. 一一化佛坐金剛臺. 其金剛臺放金色光. 是諸化佛遊佛心間. 徑往五道度苦衆生. 三念佛	一切大衆見佛心相. 如來心者如紅蓮華. 金花暎蔽妙紫金色以爲間錯. 妙琉璃筒懸在佛胸. 見佛身内萬億化佛. 是諸化佛遊佛心間. (665b28-c3)
The heart of the Buddha Tathāgata is like a red lotus flower. A marvelous beryl cylinder ornamented with golden flowers is hung in the Buddha's chest. It is round like the heart. It opens as if it were not opening up, and it closes as if it were not closing. The golden light of the red flower has eighty-four thousand veins like heavenly lines. In each line there are eighty-four thousand rays of light. Each ray of light has eighty-four colors. In each color there are a boundless number of emanation Buddhas as many as the motes of dust. Each emanation Buddha is seated on an adamantine pedestal, which emits golden light. These emanation Buddhas roam in the heart of the Buddha, go to the five destinies and save suffering sentient beings. *Nianfo* three times.	All the assembly saw the mark of the Buddha's heart. The heart of the Tathāgata is like a red lotus flower. It is covered with golden flowers and mixed with marvelous purple golden color. A marvelous beryl cylinder is hung in the Buddha's chest. They saw in the Buddha's body ten billion emanation Buddhas, who play in the heart of the Buddha.
	爾時如來入解脱相三昧, 令父王見. 如琉璃窟. 成眞金像. 眞金像内, 於佛胸中如瑠璃筒. 從佛咽喉下, 見如來心如紅蓮華. 金花暎飾. 紅華金光. 不開不合團圓如心. 八万四千脈. 一一脈如天畫師所畫之脈. 一一畫中八万四千光明. 一一光明八万四千種色. 一一色中無量微塵數化佛. 一一化佛坐金剛臺. 其金剛臺放金色光明. 其光無數不可具說. (668a14-22)

	At that time, the Tathāgata entered the concentration characterized by liberation and made the Father King see [the Buddha's body] that has become a pure gold statue as if [in] a cave of beryl. In the pure gold statue, inside the chest of the Buddha, as if it were a beryl cylinder, [the King] saw the Tathāgata's heart like a red lotus flower beneath the neck of the Buddha. It was decorated with golden flowers. [There are also] red flowers [emitting] golden rays of light. Neither open nor closed, it was round like a heart with eighty-four thousand veins. Each vein was like the one painted by a heavenly painter. In each line there were eighty-four thousand rays of light. Each ray of light had eighty-four thousand kinds of colors. In each color there are a boundless number of emanation Buddhas as numerous as motes of dust. Each emanation Buddha is seated on an adamantine pedestal, which emits golden rays of light. These rays are numberless and indescribable. 爾時佛心如紅蓮華. 蓮華葉間有八萬四千諸白色光. 其光遍照五道衆生. 此光出時受苦衆生皆悉出現. (668b17-19)[10] At that time, the heart of the Buddha was like a red lotus flower. Among the petals of the lotus flower there were eighty-four thousand rays of white light. The light universally illuminated the sentient beings of the five destinies. When this light appeared, all the sentient beings experiencing suffering appeared.[11]
(24) 佛如來頸傭圓相. 三約分明. 出二種光. 其光萬色. 三念佛 The mark of the straight and round neck of the Buddha Tathāgata. The three essential points are clear and emit two kinds of light. The light has ten thousand colors. *Nianfo* three times.	(None in the table) 頸傭圓相. 如琉璃筒, 懸好金幢. (659b8-9) The mark of the straight and round neck. It is like a beryl cylinder, from which a nice golden banner hangs.
	22. 咽喉節中有三相 (648a25) Three marks between the lines of the neck.

(25) 佛如來咽喉有三點相. 分明猶如伊字一一點中流出二光. 三念佛	咽喉上有點相. 分明猶如伊字. 一一點中流出二光. (659b9-10)
The mark of the Buddha Tathāgata's throat with three points. They are as clear as the [*Siddham*] character *i*. Two rays of light flow out [from] within each point. *Nianfo* three times..	The mark of [three] points on the throat. Clear like the [*Siddham*] character *i*. Two rays of light flow out [from] within each point.
	34. 缺盆骨滿相, 於彼相中旋生光臺 (648b5-6) The mark of the shoulder bones without hollows, in which mark a tower of revolving light appears.
(26)佛如來缺盆骨, 兩手兩足及項後七處皆平滿相. 光明遍照十方世界作虎珀色. 三念佛	如來缺瓫骨滿相. 滿相[12]光明遍照十方作虎珀色. (664b18-19)
The mark of the Buddha Tathāgata's seven flat spots: shoulder bones, hands, feet, and the back of the neck. The rays of light universally illuminate the worlds in the ten directions and turn them amber in color. *Nianfo* three times.	The mark of the flat shoulder bones of the Tathāgata. The light from the flat mark universally illuminates the ten directions and turn them amber in color.
	(None in the table.)
(27) 佛如來兩肩髆圓滿相. 三念佛	(No substantial discussion.)
The mark of the round shoulders and the arms of the Buddha Tathāgata. *Nianfo* three times.	
	36. 臂傭纖圓如象王鼻 (648b8-9) Forearms straight and slender like the trunk of an elephant king.
(28) 佛如來臂傭纖圓如象王鼻. 三念佛	如來臂傭纖圓如象王鼻相. (665b10)
The Buddha Tathāgata's forearms are straight, slender, and round like the trunk of an elephant king. *Nianfo* three times.	The mark of the Tathāgata's forearms straight and slender like the trunk of an elephant king.
	37.1. 肘骨如龍王髮. 婉轉相著, 文彩不壞. 節頭槃龍不見其迹. (648b9-11) The bones of the elbow like the hairs of a *nāga* king are smoothly stuck together. [Nevertheless] its patterns are not destroyed. The tips of the joint-bones are [intertwined like] coiled *nāga*s, whose traces are invisible.

(29) 佛如來肘骨如龍王髮. 銛轉相着節頭蟠龍不見其跡. 三念佛 The Buddha Tathāgata's bones of the elbow are like the hairs of a *nāga* king smoothly stuck together. The tips of the joint-bones are [intertwined like] coiled *nāga*s, whose traces are invisible. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	37.2. 手指參差不失其所. 於指節端十二輪現. (648b11) The long and short fingers are nicely arranged, on whose tips twelve wheels appear.
(30) 佛如來手十指纖長參差不失其所. 於一一指節端各有十二輪相現. 三念佛 The Buddha Tathāgata's ten fingers are slender and long; the long and short fingers are nicely arranged, on whose tips the marks of twelve wheels appear. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	38. 赤銅爪、其爪八色了了分明. (648b12) Nails like red copper. Eight colors of the nails are clear.
(31) 佛如來赤銅爪. 其爪八色了了分明. 三念佛 The Buddha Tathāgata's nails are like red copper. The eight colors of the nails are clear. *Nianfo* three times.	Cf. 赤銅爪. (660a7) Nails like red copper.
	39.2 於十指端各生卍字, 卍點間有千輻輪. 衆相具足. 如和合百千蓮華. (648b15-17) A *svastika* mark appears on each of the tips of the ten fingers. Among the points of the *svastika* there is a wheel with one thousand spokes, which is complete with various marks as if a hundred thousand lotus flowers were put together.
(32) 佛如來手十指節端各有万字相. 万字點間有千輻輪相現. 三念佛 The mark of the *svastika* sign on each tip of the ten fingers of the Buddha Tathāgata. Among the points of the *svastika* appears the mark of a wheel with one thousand spokes. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)

	39. 合曼掌相, 張時則見斂指不見. 如真珠網了了分明, 勝閻浮檀金百千萬倍. 其色明達過於眼界. (648b13-15) The mark of the palms with webs, which are visible when extended but not when the fingers are retracted. [The webs are] clear like nets of pearls. They [I.e., webs] surpass the gold dust from the Jambūnada River by one billion times. It is so brilliant that it is beyond [the cognition of] the eye.
(33) 佛如來手合縵掌. 斂指不見, 張時則現. 如真珠網分明可愛. 三念佛 The palms of the Buddha Tathāgata have webs, which are not visible when the fingers are retracted, but which appear when extended. [The webs are] clear and lovely like nets of pearls. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	40. 掌文間成如自在天宮. 其掌平正人天無類. 當於掌中生千輻相, 於十方面開摩尼光. (648b17-19) The palace of Maheśvara appears among the lines of the palms. The flatness of the palms is unparalleled among deities and human beings. Right in the palms arise [wheels] with one thousand spokes, which emit *maṇi*-like light from the ten sides.
(34) 佛如來手掌文閑成如自在天宮. 其掌平正人天无類. 當於掌中生千輻輪相. 於十方面開摩尼光. 三念佛 The lines of the palms of the Buddha Tathāgata are beautiful and become, as it were, the palace of Maheśvara. The flatness of the palms is unparalleled among deities and human beings. Right in the palms arises the mark of wheels with one thousand spokes that emits *maṇi*-like rays of light from the ten sides. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	41. 毛背毛上向靡, 如紺琉璃. 流出五色光入網曼中 (648b22-23) The hairs on the back of the hands flow upwards like navy-blue beryl. Rays of light of five colors come out and enter the webs.

(35) 佛如來手背毛皆向上靡. 如紺瑠璃. 流出五光, 入網縵中. 三念佛 The hairs on the back of the hands of the Buddha Tathāgata flow upwards. Like a navy-blue beryl, rays of light of five colors come out and enter the webs. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	42. 手足柔軟如天劫貝 (648b23-24) The hands and feet are as soft as heavenly cotton.
(36) 佛如來手足柔軟, 如天劫貝. 三念佛 The hands and feet of the Buddha Tathāgata are as soft as heavenly cotton. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	43. 手內外握 (648b24) The hands [can] grasp inward and outward.
(37) 佛如來手內外握. 三念佛 The hands of the Buddha Tathāgata [can] grasp inward and outward. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	(None in the table.)
(38) 佛如來上身胸臆廣厚. 如師子王. 三念佛 The Buddha Tathāgata's chest in his upper body is wide and thick like that of a lion king. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	44. 胸德字萬印相 (648b25) *Śrīvatsa* and *svastika* marks on the chest.
(39) 佛如來胸德字万印相. 中放三摩尼光. 三念佛 The marks of *śrīvatsa* and *svastika* on the chest of the Buddha Tathāgata that emits three rays of *maṇi*-color light. *Nianfo* three times.	如來胸德字万字相. (665a15) The mark of *śrīvatsa* and *svastika* on the chest of the Tathāgata.
	35. 腋下滿相. 於其相中懸生五珠. 如摩尼珠上拄佛腋. (648b7-8) The mark of the flat armpits. Five gems hang [from them] like *maṇi*s that support the Buddha's armpits.
(40) 佛如來腋下平滿. 懸生五珠. 如摩尼珠. 上柱於腋. 有五色光明共相暎發. 三念佛	腋下摩尼珠皆放光明. (665a15-16)

The Buddha Tathāgata's armpits are flat, and five gems hang [from them] like *maṇis* that support the armpits. There are rays of five colors shining together. *Nianfo* three times.	The gems of *maṇi* under the armpits all emit light.
(41) 佛如來腹小不現相. 三念佛 The mark of the belly of the Buddha Tathāgata that is small and not manifest. *Nianfo* three times.	(None in the table.) (No substantial discussion.)
(42) 佛如來齊如毘楞伽寶珠. 於其齊中有万億寶花. 一一寶花有万億那由他葉. 一一葉有万億那由他色. 一一色有万億那由他光. 三念佛 The Buddha Tathāgata's navel is like a Śakrābhilagna gem, in which there are one trillion jewel flowers. Each jewel flower has one trillion *nayuta*s of petals. Each petal has one trillion *nayuta*s of colors. Each color has one trillion *nayuta*s of rays of light. *Nianfo* three times.	45. 臍如毘楞伽寶珠 (648b26) The navel like a Śakrābhilagna gem. 如來臍相. 如來臍中有萬億寶華. 一一寶華, 萬億那由他葉. 一一葉萬億那由他色. 一一色萬億那由他光. (665b26-28) The mark of the navel of the Tathāgata. In the Tathāgata's navel there are one trillion jewel flowers. Each jewel flower has one trillion *nayuta*s of petals. Each petal has one trillion *nayuta*s of colors. Each color has one trillion *nayuta*s of rays of light.
(43) 佛如來脇肋大小正等婉轉相着. 三念佛 The ribs of the Buddha Tathāgata are of the same length and are entangled and stuck to each other. *Nianfo* three times.	46. 脇肋[13]大小正等婉轉相著. (648b27-28) The ribs are of the same length and are entangled and stuck to each other. (No substantial discussion.)
(44) 佛如來諸骨支節. 蟠龍相結其間密緻. 三念佛 The joint-bones of the Buddha Tathāgata are intertwined [like] coiled *nāga*s without gaps. *Nianfo* three times.	47. 諸骨支節, 槃龍相結其間密緻. (648b28-29) The joint-bones are intertwined [like] coiled *nāga*s without gaps. (No substantial discussion.)

	48. 鉤鎖骨巻舒自在不相妨礙. (648b29-c3) Hooked joint bones bend and stretch freely without hindering each other. 49. 骨色鮮白頗梨雪山不得爲譬. 上有紅色間錯成文. 凝液如脂. The color of the bones is so clearly white that crystals or the Snow Mountains are not comparable [to that]. Red color is mixed [with white] and makes patterns. The viscous liquid is like fat.
(45) 佛如來鉤鎖骨. 巻舒自在不相妨礙. 其骨色鮮白如頗梨. 雪山不得爲譬. 上有紅光間錯成文. 凝液如脂, 皆出金光. 三念佛 Hooked joint bones of the Buddha Tathāgata bend and stretch freely without hindering each other. The clear white color of the bones is pure white like crystal. Even the Snow Mountains are not comparable [to that]. Red color is mixed [with white] and makes patterns. The viscous liquid is like fat. All emit golden light. *Nianfo* three times.	Cf. 鉤鎖骨蟠龍結間. (660a4-5) Hooked joint bones are intertwined [like] coiled *nāga*s(?).
	(Table 1) 17. 如來寶馬藏相 (647c1-2) The mark of the Tathāgata's hidden male organ.
(46) 佛如來馬王藏相. 身根平滿狀如滿月. 有金色光猶如日輪. 三念佛 The mark of the Buddha Tathāgata's hidden male organ. The bodily organ is flat like a full moon. It has golden light like the sun's disk. *Nianfo* three times.	如來陰馬藏相. . . . 以梵行故身根平滿. . . . 咸覩聖體平如滿月. 有金色光猶如日輪. (683b6-20) The mark of the Tathāgata's hidden male organ. . . . Because of the practice of chastity, the bodily organ is flat. . . . All saw the noble body flat like a full moon. It has golden light like the sun's disk.
	(None in the table.)
(47) 佛如來兩　周圓漸次而斂. 三念佛 The circumference of the Buddha Tathāgata's thighs become gradually more slender. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	(None in the table.)
(48) 佛如來兩膝骨相圓着好. 三念佛	(No substantial discussion.)

The mark of the knee-bones of the Buddha Tathāgata. They are round and well-attached. *Nianfo* three times.	
(49) 佛如來伊尼鹿王　相. 三念佛 The mark of the Buddha Tathāgata's calves like those of an *aiṇeya* deer king. *Nianfo* three times.	50. 伊尼鹿王　相 (648c3-4) The mark of the calves like those of an *aiṇeya* deer king. Cf. 鹿王　(660a4) Calves like those of a deer king.
(50) 佛如來足跟圓長有梵王頂相. 衆蠡異各生一華. 其華微妙猶如淨{國}優鉢羅華. 三念佛 The heels of the Buddha Tathāgata are round and long and have the mark of the Brahmā king's head. They are no different from conch shells, from each of them grows a flower. It is refined like that of an *utpala*[14] flower in a pure land (?). *Nianfo* three times.	56.3. 足踝亦有梵王頂相. 衆蠡不異. (648c13) On the ankles are also the marks of the head of the Brahmā king, which are no different from conch shells. 長足踝. 各生一華. 其華微妙猶如淨國優鉢羅華. (660a10-11) One flower grows from each of the long ankles of the feet. The flower is refined like that of an *utpala* flower in a pure land (?).
(51) 佛如來兩足踝不現相. 三念佛 The mark of the invisible ankles of the feet of the Buddha Tathāgata. *Nianfo* three times.	51. 踝相 (648c4) The mark of ankles. (No substantial discussion.)
(52) 佛如來趺高平相. 三念佛 The mark of the high and flat insteps of the Buddha Tathāgata. *Nianfo* three times.	52. 足趺平正相 (648c5) Flat insteps. (No substantial discussion.)
	53.1. 足趺上色, 閻浮檀金色, 毛上向靡. (648c6-7) The color of the insteps is like that of the gold dust from the Jambūnada River. Hairs flow upwards.

(53) 佛如來足趺上色如閻浮檀金色. 毛皆上靡及身諸毛. 随一毛孔一毛旋生. 柔軟可愛. 三念佛 The color on the insteps of the Buddha Tathāgata is like the color of the gold dust from the Jambūnada River. The hairs [on the instep] all flow upwards as well as [other] hairs on the body. One curly hair grows from each pore. [The hairs are] soft and lovely. *Nianfo* three times.	(No substantial discussion.)
	53.2. 足指網間如羅文彩. 於其文間衆彩玄黄, 不可具名. (648c7-8) The webs between the toes have colorful patterns like those of figured thin silk. The various colors, like black and yellow, among these patterns are [too numerous] to list fully.
(54) 佛如來足指網間如羅文彩. 於其文間衆色玄黄. 不可具名. 三念佛 The webs between the toes of the Buddha Tathāgata have colorful patterns like those of figured thin silk. The various colors, like black and yellow, among these patterns are [too numerous] to list fully. *Nianfo* three times.	Cf. 足指縵網. (660a8) The webs between the toes.
	54. 赤銅爪相, 於其爪端有五師子口. (648c8-9) The mark of the nails like red copper on whose tips there are five lion's mouths.
(55) 佛如來足十指纖圓斜齊. 如赤銅爪. 於其爪端有五師子口相. 三念佛 The mark of the ten slender, round, slanted, and even (?) toes of the Buddha Tathāgata, whose nails are like red copper. On the tips of the nails there are five lion's mouths. *Nianfo* three times.	Cf. 赤銅爪 (660a7) Nails like red copper.
	55. 脚指端蠡文相如毘紐羯磨天諸畫之印. (648c10) The patterns of conch shells on the tips of the toes are like the seals drawn by the god Viśvakarman.
(56) 佛如來脚十指端蠡文相. 如毘紐羯摩天所畫之印. 三念佛	(No substantial discussion.)

The mark of the patterns of conch shells on the tips of the ten toes of the Buddha Tathāgata. They are like the seals drawn by the god Viśvakarman. *Nianfo* three times.	
(57) 佛如來足下平滿不容一毛. 三念佛 The soles of the feet of the Buddha Tathāgata are so flat that they do not admit even a single hair [underneath]. *Nianfo* three times.	56.1. 足下平滿不容一毛. (648c11) The soles of the feet are so flat that they do not admit even a single hair [underneath]. (No substantial discussion.)
(58) 佛如來足下千輻輪相. 轂輞具足. 魚鱗相次金剛杵相. 三念佛 The mark of the wheel with a thousand spokes on the soles of the feet of the Buddha Tathāgata. It is complete with a hub and a hoop. Adamantine cudgels follow one after another like scales of fish. *Nianfo* three times.	56.2. 足下千輻輪相. 轂輞具足. 魚鱗相次, 金剛杵相. (648c11-12) The wheel with a thousand spokes on the soles of the feet are complete with a hub and a hoop. Adamantine cudgels follow one after another like scales of fish (?). (No substantial discussion.)
(59) 佛如來那羅延力合以成身, 結跏趺坐百寶蓮華座. 三念佛 The Nārāyaṇa-like power of the Buddha Tathāgata altogether makes a body, which is seated cross-legged on the lotus seat with one hundred jewels (?). *Nianfo* three times.	(None in the table.) (No substantial discussion.)
	如是名樂順觀者. 自有衆生樂逆觀者. 從足下千輻輪相. 從下觀至足指上. 一一相一一好一一色. 從下至上了了逆觀. 此是逆觀法. (648c13-16)

	[What has been described] thus far is called the one who wishes [to engage in the practice of] downward visualization. Naturally there are sentient beings who wish [to practice] upward visualization. One clearly [visualizes] upwards from the wheels with one thousand spokes on the soles of the feet, from the bottom up to the top of the toes, every major mark, every minor mark, and every color. This is the method of upward visualization.
自此已前是順觀佛身相法．若欲逆觀佛者．即從佛足指次第向上．一一相好觀之至佛頂相．此是逆觀法． Thus far [I have described] the method of downward visualization of the marks of the Buddha's body. If one wishes to visualize the Buddha upwards, one should begin with the toes of the Buddha and move upwards in order; one should visualize each mark up to the mark of the head of the Buddha. This is the method of upward visualization.[15]	(No substantial discussion.)
(60) 若欲觀佛圓光相者．世尊在日若行之時．項光照地．前一由旬純黃金色．後一由旬純黃金色．左一由旬純黃金色．右一由旬純黃金色．有人近佛左右行者．其人臭穢皆悉不現．人遠望之同爲金色． 有人諦觀佛項光者前行看者見佛在前．從後看者見佛在後．左邊看者見佛在左．右邊看者見佛在右．八方人来遥見世尊項光．各作是言．瞿曇沙門在金山中．遊行自在来向我所．如是衆生各各見異．此是項光相． 三念佛	5. 圓光一尋．(648c20) Halo of one *xun*. 如是衆相名爲圓光．圍繞佛頸．上亦一尋下亦一尋．．．．佛在世時．世尊行時．此光照地．前一由旬純黃金色．後一由旬純黃金色．左一由旬純黃金色．右一由旬純黃金色．有人近佛左右行者．其人臭穢皆悉不現．人遠望之同爲金色． 佛坐樹下此光赫奕．如衆金華散祇樹間．有人諦觀佛項光者．前行看者見佛在前．從後看者見佛在後．左邊看之見佛在左．右邊看之見佛在右．八方人来遥見項光．各作是言．瞿曇沙門在金山中．遊行自在来向我所．如是衆生各各異見．此名項光．(659c2-20)

If one wishes to visualize the mark of the halo of the Buddha, when the Blessed One was alive, when he walked, the light from the neck illuminated the ground. One *yojana* ahead became the color of pure gold; one *yojana* behind became the color of pure gold; one *yojana* to the left became the color of pure gold; one *yojana* to the right became the color of pure gold. If people approached the Buddha and walked on the both sides of him, all the impurities of these persons became unmanifest. If one looked at them from afar, one saw them also gold in color.	Such marks are called the halo surrounding the Buddha's neck (?). One *xun* upwards and downwards. . . .When the Buddha was alive, when the Blessed One walked, this light illuminated the ground. One *yojana* ahead became the color of pure gold; one *yojana* behind became the color of pure gold; one *yojana* to the left became the color of pure gold; one *yojana* to the right became the color of pure gold. If people approached the Buddha and walked on the both sides of him, all the impurities of these persons became unmanifest. If one looked at them from afar, one saw them also gold in color.
If one observed the light from the Buddha's neck, the one who went in front and looked at him saw the Buddha in front. One who looked at him from backward saw him behind. One who looked at him from the left saw him to the left. One who looked at him from the right saw him to the right. People from the eight directions came and saw the light from the neck of the Blessed One from afar. Each of them said: "The *śramaṇa* Gautama is in a golden mountain. He roams freely and approaches me." Thus sentient beings saw [the Buddha] differently. This is the mark of the light from the neck. *Nianfo* three times.	When the Buddha was seated under a tree, this light was most resplendent as if golden flowers were being scattered among the trees of the Jetavana forest. If one observed the light from the Buddha's neck, the one who went in front and looked at him saw the Buddha in front. One who looked at him from backward saw him behind. One who looked at him from the left saw him to the left. One who looked at him from the right saw him to the right. People from the eight directions came and saw the light from the neck of the Blessed One from afar. Each of them said: "The *śramaṇa* Gautama is in a golden mountain. He roams freely and approaches me." Thus sentient beings saw [the Buddha] differently. This is called the light from the neck.

Thus far I have presented a comparison of the parts of the *XJ* and the *GSHJ* directly relating to the Buddha's bodily marks. The remaining few paragraphs of the *XJ* also have corresponding elements in the *GSHJ*. Since these paragraphs are rather long, and since the texts of the *XJ* and the *GSHJ* are almost identical, I shall give only the translation of the *XJ* with references to the corresponding portions of the *GSHJ* without quoting the original text.[19]

[19] Paragraphs that only appear in the "long recensions" are further indented.

After my passing away, there will be some disciples of the Buddha who abandon all evil, leave disturbances, enjoy practicing little speech, and are not engaged in much business. Among the six periods of the day, even for a moment out of the small fraction of each period, they will be able to put their minds on the white tuft [between the brows] of the Buddha and make their minds clear and stable without erroneous images. If they unceasingly put their mind on the Buddha's white tuft, whether they can see the mark of not, they will remove the sins [accumulated through the] transmigration for as many *kalpa*s as the number of motes of dust [amounting to] the number of grains of sand of the nine billion six hundred million *nayuta*s of the Ganges river.[20] (Only in 22, 4678, and P.2130; *GSHJ*, T15:655a27-b5)

Furthermore, (if one) only hears about the white tuft and, being pleased, faithfully accepts it without surprise or doubt, that person will also remove the sins [accumulated through the] transmigration for eight billion *kalpa*s. (Only in 22 and P.2130; *GSHJ* T15:655b6-7)

The Buddha said to Ānanda: "The Tathāgata has golden rays of light from the thirty-two major marks of a great person and the eighty minor marks. Each ray of light has a boundless number of emanation Buddhas, whose pores emanate everything. To show the minimal essence of the Buddha's physical body, I have now explained the major and minor marks for the great assembly and King Śuddhodana in an abridged way. The Buddha was born among humans, [thus] he conforms to the appearance of human beings.[21] Based on the human marks, he teaches the thirty-two major marks. Because he is superior to the deities, he teaches the eighty minor marks. For bodhisattvas he teaches eighty-four thousand marvelous marks.[22] When I first attained enlightenment on the seat of quiescence in

---

[20] The translation of the last sentence is extremely awkward, but this seems to be what the text literally means. In any case, the point here is just to emphasize the inconceivable length of time, and the exact number of *kalpas* seems not to be important.

[21] Literally, "he conforms to human matters" (*shitong renshi* 示同人事).

[22] Cf. *GWSJ* (T12:343b23-26):

> 無量壽佛有八萬四千相. 一一相中各有八萬四千隨形好. 一一好中各有八萬四千光明. 一一光明遍照十方世界. 念佛衆生攝取不捨.
>
> Amitāyus Buddha has eighty-four thousand major marks. In each mark there are eighty-four minor marks. In each minor mark there are eighty-four thousand rays of light. Each ray universally illuminates the world-realms in the ten directions, embraces the sentient beings who call [Amitāyus] Buddha to mind, and does not abandon them.

Ibid., (343c4-7):

the State of Magadha, I explained in detail the major and minor marks of the Jewel of the Buddha to the great bodhisattvas such as Samantabhadra and Bhadramukha in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*.[23] Therefore in this noble teaching I give an abridged explanation for various common people and the four groups of disciples who slander the *vaipulya* sūtras,[24] commit the five heinous crimes, break the four grave precepts, steal the property of the Saṅgha, violate nuns, do not observe the eight *upavāsa* precepts, do various bad things and [hold] various wrong views. If such people can attentively fix their minds in front and visualize one mark of the Buddha Tathāgata even for a day and a night, all the obstructions of various bad offenses will be exhausted. For this reason, the Tathāgata is called Bhagavat, Arhat,[25] Samyaksaṃbuddha, the Sun of Merit, the Full Moon of Wisdom, the Pure Cool Pond, the Sin-Removing Gem, the Storehouse of Light, the Mountain of Wisdom, the River of Precepts, the Guide for [Those Who Are Lost on] a Maze-like Pass [of *Saṃsāra*], the Lamp [Banishing] Wrong Views, the Destroyer of the Enemies That are Defilements, the Mother and Father of All the Sentient Beings, the Great Refuge. If there are sentient beings who take refuge in the Buddha, the Blessed One, if they chant this name, they can remove the grave obstruction of passions that leads to a hundred thousand *kalpa*s [of transmigration]. How much more so if they earnestly concentrate on calling the Buddha to mind.[26] (*GSHJ*, T15:687b6-24)

The Buddha said to Ānanda: "In the past, for countless *asaṃkhya*s of *kalpa*s, the Tathāgata burned the logs of passion by [his] fire of wisdom. When he practiced the Absorption without Ideation, he did not attain it at an inappropriate time.[27] Therefore he has attained such superior marks. In

---

觀無量壽佛者，從一相好入．但觀眉間白毫．極令明了．見眉間白毫相者，八萬四千相好自然當見．

When one visualizes Amitāyus Buddha, one begins with one major mark. [Namely] one only visualizes the white tuft between the brows and makes it extremely clear. If one sees the white tuft between the brows, the eighty-four thousand major and minor marks become spontaneously visible.

23 *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, T9:601a-5a. See Stevenson 1987, pp.634-35, n.29. I shall come back to this point later.

24 Namely, the Mahāyāna sūtras.

25 *Eluohe* 阿羅訶 is a transcription of *arhat*, which literally means "the deserving one."

26 Cf. "Only by hearing the names of the two bodhisattvas, one removes the sins of the transmigration for boundless number of *kalpa*s. How much more so if one calls them to mind" 但聞佛名二菩薩名、除無量劫生死之罪。何況憶念. (*GWSJ*, T12:346b10-11)

27 The meaning is not entirely clear. Out of the two types of unconscious trance (*asaṃjñī samāpatti* 無想定 and *nirodhasamāpatti* 滅盡定), the first one ("Absorption without Ideation") is often associated with non-Buddhist ascetics. According to standard descriptions, they mistake the mindless state for *nirvāṇa*. The statement of the *XJ* here may have had something to do with this doctrine.

> each mark there are boundless emanation Buddhas, not to mention in many marks [taken together]. If one can fix his mind and visualize one pore, he is said to be practicing the concentration on calling the Buddha to mind. Since he calls the Buddha to mind, Buddhas of the ten directions always stand in front of that person and teach the True Dharma. At that moment, this person can generate the seeds of the Buddhas of the three periods. How much more so if one calls to mind the entire physical body of the Buddha. The Tathāgata further has the boundless Dharma Body, namely ten powers, [four types of] fearlessness, [three types of] concentration, [eight types of] liberation, and various miraculous powers.[28] These marvelous items are not the objects to be studied by you common people. Just develop a joyful aspect [of mind] with deep emotion. Having developed such an aspect [of mind], you should fix your mind on the virtues of the Buddha. Calling the Buddha's virtues to mind means [the meditation on the Buddha's] precepts, concentration, wisdom, liberation, the awareness of liberation,[29] thirty-two golden major marks, eighty minor marks, ten powers, four [types of] fearlessness, eighteen exclusive characteristics, great compassion, and three applications of mindfulness.[30] If sentient beings once hear about such virtues, major and minor marks, and the light of the Buddha's body, they will not fall into bad destinies for ten quintillion *kalpa*s, will not cherish wrong views, and will leave defiled places. They will always attain the right view and diligently practice without rest. Just by hearing the Buddha's name, one attains such merits. How much more so if one fixes the mind and [practices] the Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha. (Only in 22 and 4678; *GSHJ*, T15:687b25-c11)

The first point we can observe from these comparisons is that the *XJ* is much better organized than the *GSHJ*. The list of the *XJ* is neatly arranged in downward order from the head to the feet. We see none of the disorder we have observed in the *GSHJ*, and the length of the description of each mark in the *XJ* is more or less balanced.

Most elements of the *XJ* are also found in the *GSHJ*, but in the *GSHJ* they are

---

[28] Cf. *WCYF* (T15:327b9-11): "The visualization of the Dharma body is that, when one has seen the living body of the Buddha in the sky (/ emptiness?), one should visualize the inner Dharma body based on the living body. [The Dharma body consists of] the ten powers, fourfold fearlessness, eighteenfold uncommon dharmas, great kindness, great compassion, and boundless good deeds" 法身觀者，已於空中見佛生身，當因生身觀內法身．十力・四無所畏・十八不共法・大慈・大悲・無量善業. See Section 1, Chapter 4. See also the *CMJ* (T15:265b28-c2).

[29] These five are items of the so-called "fivefold Dharma body" 五分法身 (*anāsrava-skandha-*).

[30] Cf. *MMPS* T12:525c3-4; the *Pusa diji jing* 菩薩地持經 (T30:955a6-9 [No.1581]).

scattered throughout Chapters 2 and 3, often in a very illogical way.[31]

We should note that several items in the *XJ* (27, 38, 41, 47, 59) are entirely missing in the *GSHJ*. Therefore, they cannot be taken from the *GSHJ*. Below I compare the items of the *XJ* mainly with the *DZL*, though I do not necessarily claim that the *DZL* was the actual source of these expressions.

Table 2

(27) 佛如來兩肩膊圓滿相. 三念佛 The mark of the round shoulders and the arms of the Buddha Tathāgata. *Nianfo* three times.	*DZL*: 二十一者肩圓好相. (T25:90c17-18) The twenty-first is the mark of the nicely round shoulders.
(38) 佛如來上身胸臆廣厚. 如師子王. 三念佛 The Buddha Tathāgata's chest in his upper body is wide and thick like that of a lion king. *Nianfo* three times.	*DZL*: 十九者上身如師子相. (T25:90c16) The nineteenth is the mark of the upper body like a lion.
(41) 佛如來腹小不現相. 三念佛 The mark of the belly of the Buddha Tathāgata that is small and not manifest. *Nianfo* three times.	*DZL*: 五十八者腹不現. 五十九者細腹. (T25:684c12) The fifty-eighth is that the belly is not manifest. The fifty-ninth is the slim belly.
(47) 佛如來兩　周圓漸次而斂. 三念佛 The circumference of the Buddha Tathāgata's thighs become gradually smaller. *Nianfo* three times.	*DZL*: 隨次傭纖. (T25:90b16) [The calves] become gradually more slender.
(59) 佛如來那羅延力. 合以成身結跏趺坐百寶蓮華座. 三念佛 The Nārāyaṇa-like power of the Buddha Tathāgata altogether makes a body and is seated cross-legged on the lotus seat with one hundred jewels (?). *Nianfo* three times.	*DZL*: 五者身堅實如那羅延. (T25:684b15) The fifth is the firm body like that of Nārāyaṇa. *Dajijing Baonü pin* 大集經寶女品：那羅延力相. (T13:37c10 [No.397]) The mark of the Nārāyaṇa-like power.

[31] For example, the Buddha's heart is discussed in the section of the navel (T15:665b28-c3; quoted in Table 1[23]). One would wonder why.

Among these items, the first three ([27] the round shoulders and arms; [38] wide and thick chest; [41] small belly) are widely seen in the lists of major or minor marks in mainstream Buddhist texts (Henmi [1935]1982, tables 1 and 2). Nevertheless, we should note the similarity in wording between the *XJ* and the *DZL*. The last two are not very common as items of bodily marks, but there are some texts that include (59) "Nārāyaṇa-like power" in the list of marks.[32] Even an expression similar to (47) "thighs becoming gradually more slender" is, as shown above, found in the *DZL*. These items give us the impression that the *XJ* was directly connected to the source material, not necessarily to the *GSHJ*.

Second point to note is that occasionally the *XJ* shows similarity to the apparent sources of the *GSHJ* rather than to the *GSHJ* itself. In the following example, let us compare the *GSHJ* and the *XJ* with the *CMJ*.

Table 3

GSHJ	*XJ*	*CMJ*
14. 修直鼻相 (T15:648a9-10) The mark of the long straight nose. 鷹王觜相 (T15:648a10) The mark of the [nose like] the beak of a hawk king.		
如來鼻高脩而且直當于面門. 如來鼻端如鷹王觜. 鼻孔流光上下灌注. (656c20-22)	(14) 佛如來鼻高脩直如鑄金梃當于面門. 其孔流光上下灌注. 三念佛	復觀像鼻. 如鑄金鋌似鷹王嘴. 當于面門. (T15:255b12-13)

[32] See Okada 1989, 307. If not in the list of bodily marks, "Nārāyaṇa-like power" itself is a common attribute of the Buddha and bodhisattvas. See *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten*, s.v., "Naraenten" (4:4012c-13a); Kawamura Kōshō 1975, 343-51.

The nose of the Tathāgata is high, long, and straight directly pointing to the mouth. The tip of the Tathāgata's nose is like the beak of a hawk king. Light flows out of the holes of the nose and pours upwards and downwards.	The nose of the Buddha is high, long, and straight like a cast golden stick pointing to the mouth. Light flows out of the holes and pours upwards and downwards. *Nianfo* three times.	Further one visualizes the nose of the statue, which is like a cast golden stick and resembles the beak of a hawk pointing to the mouth.

If the *XJ* was excerpted from the *GSHJ*, why does the *XJ* have "a cast golden stick" that is found in the *CMJ* but missing in the *GSHJ*? Since "a cast golden stick" is not a common expression, the similarity between the *XJ* and the *CMJ* should not be coincidental. Perhaps the compilers of the *XJ* supplemented the items from the *GSHJ* with some element from the *CMJ*, but why did they do so? Unless we assume the unlikely hypothesis that the compilers of the *XJ* considered that the *GSHJ* was based on the *CMJ*, this point is difficult to explain.

See another example below:

Table 4

GSHJ	*XJ*	*DZL*
34. 缺盆骨滿相, 於彼相中旋生光臺 (648b5-6) The mark of the shoulder bones without hollows, in which mark a tower of revolving light appears.	(26)佛如來缺盆骨、兩手兩足及項後七處皆平滿相. 光明遍照十方世界作虎珀色. 三念佛	十七者七處隆滿相. 兩手兩足兩肩項中七處皆隆滿. 端正色淨勝餘身體. (T25:90c)
如來缺盆骨滿相. 滿相[16]光明遍照十方作虎珀色. (664b18-19) The mark of shoulder bones without hollows of the Tathāgata. The light from the flat mark universally illuminates the ten directions and turn them amber in color.	The mark of the Buddha Tathāgata's seven flat spots: shoulder bones, hands, feet, and the back of the neck. The rays of light universally illuminate the worlds in the ten directions and turn them amber in color. *Nianfo* three times.	The seventeenth is the mark of the seven flat spots. The hands, feet, shoulders, and neck are all flat. They are neat, have beautiful color, and surpass the other bodies.

Here again, the expression "the seven spots" appears only in the *XJ* and the *DZL*. Since "the seven spots" is a common expression, in this case there is not much difficulty in assuming that the compilers of the *XJ* supplemented the expression of the *GSHJ* with a phrase often associated with this topic. We should still note that the *XJ* seems to have referred to the apparent source materials of the *GSHJ*, not exclusively to the *GSHJ* itself.

Also, we have seen that very similar expressions concerning (7) forehead and (23) heart[33] are repeated at a few different places in the *GSHJ* (Table 1 of this appendix). This would be more likely to happen if the compilers of the *GSHJ* were relying on the phrases already established in another text.

All of these points are rather circumstantial and not decisive. We cannot override the stronger evidence pointing to the precedence of the *GSHJ* mentioned before (p.519) based on these circumstantial pieces of evidence. Nevertheless, it is also true that the *XJ* does not seem to be a text simply excerpted from the *GSHJ*. We should consider the possibility that at least some portions of the *XJ* retain an old form or substantially variant recension of the *GSHJ*.

c. Historical Background

As we have already discussed, there is little doubt that the *XJ* was a practical manual for ritual chanting. There seems to have been some communal ritual in which a leading monk praised each mark of the Buddha, and the whole assembly responded by chanting Amitābha's name three times in unison.

We should note here that similar liturgical texts are widely seen in Chinese Pure Land traditions already from the fifth century. The development of this type of literature is delineated by Hirokawa (1984, 426-65), who calls these types of texts *raisan mon* (Ch.

---

33 I refer to these items by the numbers of the *XJ* in the table.

lizan wen) 禮讃文. Here I would like to outline the development of this class of literature following his lead. On this matter, I have also referred to Stevenson's helpful survey (1987, 282-98).

The first text of this type composed by Chinese is the *Zan Amituofo ji* 讃阿彌陀佛偈 (T47:420c-24b [No.1978]) by Tanluan 曇鸞 (late fifth century to early sixth century). The current text has refrains, "In earnest I pay homage to Amitābha Buddha to the west," (*namo zhixing guimei li xifang Amituofo* 南無至心歸命禮西方阿彌陀佛) and "May we be reborn in Sukhāvatī with sentient beings" (*yuan gong zhuzhongsheng wangsheng Anleguo* 願共諸衆生往生安樂国) before and after each verse. Because these refrains are missing in Dunhuang manuscripts of the same text, Hirokawa (1984, 430) considers that they are later interpolations modeled after Shandao's 善導 *Wangsheng lizan ji* 往生禮讃偈 (hereafter *Wangsheng lizan* 往生禮讃, T47:438b-48a [No.1980],). Since these refrains are very similar to the ones found in *Wangsheng lizan*, this is indeed a likely hypothesis. Nevertheless, it does not necessarily mean that the *Zan Amituofo ji* was originally not intended for communal chanting. We should also note that the refrain *san nianfo* 三念佛 was not always repeated after every item in the manuscripts of the *XJ*. Since such simple refrains are easy to remember, it is easily imaginable that copyists often copied only the verses to be read by the leaders of the ceremony.[34] In other words, the refrains in the current text may be indeed later additions, but it does not necessarily rule out the possibility

---

34 Stevenson expresses a similar opinion in the following way (1987, 284):

> In short, what is written down might well be just those parts that are difficult to remember. Commonly used introductory invocations, confessionals, conclusions, and so forth could be plugged in at will. Thus, the absence of the cyclic formulae for invocation and vow from the written text is by no means any indication that the hymn, within the context of its actual performance, was not set to such cycles. Indeed we witness this sort of expansion and contraction in numerous Tunhuang liturgical manuals, including Shan-tao's own *Wang-sheng li-tsan chi*. (Emphasis in the original).

The last point is further illustrated by the fact that in a Tibetan transcription of Fazhiao's chanting manual (Takata Tokio 1993, 371), and that a liturgical text in Tibetan found in Dunhuang that has a very similar format (Jonathan Silk 1993, 4), refrains are not always copied. See also Kanaoka Shōkō 1971, 128-34.

that these hymns were used for communal chanting with some other refrains.

Some hymns by Yanzong 彥琮 (557-610), who was active in the Sui period, are incorporated in Fazhao's 法照 texts. Here again, old Shōsōin 正倉院 manuscript lacks the refrains seen in Dunhuang manuscripts, and thus Hirokawa suspects that the original text did not have refrains. On his verses, see also Tsukamoto [1933]1976, 419-21.

It was Shandao 善導 (613-81) who completed the style of *lizan wen* 禮讚文. He composed three collections of hymns: the *Wangsheng lizan* 往生禮讚; the *Zhuanjing xingdao yuan wangsheng jingtu fashi zan* 轉經行道願往生淨土法事讚 (hereafter *Fashi zan* 法事讚; T47:424b-38b [No.1979]); and the *Yi guanjing deng ming Bozhou sanmei xingdao wangsheng zan* 依觀經等明般舟三昧行道往生讚 (hereafter *Bozhou zan* 般舟讚; T47:448a-56a [No.1981]).

In these texts by Shandao, every verse is followed by short phrases such as "May we be reborn [in the Pure Land]" (*yuan wangsheng* 願往生), "Boundless bliss" (*wuliang le* 無量樂) written in small characters. They clearly share the same format with the *XJ*, and it seems clear that all of them were intended to be used in chanting rituals.[35]

According to the *Fashi zan*, which expressly describes the format of the ceremony, the "invokers" (*yu zhoaqing ren* 欲召請人) and "responders" (*hezan zhe* 和讚者) are standing and all the other participants (*dazhong* 大衆) are seated (T47:424c27-28). First one (monk) offers incense and circumambulates once scattering petals. Then the "invokers" melodiously invoke Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Śākyamuni, and other Buddhas and bodhisattvas to the hall according to the proper method (依法作聲召請, see T47:424c28-25c1). During this process, the "responders" chant "May we be reborn

---

[35] Stevenson (1987, 294) states that the hymns of the *Bozhou zan* were used "in isolated retreat characteristic of the practice of *Pratyutpanna Samādhi*," but this point is a little questionable to me. Although there is little doubt that the motif of this text is taken from the context of isolated visualization, the text of the *Bozhou zan* itself does not seem anything other than a manual of communal chanting. Otherwise, the existence of the refrains in this text would be difficult to understand.

[in the Pure Land]" and "boundless bliss" in response to every verse of invocation.[36]

It is perhaps noteworthy that the *GSHJ* is quoted at length in this *Fashi zan* (T47:428c7-29b19).[37] Thus there is no doubt that the *GSHJ* was used in chanting rituals in the Tang period Pure Land traditions. Here, an even more noticeable fact is that in another portion of the *Fashi zan* (T47:430a4-b10), a text corresponding to the *GSHJ* (T15:669a2-c18) is quoted under the title *Diyu jing* 地獄經, *"The Sūtra on the Hells"* (T49:430a4). Although what this means is difficult to judge,[38] it is certain that some text closely related to the *GSHJ* or the *GSHJ* itself was quoted in the *Fashi zan*.

Fazhao's 法照 (dates uncertain, the eighth century)[39] two important texts of this class also deserve full attention, namely the *Jingtu wuhui nianfo lüe fashi yi zan* 淨土五會念佛略法事儀讚 (hereafter, *Wuhui fashi zan* 五會法事讚, T47:474c-90c [No.1983]) and its longer version, the *Jingtu wuhui nianfo songjing guanxing yi* 淨土五會念佛誦經觀行儀 (hereafter, *Wuhai guanxing yi*, T85:1242c-66a [No.2827]).[40] In these texts, verses are

---

36 Cf. Satō Shingaku 1980, 263.

37 The quotation corresponds to T15:668b19-69b7.

38 Perhaps this was an alternate title for Chapter 4 of the *GSHJ* because of its contents, or perhaps that chapter was extracted from the *GSHJ* and circulated as a separate text under the title *Diyu jing*. Also, a sūtra called the *Diyu jing* is already listed as an anonymous translation in the *CSJ* (T55:27c23). Therefore, it is possible that the *Diyu jing* was an independent text that served as one of the sources of the *GSHJ*. Apparently this sūtra is not extant except for a short quotation in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (T53:655a13-18 [No.2122]; pointed out by Mochizuki Shinkō [1946, 326]), and so we cannot confirm this point.

39 For his biography, see Tsukamoto [1933] 1976, 325-83.

40 For the references to the Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Wuhui guanzing yi*, see Tsukamoto Zenryū 1976, 384-89; Takata Tokio 1993, p.374 + n.18. I thank Professor South Coblin for the reference to the latter article.

The *Wuhui guanxing yi* was rewritten in 774 in *bingzhou* 并州 (Taiyuan 太原 in the Shanxi 山西 Province). See Tsukamoto [1933] 1976, 361-62. Therefore, the original compilation of this text must be earlier than that. The *Wuhui fashi zan* was compiled after the *Wuhui guanxing yi* in Chang'an 長安 (ibid., pp.363-67).

The contents of these texts are carefully analyzed in ibid., pp.389-470. Tsukamoto points out that the *Wuhai fashi zan* is a better-organized reworking of the *Wuhui guanxing yi*.

followed by short refrains, and thus these texts are clearly intended for communal chanting.[41] The former text contains *Xianghao zan* 相好讚 (*A Praise of the Major and Minor Bodily Marks*), which "was based on the *Xianghao jing*" 依相好經 (T47:477a7). The latter also refers to the *Xianghao zan* (T85:1244a11).[42]

Although the *Xianghao zan* in the *Wuhui fashi zan* is very short, if we compare, for example, the following phrases from the *XJ* and the *Xianghao zan* (T47:477a10), one would get a strong impression that the *Xianghao zan* was indeed based on the *XJ*:

Table 5

XJ	*Xianghao zan*
(8) 佛如來白毫相. 長一丈六尺十楞分明. 如白<u>瑠璃筒</u>中外皆空. <u>右旋婉轉</u>在佛眉間. 圍如三寸如白<u>頗黎</u>珠. . . . 三念佛	眉間毫相<u>頗梨</u>色彌陀佛 <u>右旋宛轉琉璃筒</u>彌陀佛彌陀佛
The mark of the white tuft of the Buddha Tathāgata is one *zhang* six *chi* long with ten clear corners. It is empty both inside and outside like <u>a cylinder of white beryl</u>; <u>curling clockwise</u> it rests between the brows of the Buddha. It looks like a <u>white crystal</u> ball about three *cun* in circumference. . . . *Nianfo* three times.	The mark of the tuft between the brows has the color of <u>crystal</u>. [A]mituofo. <u>Curling clockwise</u> <u>like a cylinder of beryl</u>. [A]mituofo [A]mituofo.

Of course it is also possible that the *Xianghao zan* was directly based on the *GSHJ* itself, but here I would like to trust the express reference to the *Xianghao jing*. I believe that the *XJ* was indeed the source of the *Xianghao zan*.

Taken together with the (apparent) mention of this text in the *KSL* (compiled in 730), it seems certain that the *XJ* was known to the Chinese Buddhist world by the eighth

41 The fascicle three of the *Wuhui guanxing yi* (T85:1255c21-23; see Tsukamoto [1933] 1976, 398-99) stipulates that the person who chants the verses should be able to recite them by heart, and that the congregation should respond to them by chanting *nianfo* in the third melody (see the *Wuhui fashi yi*, T47:476b27-c2; Tsukamoto [1933] 1976, 408-9).

42 Since only fascicles two and three are available in the Dunhuang manuscripts, it is possible that the *Xianghao jing* itself was included in the fascicle one.

century.

Considering the fact that similar chanting texts were popular in China proper already from the fifth century, and that the text is (apparently) mentioned in the mainstream Chinese catalogue *KSL*, probably we should consider that the *XJ* was compiled in a devotional tradition of Pure Land Buddhism in China proper and was transported to the Dunhuang-Turfan areas.[43]

Nevertheless, since this was not a well-known canonical text, it is hard to imagine that such a text was brought in from another region simply for the purpose of scriptural veneration, much less for academic study. Judging from the existence of the manuscripts of the *XJ* in Turfan and Dunhuang, and judging from the presence of many Pure Land chanting manuals in Dunhuang, it is very likely that rituals of communal chanting prescribed in these texts were popularly practiced in these areas.

We should further note that this type of chanting ritual seems to have influenced the Tibetan people who occupied these areas from the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth century. Many hymns included in Fazhao's two collections are transcribed into Tibetan scripts in the so-called "Long Scroll."[44] Further, there is a collection of Tibetan verses praising the virtues of Amitābha found in Dunhuang (Jonathan Silk 1993). A notable point here is that although the verses themselves are written in real Tibetan (not transcribed Chinese), the refrains are written in transcribed Chinese (*a myi ta pur na mo a myi ta pur*; ibid., p.9; pp.17-19). These manuscripts seem to be testimonies to the Sino-Tibetan interactions

---

43 Needless to say, the existence of manuscripts in Dunhuang does not automatically mean that the text was composed in the Dunhuang area, or even that the manuscripts were copied there. There are many Dunhuang manuscripts whose colophons indicate that they were copied elsewhere. See, for example, Tsukamoto 1958, 58.

The Pure Land chanting manuals mentioned above were composed in China proper (Shandao was active in the Chang'an area; Fazhao's *Wuhui fashi zan* was also composed in Chang'an). Many of these chanting manuals, however, were also found at Dunhuang (see, for example, Ishida 1958, 103-4; Stevenson 1987, p.660, n.29).

44 C.131. Louis de la Vallée Poussin 1962, 266; Takata 1993, p.380 + n.1.

during the period of Tibetan occupation.

I do not know of any evidence that the *XJ* itself was transcribed or translated into Tibetan, but perhaps we should note that Ch.819, the manuscript from Turfan, is written on a *pothī*-leaf with a punch-hole (Thilo 1985, 74), the writing material used only during the Tibetan occupation period under the Tibetan influence (Fujieda Akira 1966, 26-27). Thus, the *XJ* also does not seem to have been outside the same cross-cultural milieu. This of course does not have direct relevance to the compilation process of the *GSHJ*, but in a way it is intriguing that the *GSHJ*, which itself was compiled in a cross-cultural setting, participated in the Sino-Tibetan interaction in its reincarnated form, the *XJ*.

Further, these chanting texts give us a good opportunity to consider the relationship between chanting and visualization. On the one hand, the *XJ* seems to be a good example to demonstrate that the *GSHJ* was not necessarily used for the purpose of visualization. We can observe a similar phenomenon in the *Banzhou zan* 般舟讚, a chanting text based on the *Pratyutpannasūtra* and the *GWSJ*, the two major visualization texts. On the other hand, however, we should also note that chanting and visualization were not two entirely separate issues. See, for example, the following verses from the *Banzhou zan* (T47:451b3-5):

念佛專心誦經觀願往生	禮讚莊嚴無雜乱無量樂
行住坐臥心相續願往生	極樂莊嚴自然見無量樂
或想或觀除罪障願往生	皆是彌陀本願力無量樂

[If] one calls [Amitābha] Buddha to mind, concentrate on chanting sūtras, and visualizes [Amitābha Buddha]; May we be reborn [in the Pure Land].
[And if] the ornamentations of praise is not in disorder; Boundless Pleasure.
[And if] one continuously [direct one's] mind [to Amitābha Buddha] while one is walking, standing, sitting or lying; May we be reborn [in the Pure Land].
The ornamentations of Sukhāvatī will naturally become visible. Boundless Pleasure.
Whether one imagines [Amitābha Buddha], visualizes [him], or removes obstructive sins; May we be reborn [in the Pure Land].
Everything is by the power of the original vows of Amitābha. Boundless Pleasure.

Of course, these are merely praising verses and are not practical injunctions. Nevertheless, at least it would be certain that visualization was still a major concern in this type of chanting ritual. In contrast, the following line found near the beginning of the *Wuhui fashi zan* 五會法事讃 more clearly prescribes the practitioners to visualize Amitābha during the chanting ritual (T47:475a19-21):

> 敬白道場衆等. 總須發至誠心端坐合掌. 觀想阿彌陀佛一切賢聖如對目前. 若能如是用心即賢聖降臨, 龍天護念, 聽聞經讃法事.
>
> I respectfully tell the people in the chanting hall. You should all give rise to the most earnest mind, sitting properly with your hands in the *añjalī* position. You should visualize Amitābha Buddha and all the other noble ones as if they were in front of your eyes. If you keep your mind this way, noble ones will descend, *nāga*s and deities will keep you in their mind, and [they will all] listen to the Dharma ceremony of praising sūtras.

It is still possible to suspect that this type of injunction may have been "prescriptive" rather than "descriptive."[45] Perhaps many people who participated in this ceremony may have been completely occupied by mechanically chanting the formulae and may not have had time to create mental images (cf. Robert Sharf 1995, 244-45).

Of course we cannot be sure about what people actually did in their practice several hundred years ago, but it seems at least very likely that in their mind these types of chanting rituals were conceived as a form of visualization practice. Considering that Fazhao himself claims that his *wuhui nianfo*, "*nianfo* in five melodies," was based on his visionary encounter with Amitābha (*Wuhui guanxing yi*, T85:1253b24-54a17), it is not difficult to imagine that he put much emphasis on the visionary aspect of *nianfo* as well. There are even records that Fazhao had a visionary experience by practicing *wuhui nianfo*

---

45 Cf. "There is a marked tendency in the field to assume that such *mārga* treatises are descriptive accounts of meditative states based on the personal experiences of accomplished adepts, rather than prescriptive systematizations of scriptural materials" (Robert Sharf 1995, 236; emphasis added). Sharf is critical of such a "marked tendency" and claims that the contents of the "*mārga* treatises" (*Visuddhimagga*, etc.) are in fact "prescriptive."

(Tsukamoto [1933] 1976, 352). Chanting and visualization do not seem to have been separate issues even in this relatively late period. Rather, they seem to have been practiced together without any sense of contradiction.[46]

Concluding Remarks

Apparently around the eighth century, a chanting manual entitled *XJ* was compiled based on the descriptions of the Buddha's bodily marks in the *GSHJ*. Though we should consider the possibility that the text of the *XJ* was based on some older tradition, it seems to be certain that the current text of the *XJ* stemmed from the general trend within the Pure Land Buddhism to compile texts for communal chanting rituals. In fact the *XJ* is referred to by a very famous chanting text, the *Wuhui fashi zan*.

The *XJ* provides a good opportunity to consider the relationship between the two major forms of *nianfo* in China, namely visualization and chanting. It seems to me that these two types of *nianfo* were practiced together without any sense of contradiction until a relatively late period. It is also curious that the *GSHJ*, which was created in highly cross-cultural settings, participated in the cross-cultural interactions between China and Tibet in its reincarnated form, the *XJ*.

---

46 This observation gives partial support to Yamada's claim (1976, 93) that the visualization portion of the *GWSJ* was not intended for the actual practice of visualization but was merely introduced to authorize the chanting of Amitābha's name. It seems clear that the *XJ* and the *GSHJ*, the latter of which was closely related to the *GWSJ*, were not necessarily intended to be used in visualization practices but also for chanting rituals. Nevertheless, we must consider it an overstatement when he says that nobody has ever practiced the visualization as is described in the *GWSJ* (ibid., 87; cf. Fujita 1985, 134). As we shall see in Section III.4, there are some mural paintings from the Turfan area that strongly suggest that the visualization based on the *GWSJ* was actually practiced in that area.

Based on his observations of Dunhuang Mogao Cave 敦煌莫高窟, no. 254, Stanley Kenji Abe notes that "multiple texts, practices and cult activities thrived simultaneously and that Buddhist practitioners embraced a wide variety of beliefs with little sense that any one necessarily excluded the other" (1989, 115). Our own observation is more consonant with this view.

[1] 抓 means "to scratch, pinch" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 5:134a-b). A Dunhuang manuscript of the *GSHJ* (S.4615; *Dunhuang dazangjing* 敦煌大藏經 59:194a11) has a variant form of 觶 "cornered cup" (*Dai kanwa jiten* 10:376d-77a). In either case, the meaning is not very clear. My translation is a mere conjecture.

[2] In the *XJ*, rays of light are not mentioned before, but they are in the *GSHJ*. Here, the *GSHJ* would make better sense.

[3] The rays from the brain are explained in the item (5) below.

[4] This is in section 4.1.7 "the marks of a great person when he attained buddhahood" 如來成佛時大人相.

[5] This is in section 4.2 "the mark of the wide and flat forehead" 額廣平正相.

[6] Text gives a variant form. See *Kadokawa shinjigen*, p.703a.

[7] "More than usual" will make sense only in a narrative context. Since the *GSHJ* has many more narrative elements than the *XJ*, this kind of phrase should in general make better sense in the *GSHJ*. In this particular section (656c3-9), however, even the *GSHJ* has few narrative elements, so this phrase is equally difficult to account for in both texts.

[8] Note that these two sentences appear at the end of the paragraph in the *GSHJ*.

[9] See the footnote on **item 22 in the left column of Table 3 in Section II.2 of this dissertation.**

[10] Note that this is from Chapter 4, "The Visualization of the Buddha's Heart" 觀佛心品.

[11] Cf. *GWSJ* (T12:343c1-2):

> 以觀佛身故亦見佛心. 諸佛心者大慈悲是. 以無緣慈攝諸衆生.
>
> Because one visualizes the Buddha's body, one also sees the Buddha's mind. The minds of Buddhas are great kindness and compassion. They embrace sentient beings with unconditional (?) kindness.

Cf. also *GSHJ* (T15:667a26-27).

[12] Here the text of the *XJ* seems better than that of the *GSHJ*.

[13] The text has 助, which is probably a mistake.

[14] *Utpala* means "blue lotus."

[15] Note that the text is much better in the *XJ* than in the *GSHJ*.

[16] Here the text of the *XJ* seems better than that of the *GSHJ*.

Appendix 4

An Edition of the *Sūtra on the Major and Minor Bodily Marks of the Buddha*

佛說觀佛三昧海[1]經本行品第八

(1) 佛如来頂上宍髻.[2] 團圓勇[3]起. 猶如合拳. 其上平偃猶如天蓋. 三念阿彌陀佛[4]

This transcription is based on seven manuscripts: B.245, S.22, S.2461, S.2686, S.4678, P.2130, and Berlin Ch.819. (B: Beijing number; S: Stein number; P: Pelliot number; Ch: serial number of the Chinese manuscripts in the German Turfan Collection) B.245, S.4678, and P.2130 are the only manuscripts that begin from the very beginning, including the title line. Probably B.245 and S.2686 came from the same manuscript that was subsequently cut into two pieces. (Hereafter in this transcription, unmarked numbers refer to Stein numbers)

{}: Unclear characters or uncertain readings. I mark them only when the character is unclear in all the manuscripts in which the character in question appears.

[ ]: Supplementary characters not found in the manuscripts.

X: Illegible characters.

There are many variant forms of characters in the manuscripts. In principle, if these are listed in Nogami's tables of variant characters (1965, 131-39; 1972, 390-404), I have converted them to the standard forms without mentioning so (I thank Professor Valerie Hansen of Yale University for copies of Nogami's tables). In some notable instances, however, differences in form are noted in footnotes. A character that is underlined indicates that the original character in the manuscript has a slightly different form. Due to the limitation of currently available Chinese and Japanese computer software, my treatment in this regard is not completely consistent.

On the other hand, I noted some seemingly insignificant variants (such as 花 and 華; 无 and 無;but I in principle ignored the difference between 佛 and 仏, which appears too often to note every time). These variants seem to be used indiscriminately in a single manuscript, and so we cannot put too much weight on these types of variants. Nevertheless, certain manuscripts tend to share the same variants at the corresponding portions, and thus these variants can be one of the clues to determine the relationship among the manuscripts.

The punctuation is all mine. Small characters show that they are written small in the original manuscripts.

[1] P.2130 adds 藏.

[2] P.2130 髮{向髻} instead of 宍髻.

[3] P.2130 踊 instead of 勇.

[4] 三念阿彌陀佛 only in B.245. P.2130 三念佛 instead of 三念阿彌陀佛. 4678 does not have this formula here.

(2) 佛如来頭上有八万四千髮．一一髮[5]長一丈三尺五寸．猶如黒絲．
分齊[6]分明四觚[7]分明．毛皆兩靡右旋而生．如紺瑠[8]璃色.[9] 右旋婉轉巻成[10]蠡[11]文．在佛[12]頭上一一毛孔．旋生五光[13]入諸光中．三念佛[14]

(3) 佛如来頭皮黄金色．亦生衆光入脳光十四色中．三念佛

(4) 佛如来頭頂骨．其色正白如頗黎.[15] 雪山不得[16]爲譬.[17] 三念佛

(5) 佛如来脳紅頗黎[18]色．有十四脉[19]衆畫具足．一一畫有十四光明[20]了了於脳脉中旋生諸光．上衝頭骨乃至髮際．光有十四色[21]圍繞衆髮．三念佛

(6) 佛如来髮際．如赤真珠色婉轉下垂．有五千光．間錯分明皆向上靡．圍[22]繞衆[23]髮從頂上出．生諸化[24]佛．三念佛

---

[5] P.2130 omits 一一髮.

[6] 4678 劑 instead of 齊. P.2130 劑 instead of 齊.

[7] B. 245 has a variant form of 觶 instead of 觚. In 4678, the right part is actually 爪 instead of 瓜. I cannot, however, find the combination of 角 and 爪 in dictionaries. I assume that this is a variant form of 觚. P.2130 顧 instead of 觚.

[8] P.2130 琉 instead of 瑠.

[9] P.2130 omits 色.

[10] P.2130 omits 成.

[11] P.2130 {螺} instead of 蠡.

[12] P.2130 adds 佛.

[13] P.2130 adds 中 apparently written over 入.

[14] This and the following 三念佛 appear only in B. 245, 2461, and 2686 (where the manuscripts are available).

[15] P.2130 梨 instead of 黎.

[16] P.2130 omits 得.

[17] B.245 比 instead of 譬.

[18] P.2130 梨 instead of 黎.

[19] 4678 脳 instead of 脉.

[20] 4678 色光分明 instead of 光明. P.2130 色分明 instead of 光明.

[21] 4678 omits 十四色.

[22] P.2130 圍 instead of 圍.

(7) 佛如来額廣平正. 額上諸毛毛[25]皆上靡. 其毛根下梵磨[26]尼色. 毛端流光如融紫金光相. 上靡入[27]於[28]髮際. 婉[29]轉下垂至耳輪邊. 然後布散, 入諸髮間. 圍[30]繞蠡[31]文數百千匝. 從枕骨出. 如金蓮華[32]日照開敷. 適[33]衆生意. 三念佛

(8) 佛如来[34]白毫相. 長一丈六[35]尺十楞分明. 如白瑠[36]璃筒中外皆[37]空. 右旋婉[38]轉在佛眉間. 圍如三寸如白頗黎[39]珠. 十方光現暎蔽[40]衆目. 如億万[41]日不可具見. 於[42]毛端[43]出五色光明還[44]入毛孔. 三念佛

---

[23] P.2130 諸 instead of 衆.

[24] P.2130 omits 化.

[25] P.2130 omits 毛.

[26] 4678 and P.2130 摩 instead of 磨.

[27] 2461 begins here.

[28] 2461 omits 於.

[29] 2461 踠 instead of 婉.

[30] P.2130 團 instead of 圍.

[31] 2461 {纙} instead of 蠡.

[32] P.2130 花 instead of 華.

[33] 2461 釋 instead of 適.

[34] Often 2461 simply says 佛 instead of 佛如來. If this is the case, I mark it by an asterisk (*).

[35] 4678 五 instead of 六.

[36] P.2130 琉 instead of 瑠.

[37] B.245, 4678, and P.2130 俱 instead of 皆.

[38] 2461 踠 instead of 婉.

[39] P.2130 梨 instead of 黎.

[40] B.245 弊 instead of 蔽. 2461 閑.

[41] 2461 and 4678 万億 instead of 億万. P.2130 omits 万.

[42] 2461, 4678, and P.2130 add 其.

[43] B.245 adds 頭.

[44] P.2130 衆 instead of 還.

(9) 佛[45]如来左右二眉形如初月. 繞[46]生諸毛稀稠得所. 眉光兩靡[47]散[48]入諸髮. 其色艶[49]紫,[50] 紺[51]瑠[52]璃. 蜂[53]翠, 孔雀色无[54]異[55]類. 猶[56]如聚墨比瑠[57]璃光. 眉下三[58]畫及眼眶[59]中旋生四光青黄赤白.[60] 上向[61]焔[62]出入眉骨中.[63] 出[64]眉毛端. 三念佛

(10) 佛[65]如来眼睫[66]上下各生五[67]百[68]毛. 柔軟可愛如優曇鉢[69]華鬚. 三念佛

---

[45] 2461 omits 佛.

[46] 4678 遶 instead of 繞.

[47] B.245 眉 instead of 靡.

[48] P.2130 adds 其.

[49] 4678 焔 instead of 艶.

[50] 2461 adds another 艶紫.

[51] 2461, 4678, and P.2130 add 青.

[52] P.2130 琉 instead of 瑠.

[53] B.245 and 2461 豊 instead of 蜂.

[54] 2461 無 instead of 无.

[55] 4678 and P.2130 以 instead of 異.

[56] 2461 and 4678 由 instead of 猶.

[57] P.2130 琉 instead of 瑠.

[58] P.2130 omits 三.

[59] 4678 匡 instead of 眶. P.2130 腰.

[60] 2461 and P.2130 add 皆.

[61] P.2130 向上 instead of 上向.

[62] 2461 艶 instead of 焔.

[63] 2461 中骨 instead of 骨中.

[64] P.2130 adds X.

[65] 2461 omits 佛.

[66] 2461 𥇥. 4678 𥈭.

[67] P.2130 omits 五.

[68] B.245 白 instead of 百.

[69] 4678 omits 鉢.

(11) 佛如来*眼如四大海水.[70] 青白分明. 白[71]者白於白寶. 青者勝青蓮華.[72] 上下俱瞬[73]如牛王目. 目雙眦[74]頭旋生[75]二光. 如青蓮花.[76] 三念佛

(12) 佛如来*耳普垂埵[77]相. 兩耳孔中旋生七毛. 輪郭[78]衆[79]相如寶蓮花[80]懸處日光. 兩耳內外出生蓮華.[81] 及耳孔七毛流出諸光. 光[82]有五百支支有[83]五百色. 三念佛

(13) 佛[84]如来方頰車相. 頰上六畫.[85] 左右正等. 有妙光色輝艶[86]倍[87]常. 如淨金色. 譬如和合百千日月. 三念佛

(14) 佛[88]如来鼻高脩直如鑄金梃[89]當于面門. 其孔流光上下灌注. 三念佛

---

[70] 2461 omits 如四大海水.

[71] P.2130 omits 白.

[72] P.2130 華 instead of 花.

[73] 4678 and P.2130 眴 instead of 瞬.

[74] B.245 and 2461 齊 instead of 眦.

[75] 2461 出 instead of 生.

[76] 2461 and P.2130 華 instead of 花.

[77] 4678 睡 instead of 埵.

[78] P.2130 埻 instead of 郭.

[79] 2461 omits 衆.

[80] 2461, 4678, and P.2130 華 instead of 花.

[81] P.2130 華蓮 (written with what appears to be an inversion mark) instead of 蓮華.

[82] 2461 omits 光.

[83] P.2130 有支 instead of 支有.

[84] 2461 omits 佛.

[85] B.245, 2461, and P.2130 add 中.

[86] P.2130 暉焰 instead of 輝艶.

[87] P.2130 {位} instead of 倍.

[88] 2461 omits 佛.

[89] B.245 框 instead of 梃. 2461 鋌. P.2130 鋋

(15) 佛[90]如来*髭鬚如蝌[91]斗[92]形. 於其[93]毛端頭開敷三光. 紫紺紅色. 直從口邊旋頸上照.[94] 圍繞圓光作三種畫. 其畫分明色中上者. 三念佛

(16) 佛[95]如来師子欠[96]相. 佛張口時如師子王口.[97] 方正[98]等. 口兩吻邊流出二光. 其光金色. 三念佛

(17) 佛如来*脣色紅赤.[99] 如頻婆菓.[100] 於上下脣及齗齶[101]間和合出光.[102] 其光團圓猶[103]如百千赤真珠貫. 從佛口出入於佛鼻. 從佛鼻出入白毫中. 從白毫[104]出入諸髮間. 暎[105]飾諸花.[106] 三念佛

(18) 佛如来*口四十齒. 齒印文上生光. 其光紅白光光相照. 照[107]四十齒. 令四十齒听[108]然[109]齊[110]白如頗黎[111]壁[112]色.[113] 上下齊平无[114]参差者.

---

[90] 2461 omits 佛.

[91] B.245 and 2461 科 instead of 蝌.

[92] 2461 升.

[93] B.245 and 2461 omits 其.

[94] P.2130 昭.

[95] 2461 omits 佛.

[96] B.245 and 2461 𣢾

[97] P.2130 adds {々}.

[98] B.245 [illegible]. 2461 adds 整.

[99] 4678 and P.2130 赤好 instead of 紅赤.

[100] 2461 果 instead of 菓.

[101] 4678 has the same character with the 月 radical, but the meaning is the same.

[102] 2461 omits 光.

[103] 2461 由 instead of 猶.

[104] 4678 adds 中.

[105] B.245 影 instead of 暎.

[106] 2461, 4678, and P.2130 華 instead of 花.

[107] P.2130 omits 照.

[108] 4678 [illegible] instead of 听. P.2130 斷.

[109] B.245 ends in 然.

[110] 2686 begins with 齊.

其[115]齒間之[116]畫流出諸光亦[117]紅白色. 如是衆色佛在世時暎[118]曜人目.
三念佛

(19) 佛[119]如来上齶[120]有[121]八万四千畫了了分明. 下{齶}[122]如優曇鉢華[123]莖色. 三念佛

(20) 佛[124]如来廣長舌相. 佛舌出時如赤蓮華葉. 上至髮際. 遍覆佛面. 其舌根下及舌兩邊有二寶珠. 流注甘露滴[125]舌根上. 諸天世人十地菩[126]薩无[127]此舌相亦无[128]此味. 其[129]舌[130]上五畫五綵分明如寶印文. 其舌[131]下十脉[132]衆光流出. 如此上[133]味入印文中. 流注上下入瑠[134]璃筒. 諸佛

---

[111] 2461 and P.2130 梨 instead of 黎.

[112] 2461 and 2686 碧 instead of 壁.

[113] 2686 珠 instead of 色. 4678 and P.2130 omits 色.

[114] 2461 and 4678 無.

[115] P.2130 omits 其.

[116] 4678 and P.2130 諸 instead of 之.

[117] 2686 and 4678 赤 instead of 亦.

[118] 2686 影 instead of 暎.

[119] 2461 omits 佛.

[120] 4678 the same character with the 月 radical.

[121] P.2130 omits 有.

[122] 2461, 2686, 4678, and P.2130 斷 instead of {齶}.

[123] P.2130 花 instead of 華.

[124] 2461 omits 佛.

[125] 4678 and P.2130 渧 instead of 滴.

[126] 22 begins here.

[127] 22 and 4678 無 instead of 无.

[128] 22 and 4678 無 instead of 无.

[129] 22 and 4678 omits 其.

[130] P.2130 adds 根.

[131] 4678 and P.2130 add 根.

[132] This is a variant form of 脈.

[133] 4678 omits 上.

笑時動其舌根.[135] 此味力故舌出五[136]光五色[137]分明. 三念佛

(21) 佛如来*咽嗡[138]相. 光[139]淨可愛如金翅傷{致}反鳥眼. 三念佛

(22) 佛如来*喉嚨[140]如瑠[141]璃筒. 状若累蓮華.[142] 節節相重. 三念佛

(23) 佛如来*心如紅蓮華.[143] 金花[144]暎飾妙[145]瑠璃筒懸在[146]佛胸. 團圓如心. 開如不開合如不合. 紅華金光有八万四[147]千脉. 猶[148]如天畫. 一一畫中[149]有八万四千光. 一一光明[150]有八万四千色. 一一色中[151]有无量微塵數化佛. 一一化佛坐金剛臺. 其金剛臺[152]放金色光. 是[153]諸化佛遊佛心間. 徑[154]往五道度苦衆生. 三念佛

---

[134] P.2130 琉 instead of 瑠.

[135] P.2130 adds 相.

[136] 2686 adds 色.

[137] P.2130 omits 五色.

[138] 4678 㾓. P.2130 [illegible]. 22 unclear, but it seems to be some variant form of 㾓. After this character, 22 adds 鳥公反 in small characters. This and the following interlinear notes on pronunciation (反切) appear only in 22.

[139] P.2130 adds 明.

[140] 22 omits 嚨.

[141] P.2130 琉 instead of 瑠.

[142] P.2130 adds 葉.

[143] P.2130 adds 葉.

[144] 2461 and 4678 華 instead of 花. P.2130 色 instead of 花.

[145] P.2130 如 instead of 妙.

[146] From 佛如來 to 筒懸在 repeated in 22.

[147] 4678 omits 四.

[148] 22, 2461, 4678, and P.2130 由 instead of 猶.

[149] 4678 omits 中. P.2130 脉 instead of 畫中.

[150] P.2130 omits 明.

[151] 22 omits 中.

[152] 2461 omits 金剛臺.

[153] 22 是光 instead of 光是.

[154] 2461 迳. P.2130 逕 instead of 徑.

(24) 佛[155]如来頸傭[156]勑容反圓相. 三約分明. 出[157]二種光. 其光萬[158]色. 三念佛

(25) 佛如来*咽喉有三[159]點相. 分明猶[160]如[161]伊字一一[162]點中流出二光. 三念佛

(26)佛如来*缺盆[163]骨, 兩手兩足及項[164]後七處[165]皆平[166]滿相. 光明遍照[167]十方世界作虎珀[168]色. 三念佛

(27) 佛如来*兩肩膊圓滿相. 三念佛

(28) 佛[169]如来臂傭[170]纎息占反圓如象王鼻. 三念佛[171]

(29) 佛如来*肘骨如龍王髮. 踠[172]轉相着節頭蟠[173]盤音龍不見其跡.[174]三念

---

[155] 2461 omits 佛.

[156] 22 with the 目 radical (?). 2461, 2686, and 4678 with the 月 radical. The character with the 月 radical has the same meaning as 傭.

[157] 2461, 2686, and P.2130 有 instead of 出.

[158] 2686, 4678, and P.2130 万 instead of 萬.

[159] P.2130 omits 三.

[160] 2461 由 instead of 猶.

[161] P.2130 omits 如.

[162] 2686 二 instead of 一一.

[163] 22 and 4678 {瓫}.

[164] 22, 2686, and P.2130 頂 instead of 項. Note, however, that the distinction between these two characters are often unclear in the manuscripts.

[165] 2461 實 instead of 處.

[166] P.2130 omits 平.

[167] 4678 omits 照.

[168] 22 and 4678 魄instead of 珀.

[169] 2461 omits 佛.

[170] 22, 2461, 2686, 4678 with the 月 radical.

[171] P.2130 omits item (28).

[172] 4678 and P.2130 婉 instead of 踠.

佛

(30) 佛如来*手十指纖長參差[175]不失其所.[176] 於一一指節端各[177]有十二輪相現.[178] 三念佛

(31) 佛[179]如来赤銅爪. 其爪八色了了分明. 三念佛[180]

(32) 佛如来*手十指節[181]端各有万字相. 万字[182]點間有千輻輪相現.[183] 三念佛

(33) 佛如来*手合縵[184]莫半反掌. <u>斂</u>[185]指不見, 張時則現.[186] 如真珠網分明可愛. 三念佛

(34) 佛如来*手掌文閑[187]成如自在天宮. 其掌平正人天无類. 當於掌中生千輻輪相.[188] 於十方面開摩尼光. 三念佛

(35) 佛如来*手背[189]毛皆向上靡. 如紺瑠[190]璃. 流出[191]五[192]光, 入網縵[193]

---

[173] P.2130 槃 instead of 蟠.

[174] 22 迹 instead of 跡.

[175] P.2130 [illegible], which probably is a variant form of 差.

[176] 4678 意 instead of 所.

[177] 22, 4678, and P.2130 omit 各.

[178] 2686 見 instead of 現.

[179] 2461 omits 佛.

[180] 2461 omits 三念佛.

[181] 22, 4678, and P.2130 omit 節.

[182] 2461 and 2686 一一 instead of 万字. P.2130 omits 万字.

[183] 22, 2461 and 2686 omits 現.

[184] 2461 and 2686 漫 instead of 縵.

[185] 4678 歛.

[186] 22, 2461 見 instead of 現.

[187] Sic 2686, but this may be 閘. 22 and 4686 蘭 instead of 閑. 2461 闌. P.2130 欄 instead of 閑.

[188] P.2130 adds 現.

[189] 2686 輩 instead of 背.

中. 三念佛

(36) 佛如来*手足柔軟，如天劫貝. 三念佛

(37) 佛如来手内外握. 三念佛

(38) 佛如来上[194]身[195]胸臆[196]廣厚. 如師子王. 三念佛[197]

(39) 佛如来*胸徳字万印相. 中放三摩尼光. 三念佛

(40) 佛[198]如来腋亦音下平滿. 懸生五珠.[199] 如摩尼[200]珠. 上柱[201]於腋. 有五[202]色光明共相[203]暎[204]發. 三念佛

(41) 佛如来*腹[205]小不現[206]相. 三念佛

(42) 佛如来*齊[207]如毘楞[208]伽寶珠. 於其齊中有万億寶花.[209] 一一寶花

---

[189] 2686 𩬊 instead of 背.

[190] P.2130 琉 instead of 瑠.

[191] 22 中 instead of 出.

[192] P.2130 adds 色.

[193] 2461 and 2686 漫 instead of 縵.

[194] 22 and 2461 omits 上.

[195] 2686 身上 instead of 上身.

[196] 2686 億 instead of 臆.

[197] 2461 omits items (37) and (38).

[198] 2461 omits 佛.

[199] 4678 光 instead of 珠.

[200] 2461 omits 尼.

[201] 4678 and P.2130 跓 instead of 柱. 2686 着.

[202] 2461, 2686, and P.2130 add 百.

[203] P.2130 adds {暎}.

[204] 2461 影 instead of 暎.

[205] 22 and 4678 復. In P.2130, the character appears to be written with the water radical.

[210]有[211]万億那由他葉．一一葉[212]有[213]万億那由他色．一一色[214]有[215]万億那由他光．三念佛

(43) 佛[216]如来脇肋[217]許劫反[218]大小正等婉轉相着.[219] 三念佛

(44) 佛如来諸骨支[220]節．蟠龍相結其間密緻長利反．三念佛[221]

(45) 佛[222]如来鉤鎖骨．巻舒自[223]在不相妨礙．其骨色鮮白如[224]頗梨[225]雪山．不得爲譬上有紅光間錯成文．凝液如脂，皆出[226]金光.[227] 三念佛

(46) 佛[228]如来馬王藏相．身根平滿[229]状如[230]滿月．有金色光猶[231]如日輪．三念佛

---

[210] 22,4678 華 instead or 花. 2461 化.

[211] 2461 omits 有.

[212] 2686 omits 一一葉.

[213] 2461 omits 有.

[214] 4678 omits 万億那由他色一一色.

[215] 2461 omits 有.

[216] 2461 omits 佛.

[217] 22 and 4678 左右 instead of 肋, but the pronunciation given by the following note of 22 seems to indicate 肋.

[218] 4678 and P.2130 add 左右.

[219] 22 and 2686 著 instead of 着. P.2130 adds 着.

[220] 22 and 4678 枝 instead of 支.

[221] 2461 omits items (43) and (44). P.2130 omits item (44).

[222] 2461 omits 佛.

[223] 2461 白 instead of 百.

[224] 22 omits 如.

[225] 22, 2686 and 4678 黎 instead of 梨.

[226] 2461 omits 出.

[227] 2686 念色 instead of 金光.

[228] 2461 omits 佛.

[229] 4678 adds 有金, but both of them seem to be crossed out.

[230] 2686 若.

(47) 佛如来*兩陛[232]周圓漸次而斂. 三念佛

(48) 佛如来*兩膝[233]骨相[234]圓着[235]好.[236] 三念佛[237]

(49) 佛[238]如来伊尼鹿王蹲[239]相. 三念佛

(50) 佛[240]如来足跟[241]根音圓長[242]有梵王頂相. 衆蠢[243]不異各生一華.[244] 其華[245]微妙猶[246]如淨{國}優鉢羅華.[247] 三念佛

(51) 佛如来*兩足踝不現[248]相. 三念佛[249]

(52) 佛如来*趺[250]高平相. 三念佛[251]

---

231 2461 由 instead of 猶.

232 22, 2461, 2686, and P.2130 with the 月 radical.

233 All the manuscripts except P.2130 have [illegible]. P.2130 . I assume both of them are variants of 膝.

234 2461, 2686, and P.2130 omit 相.

235 2686 adds 相.

236 2461 X.

237 2461 念三佛 instead of 三念佛.

238 2461 omits 佛.

239 2461 and 2686 腨 P.2130 膞

240 2461 omits 佛.

241 2461 and 2686 根 instead of 跟.

242 P.2130 如 instead of 長.

243 2461 and 2686 類 instead of 蠢. P.2130 累 instead of 蠢.

244 P.2130 花 instead of 華.

245 22 and 2686 omit 其華. P.2130 花 instead of 華.

246 2461 and P.2130 由 instead of 猶.

247 P.2130 花 instead of 華.

248 P.2130 見 instead of 現.

249 2461 puts item (51) after item (52).

250 4678 足數 instead of 趺. 2461 兩足膊 instead of 趺.

(53) 佛如来*足趺[252]上色[253]如閻浮檀金色．毛皆上靡及身諸毛．随一毛孔一毛旋生．柔軟可愛．三念佛

(54) 佛如来*足[254]指網間如羅文彩．於其文間衆色玄黄．不可具名．三念佛

(55) 佛如来*足十[255]指纖圓斜[256]齊．如[257]赤銅爪．於其爪端有五師子口相．三念佛

(56) 佛如来*脚[258]十指端蠡[259]文相．如毘細[260]羯摩莫賀反天所畫之印．三念佛

(57) 佛[261]如来足下平滿不容一毛．三念佛[262]

(58) 佛如来[263]*足下千輻輪相．轂谷音輞具足．魚鱗相次金剛杵[264]相．三念佛

(59) 佛如来*那羅延[265]力．合以[266]成身結跏趺坐[267]百寶蓮華座.[268] 三念佛

---

[251] P.2130 omits item (52).

[252] 2461 膞 instead of 趺. 4678 敷.

[253] P.2130 靡 instead of 色.

[254] 4678 omits 足.

[255] P.2130 omits 十.

[256] 2461 and 2686 邪 instead of 斜.

[257] 22 and P.2130 omit 如.

[258] 2686 omits 脚.

[259] 2461, 2686, and P.2130 螺 instead of 蠡.

[260] 2461, 2686, and P.2130 尼 instead of 細.

[261] 2461 omits 佛.

[262] P.2130 omits 三念佛.

[263] P.2130 omits 如來.

[264] 2461 and 2686 處 instead of 杵.

[265] P.2130 延.

[266] P.2130 已 instead of 以.

自此已前是順觀佛身相法．若欲逆觀佛者．即從佛足指次第向上．一一相好觀之至佛頂相．此是逆觀法.[269]

(60) 若欲觀佛圓光相[270]者．世尊在日若行之時．項[271]光照地．前一由旬[272]純黃金色．後一由旬純黃金色.[273] 左一由旬純黃金色．右一由旬純黃金色．有人近佛左右行者．其人臭穢皆悉不現.[274] 人遠望之同爲金色．有人諦觀佛項光[275]者前行看者見佛在前．從後看者見佛在後．左邊看者見佛在[276]左．右邊看者見佛[277]在右．八方人来遥見世尊[278]項光．各作是言．瞿曇沙門在金山中．遊行自在来向我所．如是衆生各各見異.[279] 此是項光相．三念佛[280]

若我滅度後．諸佛弟子[281]捨離諸悪．去憒鬧相．樂少語法不務多事．晝夜六時能於一時中分爲少分之中.[282] 能須臾間念佛白毫令心了了．無[283]錯謬亂[284]相．分明正住．注意[285]不息念佛白毫者.

---

[267] Ch.819 begins with 坐 and adds another 坐. 2461 also adds 坐. P.2130 adds 座.

[268] 4678 坐 instead of 座. Ch.819 blank.

[269] 2461, P.2130, and Ch.819 omit this paragraph.

[270] 2461 omits 相.

[271] 2686 and P.2130 頂 instead of 項.

[272] Ch.819 blank for 旬.

[273] 4678 omits 後一由旬純黃金色.

[274] P.2130 見 instead of 現.

[275] P.2130 adds 相.

[276] P.2130 往 instead of 在.

[277] Ch.819 ends in 佛.

[278] 22 and 4678 omit 世尊.

[279] 2461, 2686, and P.2130 異見 instead of 見異.

[280] 22 and 4678 三稱南无阿弥陀佛 instead of 三念佛.

[281] P.2130 adds 仏.

[282] P.2130 omits 中.

[283] P.2130 无 instead of 無.

[284] 4678 and P.2130 乱 instead of 亂.

[285] P.2130 住相 instead of 注意.

若見相好若不得見. 如是等人除却九十六億那由他恒河[286]沙數微塵數劫生死之罪.[287]

設復有人但聞白毫心不驚疑. 歡喜信受此人亦除却八十億劫生死之罪.[288]

佛告阿難. 如来有三十二大人相八十種[289]随形好金色光明. 一一[290]光明无量化佛. 身諸毛孔一切變現. 及佛色身略中略説[291]者. 我今[292]爲此時大會[293]衆[294]及淨飯王略説相好. 佛生人間示同人事. 因人相故説三十二相. 勝諸天故説八十種[295]好. 爲諸菩薩説[296]八万四千諸妙相好. 佛實相好我初成道摩伽陀國[297]寂滅道場爲普賢賢[298]首等諸大菩薩. 於雜華[299]經已廣分別. 此尊[300]法中所以略説. 爲[301]諸凡夫及四部弟子. 謗方等經, 作[302]五逆罪, 犯四重禁, 偸僧祇物, 婬比丘尼,[303] 破八齋戒,[304] 作諸悪事,

---

[286] P.2130 omits 河.

[287] This paragraph appears only in 22 and 4678.

[288] This sentence appears only in 22 and P.2130. Several characters are missing in 22 because of the damaged upper edge, but the sentence is complete in P.2130, which agrees with the parallel in the *GSHJ* (T15:655b6-7).

[289] 2686 omits 種. In 2461 種 seems to be crossed out.

[290] P.2130 二 instead of 一一.

[291] 4678 and P.2130 説略 instead of 略説.

[292] P.2130 金, which probably is a variant form of 今.

[293] 22, 4678, and P.2130 會大 instead of 大會.

[294] 2461 衆會 instead of 會衆.

[295] 2686 omits 種.

[296] 2461 omits 説.

[297] 22, 4678, and P.2130 add 於.

[298] P.2130 adds 於.

[299] 2461 華雜 instead of 雜華.

[300] 2461 等 instead of 尊.

[301] 2461 為 instead of 爲.

[302] 4678 and P.2130 造 instead of 作.

[303] P.2130 尼丘 (written with what appears to be an inversion sign) instead of 丘尼.

[304] 22, 2461, 4678, and P.2130 戒齋 instead of 齋戒.

種種耶[305]見. 如是等人[306]若能至心一日一夜繫念在前觀佛如来一相好者. 諸悪罪障皆悉滅盡.[307] 是故如来名婆伽婆. 名阿羅訶. 名[308]三藐三佛陀.[309] 名功徳日. 名智滿月. 名清涼池. 名除罪珠. 名光明藏. 名智慧山. 名戒品河. 名迷衢導.[310] 名耶見燈. 名破煩惱賊. 名一切衆生父母. 名大歸依處. 若有衆生[311]歸依[312]佛世尊者. 若[313]稱名者. 除百千劫煩惱重障. 何況至[314]心脩念佛定.

佛告阿難. 如来往昔於无量无邊阿僧祇劫. 以智慧火燒煩惱薪. 脩无想定. 不非時證. 是故獲得如是勝相. 一一相中无量化佛. 何況多相. 若[315]能繫心觀一毛孔. 是人名爲行念佛定. 以念佛故十方諸佛常立其前, 爲説正法. 此人即能生三[316]世諸佛[317]種. 何況具足念佛色身. 如来亦有无量法身, 十力, 无畏, 三昧, 解脱, 諸神通事. 如此[318]妙處非汝凡夫所學境界. 但當深心起随喜相. 起是相[319]已當[320]繫念佛功徳. 念佛功徳者. 所[321]謂戒, 定, 智慧, 解脱, 解脱[322]知見, 金色三十二相, 八十[323]随形好,[324]

---

[305] 22 and 4678 邪 instead of 耶. P.2130 取 instead of 耶.

[306] 4678 等人 instead of 人等.

[307] 22 and 4678 盡滅 instead of 滅盡. P.2130 不現 instead of 滅盡.

[308] 2686 omits 名.

[309] 22 and 2461 馱 instead of 陀. P.2130 [illegible] which is probably a variant form of 陀.

[310] 22, 4678, and P.2130 道 instead of 導.

[311] 2461 and 2686 omit 衆生. P.2130 omits 有衆生.

[312] 2686 omits 依.

[313] P.2130 omits 若.

[314] 2461 正 instead of 至.

[315] P.2130 omits 若.

[316] P.2130 omits 三.

[317] 4678 adds 如. 22 and P.2130 add 如來.

[318] P.2130 omits 此.

[319] P.2130 omits 起是相.

[320] P.2130 adds 復.

[321] P.2130 adds {色}.

[322] 4678 omits 解脱.

[323] P.2130 omits 相八十.

十力，四无所畏，十八不共法,[325] 大悲，三念處. 若有衆生一[326]聞佛身如上功德相好光明. 億億千劫不墮惡道，不生耶見,[327] 離[328]穢之處. 常得正見懃脩不息. 但聞[329]名獲如斯[330]福.[331]何況繫念觀佛[332]三昧.[333]

佛說[334]相好[335]經一卷[336]

---

[324] P.2130 omits 好.

[325] P.2130 omits 法.

[326] P.2130 adds 聞.

[327] P.2130 omits 見.

[328] 22, 4678, P.2130 雜 instead of 離.

[329] 4678 adds 億佛. P.2130 adds 仏.

[330] P.2130 是 instead of 斯.

[331] 22 禍 instead of 福.

[332] P.2130 adds 觀佛.

[333] This paragraph appears only in 22 and 4678.

[334] 22 omits 佛說. 2461 omits 說.

[335] P.2130 觀三昧海 instead of 相好.

[336] P.2130 adds 三界寺{道}眞經不出寺X就{此}靈窟記. Concerning Sanjie-si 三界寺, cf. Fujieda Akira 1966, 20.

Appendix 5: A Comparative Table of the Paintings and Texts Depicting the Scene of "Flying Monks"[1]

Qizil Cave 224 (Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, vol. 3, plates 142-150)	**Toyok Cave 20**	*GSHJ* T15:684a-c	*GSHJ* T15:679b-c	*XYJ* (T4:395b-396b)	**Dunhuang Cave 257 (Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 1980, vol.1, plate 45)**	*Xumotinü jing* 須摩提女經 T2:836c-37a	*EĀ* T2:662a-63b	*Jigu zhangshen nü dedu yinyuan jing* 給孤長者女得度因緣經 T2:847b-51b	*Sumāgadhā-vadāna*	*Avadāna-kalpalatā*
	Left Wall									
1. a pot				1. 食具, 瓢杓, 健支, 百斛大釜 (奇虔直奇) tableware, dipper, *gaṇḍī*, a great pot of one hundred *hu* (Qiqianzhiqi?)	**1. an iron pot**	1. 釜 (乾緒) an iron pot (*Gaṇḍaka)[2]	1. 大釜 (乾茶) an iron pot (*Gaṇḍaka)			
								3. 大金山 (大迦葉) a great golden mountain (Mahā-Kāśyapa)	3. sauvarṇaṃ parvataṃ (Mahā-Kāśyapa) a golden mountain (Mahā-Kāśyapa)	

2. a blooming tree (?)	**I.1 a stool, a mountain, pond, a tree, vapor**	4. 一寶樹 (摩訶迦葉) a jewel tree (Mahā-Kāśyapa)		2. 樹林 (十六沙彌均提之等) woods (sixteen novices such as Cunda) 12. 行樹 (二十億) 12. lined-up trees (Śroṇa-koṭiviṃśa)		2. 五百華樹 (均頭) five hundred flower trees (Cunda)	2. 五百華樹 (均頭) five hundred flower trees (Cunda)	14. 種種色華果樹林 (聞二百億) a forest of trees with flowers and fruits of various colors (Śroṇaḥ Koṭiviṃśaḥ)	13. nānāpuṣpa-phalasampanna-vanagahana (Śroṇaḥ Koṭiviṃśaḥ) woods and thickets with various flowers and fruits (Śroṇaḥ Koṭiviṃśaḥ)	12. samutphulla-latāvitānavana (Śroṇakoṭi) woods canopied with blooming creepers (Śroṇakoṭi)
	I.2 a stool, a tree									
	I.3 a lotus seat on a white ox	8. 十五摩醯首羅，牛王，華座 (大迦旃延) fifteen Maheśvara, ox-kings, flower-seats (Mahā-Kātyāyana)			**2. five blue oxen**		3. 五百頭牛 (般特) five hundred cattle (Panthaka)	6. 大牛車 (摩訶俱稀羅) a great ox-cart (Mahā-Kauṣṭhila)	6. vṛṣabharatha (Mahā-Kauṣṭhila) an ox-cart (Mahā-Kauṣṭhila)	10. vṛṣavāhana (Kauṣṭhila) an ox-cart (Kauṣṭhila)
								7. 金多羅樹林 (優波離) woods of golden *tāla* trees (Upālin)	7. haimaṃ tālavanam (Upālin) woods of golden *tāla* (Upālin)	8. suvarṇatāla (Upālin) golden *tāla* (Upālin)

								8. 應器 (馬勝) begging bowl (Aśvajit)	8. pātrakara-vyagrahasta (Aśvajit) carrying a bowl and a water pot in hand (Aśvajit)	
3. a peacock					**3. five peacocks**		4. 五百孔雀 (羅云) five hundred pea-cocks (Rāhula)	13. 孔雀車 (樹提迦) a peacock-cart (Jyotika)	16. mayūraratha (Jyotiḥpāla) a peacock-cart (Jyotiḥpāla)	
4. a pair of seven-headed snakes	**I.4 a snake-seat with four heads on each side, a jewel (not extant)**	2. 六龍蟠身相結 (欝毘迦葉) six nāgas coiled together (Ulvilvā-Kāśyapa)	2. 千龍盤身，金臺 (大目揵連) a thousand coiled nāgas, a golden platform (Mahā-Maudgal-yāyana)	3. 千龍 (憍陳如) a thousand nāgas (Kauṇḍinya)	**5. five *nāgas***	7. 五百大龍 (大迦葉) five hundred great nāgas (Mahā-Kāśyapa)	6. 五百龍皆有七頭 (優毘迦葉) five hundred nāgas, all of which have seven heads (Ulvilvā-Kāśyapa)	1. 大蛇車 (阿若憍陳如) a great serpent-cart (Ājñāta-Kauṇḍinya)	1. uragaratha (Ājñāta-Kauṇḍinya) a serpent-cart (Ājñāta-Kauṇḍinya)	7. Ananta (Aśvajit) Ananta[3] (Aśvajit)

	I.5 nine peaks, a cave, a stool (not extant)	1. 一窟 (憍陳如・四比丘) 3. 大石窟 (伽耶那提兄弟) a cave (Kaundinya, the four *bhikṣus*) a great rock-cave (the brothers of Gayā- and Nadī-Kāśyapa)	1. 琉璃山，七寶行樹，窟 (摩訶迦葉) 3. 雪山，窟 (舍利弗) a *vaiḍūrya* mountain, lined-up trees of seven jewels, a cave (Mahā-Kāśyapa) the Snow Mountain, a cave (Śāriputra)	9. 七寶山，瑠璃窟 (須菩提) 13. 七寶樹 (大劫賓寧) 9. a mountain of seven jewels, a *vaiḍūrya* cave (Subhūti) 13. a tree of seven jewels (Mahā-kalpina)	**6. mountains of various colors**	6. 七寶山 (目連) a mountain of seven jewels (Mahā-Maudgal-yāyana)	7. 琉璃山，窟 (須菩提) a mountain of *vaidūlya*, a cave (Subhūti)	10. 一大山四寶莊嚴 (多財子) a great mountain adorned with four jewels (Pūrṇa?)	10. catūratna-mayaṃ parvata-śikharam (Dravya) the peak of a mountain made of four jewels (Dravya)	
6. a tiger[4]					**8. five tigers**		9. 五百虎 (羅越) five hundred tigers (Luoyue)[5]			
8. two lions[6]	**I.6 six lions (not extant)**	6. 八萬四千師子座 (大目揵連) eighty-four thousand lion seats (Mahā-Maudgal-yāyana)		5. 千師子 (舍利弗) a thousand lions (Śāripitra)	**9. five lions**	3. 五百師子 (周利槃特伽) five hundred lions (Cūḍa-Panthaka)	10. 五百師子 (阿那律) five hundred lions (Aniruddha)	2. 師子車 (舍利子) a lion-cart (Śāriputra)	2. Siṃharatha (Śāriputra) a lion-cart (Śāriputra)	3. pañcānana-syandana (Śāsriputra) a chariot of five-faced lions (Śāriputra)

7. five white elephants				6. 千象 (大目連) a thousand elephant (Mayā-Maudgal-yāyna)	**11. five elephants**	5. 五百象王 (須菩提) five hundred elephant kings	12. 五百白象 (大目犍連) five hundred white elephants (Mahā-Maudgal-yāyana)	4. 大龍車[7] (大目乾連) a great nāga cart (Mahā-Maudgal-yāyana)	4. hastin (Mahā-Maudgalyāyana) an elephant (Mahā-Maudgalyāyana)	4. dvipaṃ caturdantam (Maudgalya) an elephant with four tusks (Maudgalya)
	I.7 peaked moun-tains, a throne, lotus seat (partially extant)		4. 蓮華,金蓋 (摩訶迦栴延) lotus, a golden parasol (Mahā-Kātyāyana)	7. 金色蓮華 (阿那律提) 14. 寶蓮華 (賓頭盧埵闍) 7. a golden lotus flower (Aniruddha) 14. a jewel lotus flower (Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja)				9. 金蓮華 (滿慈氏) 17. 室尾迦 (摩訶劫賓那) a golden lotus flower (Pūrṇo Maitrāyaṇī-putraḥ) *shiweijia*[8] (Mahā-kalpina)	9. sauvarṇaṃ padmam (Pūrṇo Maitrāyaṇīputraḥ) 17. vicitraratnācala (Kapphina) a golden lotus (Pūrṇo Maitrāyaṇīputraḥ) a mountain of various jewels (Kapphina)	2. śailaśṛṅga (Mahā-Kāśyapa) 5. kanakāravinda (Aniruddha) rocky peaks (Mahā-Kāśyapa) a golden lotus (Aniruddha)
	I.8 cloud									

	I.9 a three-storied tower with a deity	10. 萬梵王，梵宮 (阿那律) 11. 寶樓 (羅Z羅，難陀) ten-thousand Brahmā kings, Brahmā's palaces (Aniruddha) a jewel tower (Rāhula, Nanda)		4. 七寶講堂 (摩訶迦葉) a lecture hall of seven jewels (Mahā-Kāśyapa)				5. 水精樓閣 (摩訶迦旃延) 11. 一金殿 (阿泥嚕馱) a crystal tower (Mahā-Kātyāyana) a golden palace (Aniruddha)	5. sphaṭikamayaṃ kūṭāgāram (Mahā-Kātyāyana) 11. sarvasauvarṇaṃ prāsādam (Aniruddha) a peaked dwelling made of crystal (Mahā-Kātyāyana) an entirely golden palace (Aniruddha)	9. vaidūrya-vimānaśṛṅga (Kātyāyana) a peaked palace of *vaidūrya* (Kātyāyana)
	right wall									
5. five *haṃsas*	**I'.2 two *haṃsas*, a lotus, a burning jewel**			11. 千鴈 (優波離) a thousand *haṃsas* (Upāli)	**7. six white *haṃsas***		8. 五百鵠 (大迦旃延) five hundred *haṃsas* (Mahā-Kātyāyana)	15. 大鵝車 (畢陵伽婆蹉) a great *haṃsa*-cart (Pilindavatsa)	14. haṃsaratha (Pilindavatsa) a *haṃsa*-cart (Pilindavatsa)	11. vimānahaṃsa (Pilindavatsa) a *haṃsa*-vehicle (Pilindavatsa)

	I'.3 an eagle, a lotus, a burning jewel,		5. 如鷹王翔，往詣彼國. （千二百五十大弟子） flew to the country like hawk-kings (a thousand two-hundred and fifty great disciples)							
	I'.4 a *garuḍa*, a lotus, burning jewel			10. 一千迦樓羅王 (分耨文陀尼子) a thousand *garuḍa* kings (Pūrṇa-Maitrāyaṇī-putra)	**4. five *garuḍa*s**	4. 五百金翅鳥王 (羅云) five hundred *garuḍa* kings (Rāhula)	5. 五百金翅鳥 (迦匹那) five hundred *garuḍa*s (Kalpina)			6. garuḍa (Maitrāyaṇi-sūnu) *garuḍa* (Maitrāyaṇīputra)
9. the sun (?)		5. 千日，千月 (舍利弗) a thousand suns, a thousand moons (Śāriputra)								

10. a pair of horses	**I'.5 a pair of winged horses**			8. 千馬 (難陀) a thousand horses (Nanda)	**10. five white horses**		11. 五百匹馬 (大迦葉) five hundred horses (Mahā-Kāśyapa)	16. 大馬車 (烏陀夷) a great horse-cart (Udāyin)	15. aśvaratha (Udāyin) a horse-cart (Udāyin)	1. aśvaratha (Ājñāta-Kauṇḍinya) a horse-cart (Ājñāta-Kauṇḍinya)
		7. 尼師檀 (優波離) *niṣīdana* (Upāli)								
								12. 衆華座 (俱胝) many flower-seats (Koṭi)	12. puṣpa-maṇḍapa (Śroṇaḥ Koṭikarṇaḥ) a flower-pavilion (Śroṇaḥ Koṭikarṇaḥ)	
								18. 大園林 (難陀) a great garden (Nanda)	18. ārāma (Nanda) a garden (Nanda)	
				15. 転輪王 (羅睺羅) a *cakravartin* king (Rāhula)				19. 轉輪王 (羅睺羅) a *cakravartin* king (Rāhula)	19. cakravartiveśa (Rāhula) the appearance of a *cakravartin* king (Rāhula)	13. cakravartin (Rāhula) *cakravartin* (Rāhula)

		9. 冥然不現 (須菩提) invisible (Subhūti)								

A Few Observations

a) The *Xumotinü jing* 須摩提女經 and the *EĀ* are close (see Iwamoto 1979, 168-69). Dunhuang Cave 257 agrees well with the *EĀ*; they depict mostly the same vehicles in essentially the same order. We should also note that in Dunhuang Cave 257, in most cases, the vehicles are painted in fives, which very likely is a symbolic representation of the number "five hundred" found in the *EĀ*.

b) The *Jigu zhangshenü dedu yinyuan jing* 給孤長者女得度因緣經 and the Sanskrit text of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* are clearly close. The *Avadānakalpalatā* also seems close.

c) Qizil Cave 224 also seems close to the tradition of the *EĀ*. The order of the vehicles in the paintings and the *EĀ* is generally the same. In particular, we should note that the "pot," which is not mentioned in the extant Sanskrit texts, appears first both in Qizil Cave 224 and the *EĀ*. In addition, the nāgas (item 6 of the *EĀ*) are clearly described as having seven heads, thus corresponding to the pictorial representation in Qizil Cave 224 (item 4).

The Sanskrit *Sumāgadhāvadāna* and the *Avadānakalpalatā* also contain most of the items appearing in Qizil Cave 224, but their order is greatly different The Sanskrit texts (and the *Jigu zhangshenü dedu yinyuan jing*, which closely agrees with the Sanskrit *Sumāgadhāvadāna*) list many items not found in these paintings or the other Chinese texts. Apparently the extant Sanskrit texts represent more developed (and probably later) traditions than most of the Chinese texts

d) Toyok Cave 20 does not neatly agree with any text. However, it may well be significant that the lotus seat on (or above) the ox (I.3) and the cave in the mountain (I.5) are mentioned almost exclusively in the *GSHJ*. A cave is mentioned in the *XYJ* and the *EĀ* also. Yet, the *XYJ* is a text very closely related to the *GSHJ* in many other respects. In the case of the *EĀ*, the word "cave" only appears in the question to Sumāgadhā by her father-in-law and is treated very lightly. In the *GSHJ*, the cave motif is clearly more emphasized than in the *EĀ*.

Notes

1. This is a table of three well-preserved paintings of the scene of "flying monks" (at Qizil Cave 224; Toyok Cave 20; and Dunhuang Cave 257). The items depicted in these three caves are shown in bold type. The paintings are compared with seven relevant texts (two passages from the *GSHJ*; the *XYJ*; the *Sumotinü jing*; the *EĀ*; the *Jigu zhangshenü dedu yinyuan jing*; the Sanskrit texts of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* and of the *Avadānakalpalatā*). The *Sanmojie jing* 三摩竭経 (T2:843a-45c) does not mention the *vāhana*s individually, and so I do not include it in this table.

The paintings in Toyok Cave 20 are listed in the original order. The other items are rearranged so that they match the corresponding items in this cave. The numerals in front of the items show the original order in the respective paintings/texts.

2. See Iwamoto 1979, p.171, n.12.

3. The name of a nāga, who serves Viṣṇu as his couch.

4. Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, 279 considers the painted animal to be a lion, but a painting of a similar animal at Dunhuang Cave 257 can be identified as a tiger by the *EĀ*.

5. I am not sure whom this one refers to. Perhaps it is a transcription of Rāhula, but in this text Rāhula is referred to elsewhere as 羅云 (item 4).

6. Shinkyō Uiguru 1985, 27 considers the painted animals to be tigers, but the *EĀ* indicates that these are lions. See n.4.

7. 龍 is a standard translation of nāga. Nāga can mean both "snake" and "elephant." On the other hand, the Chinese word 龍 unambiguously means "dragon," but the Sanskrit word *hastin* definitely means "elephant." Therefore, the Chinese translation here seems to be somewhat confused. Note, however, that *hastin* sometimes seems to be translated as 龍 elsewhere as well. See *Bonwa daijiten*, s.v., "*hastin.*"

8. This looks like a phonetic transcription of some Sanskrit word, but the intended meaning is unclear.

Abbreviations

Ad — *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Edward Conze ed. Chaps. 55-70, 1962; Chaps. 70-82, 1974.

AKBh — *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. Pradhan 2nd ed. 1975.

AKVY — *Sputārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. U. Wogihara ed. [1936]1989.

AMV — **Abhidharma-Mahāvibhāṣā* (*Apidamo Dapiposa lun*) 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論. T27:1a-1004a (No.1545).

AN — *Aṅguttaranikāya*. PTS ed. [1885-1910]1958-76.

AŚ — *Avadānaśataka*. J. S. Speyer ed. 1902-9.

Aṣṭa — *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Unrai Wogihara ed. 1932-35. (Incorporated into his edition of the *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā*, 2 vols.).

B. — Beijing number of Dunhuang documents.

BHSD — *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*.

Ch. — Chinese.

CSJ — *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集. T55:1a-114a (No.2145).

CMJ — *Chan miyaofa jing* 禪秘要法經. T15:242c-69c (No.613).

CY — *Chanfa yaojie* 禪法要解. T15:286b-97c (No.616).

D. Derge edition of the Tibetan canon.

DĀ *Dīrghāgama* (*Chang ahan jing*) 長阿含經. T2:1a-373b (No.99).

Dapin *Mohe Bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 [= *Dapin Bore* 大品般若]. T8:217a-424a (No.223).

DFJ *Datong fangguang chanhui miezui zhuangyan chengfo jing* 大通方廣懺悔滅罪莊嚴成佛經. T85:1338c-55c (No.2871).

DJSJ *Dashu jinnuoluo wan suowen jing* 大樹緊那羅王所問經 (Kumārajīva's version of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*). T15:367b-89a (no.625).

DN *Dīghanikāya*. PTS ed. [1890-1911]1966-76.

DS *Dharmasamuccaya*. Lin Li-kouang ed. 3 vols. 1946-73.

DSRJ *Dunzhentuoluo suowen rulai sanmei jing* 伅眞陀羅所問如來三昧經 (Lokakṣema's version of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*). T15:348b-67b (no.624).

DZL *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論. T25:57c-756c (No.1509).

EĀ *Ekottarikāgama* (*Zengyi ahan jing*) 增壱阿含經. T2:549b-830b (No.125).

FEJ *Fumu enzhong jing* 父母恩重經. Unless otherwise specified, I use P.3919.

GCX *Guanzhong chuchanjing xu* 關中出禪經序. In the *CSJ*, T55:65a19-b20.

GMSJ *Guan mile pusa shangsheng doulütian jing* 觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經. T14:418b-20c (No.452).

GPXJ *Guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* 觀普賢菩薩行法經. T9:389b-94b (No. 277).

GSHJ — *Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經. T15:645c-97a (No.643).

GSZ — *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳. T50:322c-423a (No.2059).

GV — *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*. D. T. Suzuki and H. Izumi eds. 1949; P. L. Vaidya ed. 1960. (In *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, no.5) I mark only the latter as "Vaidya ed."

GYYJ — *Guan Yaowang Yaoshang erpusa jing* 觀藥王藥上二菩薩經. T20:660c-66b (No.1161).

GWSJ — *Guan Wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經. T12:340c-46b (No.365).

GXJ — *Guan Xukongzang pusa jing* 觀虛空藏菩薩經. T13:677b-80c (No.409).

KP — *Kūrmapurāṇa*. A. S. Gupta ed. 1971.

KSL — *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄. T55:505b27-28 (No.2154).

LSJ — *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶記. T49:22c-127c (No.2034).

LV — *Lalitavistara*. S. Lefmann ed. 1902.

MĀ — *Madhyamāgama* (*Zhong ahan jing*) 中阿含經. T1:421a-809a (No.26).

MN — *Majjhimanikāya*. PTS ed. [1888-1925]1974-79.

MPP — *Miaofa lianhua jing Maming pusa pin* 妙法蓮華經馬明菩薩品. T85:1426a-31b (No.2899).

MMPS — Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (*Daban niepan jing*) 大般涅槃經. Unless otherwise specified, I use Dharmakṣema's version. T12:365c-603c (No.374).

MPS — *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. E. Waldschmidt ed. [1950-51]1986.

MSNS — **Maitreyamahāsiṃhanādasūtra* (Pek No.760[22]; D No.67).

MSZ — *Mingseng zhuan* 名僧傳. (Extant as an excerpt by Shūshō 宗性, *Meisōden shō* 名僧傳抄). ZZ 1B.7.1a-17c.

MV — *Mahāvastu*. É. Senart ed. 1882-97.

MVy — *Mahāvyutpatti*. Sakaki Ryōzaburō ed. [1916-25]1981; Wogihara Unrai ed., 1915.

P. — Pelliot number of Dunhuang documents.

Pañca — *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Vol. 1. Nalinaksha Dutt ed. 1934; Vols. 2-5. Takayasu Kimura ed. 1986-92.

Pek. — Peking edition of the Tibetan canon.

S. — Stein number of Dunhuang documents.

SĀ — *Saṃyuktāgama* (*Za ahan jing*) 雜阿含經. T2:1a-373b (No.99).

Sch — The text of the *YL* transcribed in Schlingloff 1964a (only in Appendix 3).

Skt. — Sanskrit.

SLF — *Siwei lüeyao fa* 思惟略要法. T15:297c-300c (No.617).

SN — *Saṃyuttanikāya*. PTS ed. [1884-1904]1960-73.

Sn — *Suttanipāta*. PTS ed. 1885.

SPL — *Shizhu piposa lun* 十住毘婆沙論. T26:20a-122b (No.1521).

SPS	*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. U. Wogihara and C. Tsuchida eds. [1934-35]1994.
SSUS	*Saddharma-Smṛtyupasthānasūtra*[1] (*Zhengfa nianchu jing*) 正法念處經. T17:1b-417c (No.721).
T	Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經.
Tib.	Tibetan.
WCYF	*Wumen chanjing yaoyong fa* 五門禪經要用法. T15:325c-33a (No.619).
Xiaopin	*Xiaopin Bore boluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經 (T8:537a-86c [No.227]).
XJ	*Xianghao jing* 相好經. Dunhuang manuscripts. B.245, S.22, S.2461, S.2686, S.4678.
XYJ	*Xianyu jing* 賢愚經. T4:349a-445a (No.202).
YBh	*Yogācārabhūmi*. Unless otherwise specified, I use V. Bhattacharya ed. 1957.
YBhB	The **Yogācārabhūmi* of Buddhasena (*Damo duoluo chan jing*) 達摩多羅禪經. T15:301b-25c (No.618).
YBhS	The **Yogācārabhūmi* of Saṅgharakṣa (*Xiuxing daodi jing*) 修行道地經. T15:182a-230c (No.606).
YL	See Schlingloff 1964a.
ZCMF	*Zhi chanbing miyao fa* 治禪病秘要法. T15:333a-42b (No.620).

1. This sūtra is mentioned as the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtravaipulyasāgara* in verse 1.2 of the *Dharmasamuccaya* (Lin Li-kouang ed., 1:4), so this Sanskrit title is attested.

ZSJ *Zuochan sanmei jing* 坐禪三昧經. T15:269c-86a (No.614).

Zuzō Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō zuzō 大正新脩大藏圖像.

ZZ Dai nihon zokuzōkyō 大日本續藏經.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Other than the texts appearing in the table of abbreviations. Unless otherwise noted, all Pāli texts are quoted from the PTS editions.

Amoghapāśakalparāja (*Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing*) 不空羂索神變眞言經. T20:227a-398c [No.1092]*)*.

Anle ji 安樂集. T47:4a-22b (No.1958).

Aśokāvadāna. Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya ed. 1963.

Avadānakalpalatā. P. L Vaidya ed. 1959. (In *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, nos. 22-23).

Banzhou sanmei jing 般舟三昧經. T13:902c-19c (No.418).

Baopuzi Neipian 抱朴子內篇. See Wang Ming [1982]1985.

Babei Pusa jing 拔陂菩薩經, T13:920a-24b (No.419).

Bhagavadgītā. Franklin Edgerton ed. [1944]1994.

Bhāgavatapurāṇa. Eugène Burnouf ed. 1840

Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharājasūtra. Nalinaksha Dutt ed. 1939. (In *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol.1).

Bhaiṣajyavastu. Sanskrit text: S. Bagchi ed., 1967. (In *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, no.16, vol.1); Chinese version: *Genben Shuoyiqie youbu pi'naye Yaoshi* 根本説一切有部毘奈耶 藥事. T24:1a-97a (No.1448).

Bodhisattvabhūmi. Unrai Wogihara ed. 1971.

Buddhacarita. E. H. Johnston ed. [1936]1984.

Chanyao jing 禪要經. T15:237c21-38c15 (No.609).

Cibei daochang chanfa 慈悲道場懺法. T45:922b-67c (No.1909).

Dabao guangbo louge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing 大寶廣博樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經. T19:619a-34b (No.1005).

Da baoji jing 大寶積經. T11:2b-685a (No.310).

Dasheng Daji Dizang shilun jing 大乘大集地藏十輪經. T13:721a-77c (No.411).

Dacheng qixin lun 大乘起信論. T32:575b-83b (No.1666).

Dacheng yizhang 大乘義章. T44:465a-875c (No.1851).

Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳.

Da fangbian fo baoen jing 大方便佛報恩經. T3:124a-66a (No.156).

Da fangdeng tuoluoni jing 大方等陀羅尼經. T21:641a-61a (No.1339).

Da fangguang fo huayan jing shu 大方廣佛華嚴經疏. T35:503a-963a (No.1735).

Daigobon zuzō 醍醐本圖像. T *Zuzō* 4:15-34.

Dajijing Baonü pin 大集經寶女品. T13:28b-40b (No.397).

Da loutan jing 大樓炭經. T1:191b-207c (No.7).

Damingdu jing 大明度經. T8:478b-508b (No.225).

Daoxing Bore jing 道行般若經. T8:425a-78b (No.224).

Dashu jinnaluo wang suowen jing 大樹緊那羅王所問經. T15:367b-89a (no.625).

Datang neidian lu 大唐内典録. T55:219a-342a (No.2149).

Dizang pusa benyuan jing 地藏菩薩本願經. T13:777c-90a (No.412).

Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra (Tibetan text). Paul Harrison ed. 1992.

Dazhou kanding zhongjing mulu 大周刊定衆經目録. T55:372c-476a (No.2153).

Divyāvadāna. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil eds. [1886]1987.

Amituo jing 阿彌陀經. T12:346b-48b (No.366).

Ayuwang xi huaimu yinyuan jing 阿育王息壊目因縁經. T50:172b-83a (No.2045).

Faju piyu jing 法句譬喩經. T4:575b-609b (No.211).

Fanmo jing 梵摩經. In the *MĀ*, T1:685a-90a (No. 26[161]).

Fanmayu jing 梵摩渝經, T1:883b-86a (No.76).

Fanwang jing 梵網經. T24:997b-1010a (No.1484).

Fayuan zhulin 法苑珠林. T53:269a-1030a (No.2122).

Fenbie gongde lun 分別功徳論. T25:30a-52c (No.1507).

Fo benxing jing 佛本行經. T4:54c-115b (No.193).

Foying ming 佛影銘. In the *Guang hongming ji* 廣弘明集, T52:197c7-98b13.

Fu fazang yinyuan zhuan 付法藏因緣傳. T50:297a-322b (No.2058).

Gaoseng Faxian zhuan 高僧法顯傳. T51:857a-66c (No.2085).

Guangda baolouge shanzhu mimi tuoluoni jing 廣大寶樓閣善住秘密陀羅尼經. T19:636b-57c (No.1006).

Guang hongming ji 廣弘明集. T52:97a-361a (No.2103).

Guanjing 觀經. T85:1459c-61c (No.2914); S.2585.

Guannian Amituofo xianghai sanmei gongde famen 觀念阿彌陀佛相海三昧功德法門. T47:22b-30b (No.1959).

Guanzizai dabei chengjiu yuqie lianhuabu niansong famen 觀自在大悲成就瑜伽蓮華部念誦法門. T20:1a-4c (No.1030).

Guhyasamājatantra. Matsunaga Yūkei ed. 1978.

Guhyasamājatantrrapradīpodyotanaṭīkāṣaṭkoṭīīvyākhyā. Chintaharan Chakravarti ed. 1984.

Gujin yijing tuji 古今譯經圖記. T55:348a-67c (No.2151).

Hon bongo 翻梵語. T54:981a-1054c (No.2130).

Jingtu wuhui nianfo fashi yi zan 淨土五會念佛法事儀讚. T47:474c-90c (No.1983).

Jingtu wuhui nianfo songjing guanxing yi 淨土五會念佛誦經觀行儀. T85:1242c-66a (No.2827).

Jin'gang chang tuoluoni jing 金剛場陀羅尼經. T21:854b-58c (No.1345).

Jin'gangding yuqie Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa xiuxing yigui jing 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩修行儀軌經. (T20:72a-83a (No.1056).

Jin'gang shangwei tuoluoni jing 金剛上味陀羅尼經. T21:850a-54b (No.1344).

Jin'guangming jing 金光明經. T16:335b-58a (No.663).

Jinglü yixiang 經律異相. T53:1a-268c (No.2121).

Kakuzenshō 覺禪抄. T *Zuzō* 4:387a-5:691a.

Kongōbuji konryū shugyō engi 金剛峯寺建立修行緣起. In *Kōbō daishi den zenshū* 弘法大師傳全集 1:50a-57b.

Kūrmapurāṇa. Anand Swarup Gupta ed. 1971.

Kṣudrakavastu (*Zashi* 雑事) of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* (*Genben Shuoyiqie youbu pinaye*) 根本說一切有部毘奈耶. T24:207a-414b (No.1451).

Lalitavistara. S. Lefmann ed. 1902.

Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記 No.2092.

**Mahāmaṇivipulavimānaviśvasupratiṣṭhitaguhyaparamarahasyakalparāja nāma dhāraṇī*. See Matsumura 1983.

Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta. *DN* no.22 (2:290-315).

Mahāvadānasūtra (*Daben jing*) 大本經 in the *DĀ*. T1:1b-11a (No.1[1]).

Mahīśāsakavinaya (*Mishasaibu hexi Wubu lü*) 彌沙塞部和醯五部律. T22:1a-194b (No.1421).

Milejing youyi 彌勒經遊意. T38:263a-72b (No.1771).

Mile shangsheng jing zongyao 彌勒上生經宗要. T38:299a-303a (No.1773).

Mile xiasheng jing 彌勒下生經. T14:421a-28b (Nos. 453-55).

Milindapanhā. V. Tranckner ed. 1962.

Miaofa lianhua jing 妙法蓮華經. T9:1c-62b (No.262).

Mohe Bore boluomi jing 摩訶般若波羅蜜經. T8:217a-424a (No.223).

Mohe zhiguan 摩訶止觀. T46:114c22-17a20 (No.1911).

Mouli mantuoluo chou jing 牟梨曼陀羅呪經. T19:657c-68b (No.1007).

Mūlamadhyamakakārikā. Louis de la Vallée Poussin ed. 1903-13.

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya (*Genben Shuoyiqie youbu pinaye*) 根本説一切有部毘奈耶. T23:627a-905a (No.1442).

Ōjō yōshū 往生要集. T84:33a-90b (No.2682).

Paramārthaśūnyatāsūtra (*Shengyi kongxing jing*) 勝義空性經 (*SĀ* [T2:92c12-26]; *EĀ* [T2:713c12-14b12]; T15:806c24-807a10)

Posoupandou fashi zhuan 婆藪槃豆法師傳. T50:188a-91a (No.2049).

Prasannapadā. Louis de la Vallée Poussin ed. 1903-13.

Pratyutpannasūtra. Paul Harrison ed. 1978.

Pūrṇāvadāna. See *Divyāvadāna*.

Pusa benxing jing 菩薩本行經 (T3:) (No.155).

Pusa dichi jing 菩薩地持経. T30:888a-959b (No.1581).

Pusa shanjie jing 菩薩善戒經. T30:960a-1013c (No.1582); 1013c-18b (No.1583).

Pusa toushen yi ehu qita yinyuan jing 菩薩投身飴餓虎起塔因縁經. T3:424b-28a (No.172).

Qishi jing 起世經. T1:310a-65a (No.24).

Qishi yinben jing 起世因本經. T1:365a-420a (No.25).

Ratnagotravibhāga, Chinese version (*Jiujing yicheng baoxing lun* 究竟一乘寶性論). T31:813a-48a (No.1611).

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra. Wogihara and Tsuchida ed. [1934-35]1994.

**Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtropadeśa* (*Miaofa lianhua jing youbotishe*) 妙法蓮華經憂波提舍. T26:1a-10b (No.1519).

Samādhirājasūtra. P. Vaidya ed. 1961.

Saṃkṣiptābhiṣekavidhi of Vāgīśvarakīrti. See Sakurai 1996, 409-26.

Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha. Lokesh Chandra ed. 1987; Horiuchi Kannin 堀内寛仁 ed., [1974]1983.

Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. Pratāpacandra Ghoṣa ed. 1902.

Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta. (*MN*, No.1.10 [1:55-63]).

Saundarananda. E. H. Johnston ed.

Śayanāsanavastu of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*. Nalinaksha Dutt ed. 1943.

Sengqie luocha suoji jing 僧伽羅剎所集經. T4:115b-45b (No.194).

Sheng Guanzizai pusa xin zhenyan yuqie guanxing yigui 聖觀自在菩薩心眞言瑜伽觀行儀軌. T20:4c-6b (No.1031).

Shi jingtu qunyi lun 釋淨土群疑論. T47:30b-76c (No.1960).

Shizhu piposa lun 十住毘婆沙論. T26:20a-122b (No.1521).

Sidi lun 四諦論. T32:375a-99c (No.1647).

Śikṣāsamuccaya. Cecil Bendall ed. [1897-1902] 1992.

Śrāvakabhūmi. K. Shukla ed. 1973.

Sukhāvatīvyūha. F. Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio eds. 1883.

Sumāgadhāvadāna. See Iwamoto 1959.

Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra. Johannes Nobel ed. 1937.

Taizi ruiying benqi jing 太子瑞應本起經. T3:472c-83a (No.185).

Tunzhentuoluo suowen rulai sanmei jing 屯眞陀羅所問如來三昧經, T15:348b-67b (no.624).

Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā. Edward Conze ed. 1957.

**Vasudharasūtra* (*Chishi jing*) 持世經. T14:642a-666b (No.482).

Vinayaviniścaya-Upālipariprcchā. The Tibetan text and quotations in other Sanskrit texts are found in Pierre Python ed., 1973. There are two complete Chinese versions: T nos.310(24) and 325; one partial Chinese version: T no.326; another incomplete version (without the concluding verses) are incorporated into T no.1582.

Vimuttimagga (*Jietuodao lun*) 解脱道論. T32: 399c-461c (No.1648).

Viṣṇupurāṇa. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara ed. 1882.

Visuddhimagga. Henry Clarke Warren ed. [1950]1989.

Wangsheng lizan jie 往生禮讚偈. T47:438b-48a (No.1980).

Wuliangshou jing 無量壽經. T12:265c-79a (No.360).

Xiuxin yaolun 修心要論. The text is edited and translated in McRae 1986.

Xiuxingdi bujingguan jing xu 修行地不淨觀經序. In the *CSJ*, T55:66b3-67a14.

*Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao*修習止觀坐禪法要. T46:462b-75a (No.1915).

Xu Gaoseng zhuan 續高僧傳.

Yi guanjing deng ming Banzhou sanmei xingdao wangsheng zan 依觀經等明般舟三昧行道往生讚. T47:448a-56a (No.1981).

Yiqie rulai zhenshi shedacheng xianzheng sanmei dajiaowang jing 一切如來眞實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經. T18:341a-445b (No.882).

Yuedeng sanmie jing 月燈三昧經. T15:549a-20a (No.639).

Za baozang jing 雜寶藏經. T4:447a-99a (No.203).

Za apitan xin lun 雜阿毘曇心論. T28:869c-965c (No.1552).

Zan Amituofo jie 讚阿彌陀佛偈. T47:420c-24b (No.1978).

Zhancha shan'e yebao jing 占察善惡業報經. T17:901c-10c (No.840).

Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu 貞元新定釋教目録. T55:771a-1048a (No.2157).

Zhuanjing xingdao yuan wangsheng jingtu fashi zan 轉經行道願往生淨土法事讚. T47:424b-438b (No.1979).

Zhongjing mulu 衆經目録. T55:115a-50a (No.2146).

Zhongjing mulu 衆經目録. T55:150a-80b (NO.2147).

Zhoumei jing 呪媚經. See Miyai 1996.

Secondary Sources

Abe, Stanley Kenji.
1989 *Mogao Cave 254: A Case Study in Early Chinese Buddhist Art*. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley.

Akanuma, Chizen 赤沼智善.
1958 *Kanpa Shibu Shiagon goshōroku* 漢巴四部四阿含互照録. Tokyo: Hajinkaku Shobō.

[1939]1981 *Bukkyō kyōten shiron* 佛教経典史論. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Andō Toshio 安藤俊雄.
[1962]1975 Rozan Eon no zen shisō 廬山慧遠の禅思想. Reprint in *Tendaigaku rònshū: Shikan to jōdo* 天台学論集: 止観と浄土, 184-288. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.

Andrews, Fred H.
1948 *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia*. London: Oxford University Press.

Aramaki, Noritoshi 荒牧典俊.
1974 *Jūjikyō* 十地経. Daijō butten 大乗仏典, vol.8. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.

Arai Keiyo 新井慧誉.
1981 *Daihō bumo onchōkyō* no senzai kyōten 『大報父母恩重經 』の先在経典. In *Daijō Bukkyō kara Mikkyō e: Katsumata Shukyō hakushi koki kinen ronshū* 大乗仏教から密教へ：勝又俊教博士古稀記念論集, 813-37. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

1993 *Daihō bumo onchōkyō* no senzai kyōten *Itō makijō* 『大報父母恩重経』の先在経典『伊藤巻上』. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 42 (1): 256-60.

Assaji Bhikkhu.
1962 *The Sūtra of Visualizing the Buddha of Immeasurable Length of Time*. Taipei.

Bagley, Robert.
1998 Review of *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, by Wu Hung. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 58(1): 221-56.

Banerjee, P.
1972 Vairochana Buddha from Central Asia. *Oriental Art* 18(2): 166-70.

Beal, Samuel.
[1884]1981 *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Reprint (2pts. in one). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Benveniste, E., and P. Demiéville.
1933 Notes sur le fragment sogdien du *Buddhadhyānasamādhisāgara-sūtra*. *Journal Asiatique* 223(2): 193-248.

Beyer, Stephan.
1977 Notes on the Vision Quest in Early Mahāyāna. In *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems: Studies in Honor of Edward Conze*, ed. Lewis Lancaster, 329-40.

Birnbaum, Raoul.
[1979]1989 *The Healing Buddha*. rev. ed. Boston: Shambhala.

Bollee, Willem B.
1986 Le *kūṭāgāra* ou de la maison des hommes au manoir dans l'Inde orientale et l'Asie du Sud-Est. Bulletin d'études indiennes 4:189-214.

Burnouf, Eugène, ed. and trans.
1840 *Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa ou Histoire Poétique de Krichṇa*. Vol.1. Paris: Imprimerie Royale.

Buswell, Roert E., Jr. ed.
1990 *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*. Hololulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Chao Huashan 晁華山.
1985 Nijusseiki shotō no Doitsu tai ni yoru Kijiru sekkutsu chōsa to sonogo no kenkyū ２０世紀初頭のドイツ隊によるキジル石窟調査とその後の研究. In Shinkyō Uiguru Jichiku Bunbutsu Kanri Iinkai 新疆ウイグル自治区文物管理委員会 and Haijōken Kijiru Senbutsudō Bunbutsu Hokanjo 拜城県キジル千仏洞文物保管所, eds., *Chūgoku sekkutsu Kijiru sekkutsu* 中国石窟 キジル石窟 3:241-61. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

1993 *Xunmi yanmo qiannian de dongfang Moni si* 尋覓湮没千年的東方摩尼寺. *Zhongguo wenhua* 中國文化 8:1-20.

1996 New Evidence of Manichaeism in Asia: A Description of Some Recently Discovered Manichaean Temples in Turfan. *Monumenta Serica* 44:267-315.

Chappel, David.
1990 Formless Repentance in Comparative Perspective. In *Fo Kuang Shan Report of International Conference on Ch'an Buddhism*, 251-67. Gaoxiong: Fo Kuang Publisher.

Chavannes, Édouard.
1970 Voyage de Song Yun: dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra (518-522 p. C.). *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 57:379-441.

Chen Yixiao 陳義孝.
1995 *Foxue changjian cihui* 佛學常見詞彙. Taipei: Miaoyin Xuefo Shiting Tushuguan.

Chen Yuan 陳垣.
1931 *Dunhuang jieyu lu* 敦煌劫餘錄, 6 vols. Beijing: Guoli Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo 國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所.

Chinese Buddhist Society of Australia.
1975 *The Smaller Sukhavativyuha; The Sutra of Visualizing the Buddha of Immeasurable Length of Life*. Buddhist Publication Series, vol.1. n.p.: Chinese Buddhist Society of Australia.

Conze, Edward, ed. and trans.
1957 *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*. Serie Orientale Roma, vol.13. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Conze, Edward, trans.
1973 *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & Its verse Summary*. San Francisco: Four Seasons Foundation.

Coomaraswamy, Ananda K.
1928 Indian Architectural Terms. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 48:250-75.

1935 *La sculpture de Bodhgayā*. Ars Asiatica 18. Paris: Les Éditions d'art et d'histoire.

[1935]1979 *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.

Cunningham, Alexander.
[1871]1963 *The Ancient Geography of India*. Part 1, *The Buddhist Period, Including the Campaigns of Alexander, and the Travels of Hwen-Thsang*. Reprint. Varanasi: Indological Book House.

Davidson, Ronald Mark.
1985 *Buddhist Systems of Transformation: Āśraya-parivṛtti/-parāvṛtti Among the Yogācāra*. Ph. D. Diss, University of California, Berkeley.

de Groot, J. J. M.
1893 *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine: Son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque*. Amsterdam: Johannes Müller.

de Jong, J. W.
[1972]1979 Review of K. Fujita, *Genshi jōdo shisō no kenkyū*. Reprint in *Buddhist Studies*, 493-507. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press.

1979 *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (Pallavas 42-108)*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series. Vol.2. Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library.

de la Vallée Poussin, Louis.
1898 *Bouddhisme: études et matériaux. Ādikarmapradīpa Bodhicaryāvatāraṭīkā*. London: Luzac.

1962 Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library. London: Oxford University Press.

Deleanu, Florin.
1993 Śrāvakayāna Yoga Practices and Mahāyāna Buddhism. *Bungaku Kenkyūka kiyō bessatsu: Tetsugaku, shigakuhen* 文学研究科紀要別冊: 哲学・史学編 20:3-12.

Demiéville, Paul.

1924 Les versions chinoises du Milindapañha. *Bulletin de L'École Française d'Etrême-Orient* 24: 1-258.

1954 La *Yogācārabhūmi* de Saṅgharakṣa. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 44(2): 339-436.

Dietz, Siglinde.

1985 Untersuchung zur Schulzugehörigkeit der in Ujjain liegenden Gilgit-Fragmente. In *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, ed. Heinz Bechert, 1:163-79. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Dimmitt, Cornelia, and J. A. B. van Buitenen, eds. and trans.

1978 *Classical Hindu Mythology: A Reader in the Sanskrit Purāṇas*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Dutt, Nalinaksha.

1931 Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa Sūtra. *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 7(2): 259-86.

-----, ed.

[1939]1984 *Gilgit Manuscripts*. Vol.1. Srinagar: Calcutta Oriental Press.

Eckel, Malcolm David.

[1992]1994 *To See the Buddha: A Philosopher's Quest for the Meaning of Emptiness*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ehara, N. R. M., Soma Thera, and Kheminda Thera, trans.

1961 *The Path of Freedom*. Colombo: D. Roland D. Weerasuria.

Eliade, Mircea.

[1958]1969 *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*. Translated from French by Willard R. Trask. Bollingen Series, vol.56. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Emmerick, Ronald E.

1968 *The Book of Zambasta: A Khotanese Poem on Buddhism*. London Oriental Series, vol. 21. London: Oxford University Press.

1992 *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*. 2d ed., rev. and enl. Studia Philologica Buddhica Occasional Paper Series, vol. 3. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Endō Yoshimoto 遠藤嘉基, and Kasuga Kazuo 春日和男, eds.
1967 *Nihon ryōiki* 日本靈異記. Nihon koten bungaku taikei 日本古典文學大系, vol.70. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Enomoto Fumio 榎本文雄.
1984a Agon kyōten no seiritsu 阿含経典の成立. *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū* 東洋学術研究 23(1): 93-108.

1984b Higashi Torukisutan shutsudo Bonbun Agon no keifu 東トルキスタン出土梵文阿含の系譜. [*Kachō Tanki Daigaku*] *Kenkyū kiyō* [華頂短期大学]研究紀要 29:11-26.

1993 Keihin: Indo Bukkyō no ichi chūshinchi no shozai 罽賓：インド仏教の一中心地の所在. *Tsukamoto Keishō kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū Chi no kaigō: Bukkyō to kagaku* 塚本啓祥教授還暦記念論文集 知の邂逅:仏教と科学. Tokyo: Kōsei Shuppansha.

1994a *Hokku hiyukyō* no seiritsu ni tsuite: *Chū hongikyō* no seiritsu ni karande 『法句譬喩經』の成立について：『中本起経』の成立にからんで. *Kikan Āgama* 季刊アーガマ 130:284-86.

1994b *A Comprehensive Study of the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama: Indic Texts Corresponding to the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama as Found in the Sarvāstivāda-Mūlasarvāstivāda Literature*. Pt.1, **Saṃgītanipāta*. Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research.

Éracle, Jean.
1984 *Soutra des paroles du Buddha sur la contemplation de la Vie Infinie*. In *Trois soûtras et un traité sur la Terre Pure*, 225-80. Geneva: Éditions Aquarius.

Evans-Wentz, W. Y., ed.
1935 *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines: Or "Seven Books of Wisdom of the Great Path," According to the Late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering*. London: Oxford University Press.

Foucher, Alfred.
1905 *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*. Vol.1. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.

Fraser, Sarah Elizabeth.
1996 *The Artist's Practice in Tang Dynasty China (8th-10th Centuries)*. Ph. D. Dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.

Frauwallner, Erich.
[1956]1973 *History of Indian Philosophy*. 2 vols. Translated from German by V. M. Bedekar. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

1951 *On the Date of the Buddhist Master of the Law Vasubandhu*. Serie Orientale Roma, vol.3. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

1956 *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*. Serie Orientale Roma, vol.8. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Freud, Sigmund.
[1973]1996 *Seishin bunsekigaku nyūmon* 精神分析学入門. Translated into Japanese by Kakeda Katsumi 懸田克躬. Originally published as *Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse* (1917).

Foucher, Alfred.
1905 *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*. Vol.1. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

1918 *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*. Vol.2. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

1925 Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hiuan-tsang en Afghanistan. In *Études Asiatiques*, ed., G. van Oest, 1:257-84. n.p.: Librairie nationale d'art et h'histoire.

Fujieda Akira.
1966 The Tunhuang Manuscripts: A General Description. Pt.1. *Zinbun* 9:1-32.

Fujita Kōtatsu 藤田宏達.
1970 *Genshi Jōdo shisō no kenkyū* 原始浄土思想の研究. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

[1970]1990 The Textual Origins of the *Kuan Wu-liang-shou ching:* A Canonical Scripture of Pure Land Buddhism. In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr., 149-73. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

1981 *Muryōjukyō* no yakusha mondai hosetsu 『無量寿経』の訳者問題補説. In *Daijō Bukkyō kara Mikkyō e: Katsumata Shunkyō hakushi koki kinen ronshū* 大乗仏教から密教へ：勝又俊教博士古稀記念論集, ed. Katsumata Shukyō Hakushi Koki Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai 勝又俊教博士古稀記念論文集刊行会, 691-700. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

1985 *"Kan Muryōju kyō" kōkyū: "Kangyō shijōsho" o sankan shite* 観無量寿経講究:『観経四帖疏』を参看して. Kyoto: Shinshū Ōtaniha Shūmusho Shuppanbu.

Fukuda Gyōei 福田尭穎.
1954 *Tendaigaku gairon* 天台學概論. Tokyo: Fukuda Daisōjō Beiju Kinen Shuppan Kankōkai.

Fukuhara, Ryōgon 福原亮厳.
1975 *Bukkyō gairon* 仏教概論. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō.

Funayama Tōru 船山徹.
1995 Rikuchō jidai ni okeru bosatsukai no juyō katei: Ryūsō Nanseiki o chūshin ni 六朝時代における菩薩戒の受容過程：劉宋・南齊期を中心に. *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 67:1-135.

Gaulier, Simone, Robert Jera-Bezard, and Monique Maillard.
1976 *Buddhism in Afghanistan and Central Asia.* Iconography of Religions, sec.13, fasc.14, pts.1-2. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Christopher S. George.
1974 *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra Chapters I-VIII: A Critical Edition and English Translation.* American Oriental Series. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

Giès, Jacque, ed.
1994 *Saiiki bijutsu: Gime bijutsukan Perio corecution.* 2 vols. Tokyo: Kodansha.

Giles, Lionel.
1957 *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum.* London: The Trustees of the British Museum.

Gonda, Jan.
1965 The Number Sixteen. In *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, 115-30. The Hague: Mouton.

Grünwedel, Albert.
1912 *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan: Bericht über Archäologische Arbeiten von 1906 bis 1907 bei Kuca, Qaraśahr und in der Oase Turfan*. Berlin: Georg Reimer.

Gyatso, Janet.
1985 The Development of the *Gcod* Tradition. In *Soundings in Tibetan Civilization*, eds. Aziz and Kapstein,320-41. Delhi: Manohar.

Hadani Ryōtai 羽溪了諦.
1914 *Saiiki no Bukkyō* 西域之佛教. Kyoto: Hōrinkan.

1934 *Daijikkyō* to Kyaratei tono kankei 大集經と佉羅帝との関係. *Shūkyō kenkyū* 宗教研究 n.s. 11(5): 731-44.

Haesner, Chh.
1987 Some Common Stylistic and Iconographic Features in the Buddhist Art of India and Central Asia. In *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography Held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in May 1986*. Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst.

Hansen, Valerie.
1995 *Negotiating Daily Life in Traditional China: How Ordinary People Used Contracts, 600-1400*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Harrison, Paul.
1978a *Buddhānusmṛti* in the *Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 6(1): 35-57.

1990 *The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present: An Annotated English Translation of the Tibetan Version of the "Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra" with Several Appendices relating to the History of the Text*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

1992 Commemoration and Identification in *Buddhānusmṛti*. In *In the Mirror of Memory: Reflections on Mindfulness and Remembrance in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism,* ed. Janet Gyatso, 215-38. Albany: State University of New York Press.

1992 Is the *Dharma-kāya* the Real "Phantom Body" of the Buddha? *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15(1): 44-94.

-----, ed.
1978b *The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series, vol.1. Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library.

Hartmann, Jens-Uwe.
1996 Neue Fragmente aus dem "*Yogalehrbuch*." *Festschrift Dieter Schlingloff zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Shülern, Freunden, und Kollegen*. Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler, Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen.

Hartmann, Jens-Uwe, and Klaus Wille.
1992 *Die nordturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften der Sammlung Hoernle (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handscrhiften, II)*. In Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckeungen und Neueditionen, vol.2, ed. Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Klaus Wille, Claus Vogel, and Günter Grönbold. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hayashiya Tomojirō 林屋友次郎.
1937 An Seikō yaku no *Zō agon* to *Zōichi agon* 安世高譯の雜阿含と増一阿含. *Bukkyō kenkyū* 佛教研究 1(2): 11-50.

1945 *Iyaku kyōrui no kenkyū* 異譯經類の研究. Tōyō Bunko ronsō 東洋文庫論叢, vol.30. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko.

Henmi Baiei 逸見梅栄.
[1935]1982 *Indo ni okeru raihaizō no keishiki kenkyū* 印度に於ける礼拝像の形式研究. Tōyō Bunko ronsō 東洋文庫論叢, vol.21. Tokyo: Tokyo Bijutsu.

Higuchi Takayasu 樋口隆康.

1952 Bakutoria yori Takishira made: Indo kodai kōtsūro no kenkyū バクトリアよりタキシラまで: インド古代交通路の研究. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 15:84-101.

1986 *Arubamu Sirukurōdo kōkogaku* アルバム　シルクロード考古学. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Hirakawa Akira 平川彰.

[1968]1989a *Shoki Daijō Bukkyō no kenkyū* 初期大乗仏教の研究. Part 1. Reprint (rev. and enl. into 2 parts). Hirakawa Akira chosakushū 平川彰著作集, vol.3. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

[1968]1989b *Shoki Daijō Bukkyō no kenkyū* 初期大乗仏教の研究. Part 2. Reprint (rev. and enl. into 2 parts). Hirakawa Akira chosakushū 平川彰著作集, vol.4. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

1979 *Indo Bukkyōshi* インド仏教史. Vol.2. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

1989 *Daijō Bukkyō no kyōri to kyōdan* 大乗仏教の教理と教団. Hirakawa Akira chosakushū 平川彰著作集, vol.5. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

Hiraoka Satoshi 平岡聡.

1998 *Mahāvastu* no seiritsu ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: *Shōbon* kei *Hannyakyō* shosetsu no juki no teikeiku o tegakari to shite, Mahāvastuの成立に関する一考察：小品系般若経所説の授記の定型句を手がかりとして. Handout distributed at the annual meeting of the Indogaku Bukkyōgakkai, Tsurumi, September 1998.

Hirokawa Gyōbin 廣川堯敏.

1984 Raisan 礼讃. In *Tonkō to Chūgoku Bukkyō* 敦煌と中国仏教, eds. Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 and Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅,425-70. Kōza Tonkō 講座敦煌, vol.7. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha.

Honda Wataru 本田濟.

[1990]1992 *Hōbokushi Naihen* 抱朴子内篇. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Hori, Kentoku 堀謙徳.
[1912]1971 *Kaisetsu Saiikiki* 解説西域記. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.

Huang Wenbi 黄文弼.
[1957]1994 *Torufan kōkoki* トルファン考古記. Kō Bunhitsu chosakushū 黄文弼著作集, vol.2. Translated from Chinese by Doi Yoshiko 土居淑子. Tokyo: Kōbunsha.

Huang Yongwu 黄永武, ed.
1986 *Dunhuang yishu zuixin mulu* 敦煌遺書最新目録. Taibei: Shinwenfeng.

Idzumi Hōkei 泉芳璟.
1940 Genten yori nenbutsu no igi o kōsatsu shite kannen to shōnen ni oyobu 原典より念佛の意義を考察して觀念と稱念に及ぶ. *Bukkyō kenkyū* 佛教研究 4(2):142-51.

Ikeda Eijun 池田英淳.
1937 Kumarajū yakushutsu no zen kyōten to Rozan Eon 鳩摩羅什譯出の禪經典と廬山慧遠. *Taishō Daigaku gakuhō* 大正大學々報 26: 101-18.

Inagaki Hisao.
1994 *The Three Pure Land Sutras: A Study and Translation from Chinese*. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshodo.

Inokuchi Taijun 井ノ口泰淳.
1966 Saiiki shutsudo no bonbun yuga ronjo 西域出土の梵文瑜伽論書. *Ryūkoku Daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大學論集 381: 2-15.

Inokuchi Taijun, ed.
1989 *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Brought from Central Asia by Paul Pelliot Preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Preliminary)*. Kyoto: Institute of Buddhist Cultural Studies, Ryukoku University.

Inokuchi Taijun, Mizutani Koshō 水谷幸正, Yamada Meiji 山田明爾, Kanaoka Shōkō 金岡照光, Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, and Kodama Daien 小玉大圓.
1975 *Shiruku rōdo no shūkyō: Maboroshi no jiin o tazunete* シルクロードの宗教: 幻の寺院をたずねて. Ajia Bukkyō shi: Chūgoku hen アジア仏教史: 中国編, vol.5. Tokyo: Kōsei Shuppansha.

Ishida Mitsuyuki 石田充之.
1958 Saiiki Bukkyō ni okeru Jōdokyō teki yōso no kenkyū ni tsuite 西域佛教における浄土教的要素の研究について. In *Saiiki bunka kenkyū* 西域文化研究. Vol.1, *Tonkō Bukkyō shiryō* 敦煌佛教資料, 103-4. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Ishida Mizumaro 石田瑞麿.
[1982]1985 Jigoku towa nanika 地獄とは何か. Reprint in *Jigoku* 地獄, 8-87. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Ishida Mosaku 石田茂作.
[1930]1966 *Shakyō yori mitaru Narachō Bukkyō no kenkyū* 寫經より見たる奈良朝佛教の研究. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko.

Ishiguro Michi 石黒彌致.
1936 *Shōjō dōron* 清淨道論. Vol.1. Tōyōbunko sōkan 東洋文庫叢刊, no.4. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko.

Iwamoto Yutaka 岩本裕.
1959 The *Sumāgadhāvadāna*: A Buddhist Legend. Pt.1. Revised Sanskrit-Text. *Tōkai Daigaku Bungakubu kiyō* 東海大学文学部紀要 1:1-51.

1979 *Bukkyō setsuwa kenkyū* 佛教説話研究. Vol.5. *Sumāgadā avadāna kenkyū* スマーガダー=アヴァダーナ研究. Tokyo: Keimei Shoin.

Jaini, Padmanabh S.
1979 *The Jaina Path of Purification*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Jao Tsong-yi, Pierre Ryckmans, and Paul Demiéville
1978 *Peintures monochromes de Dunhuang (Dunhuang baihua)*. 3 fascs. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient.

Jera-Bezard, R., and M. Maillard.
1987 Remarks on Early Esoteric Buddhist Painting in Central Asia. In *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography Held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in May 1986*, 147-57. Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Jia Yingyi 賈應逸.
[1985]1989 Toyuku sekkutsu kō トユク石窟考. Translated from Chinese by Sudō Hirotoshi 須藤弘敏. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 186:62-81.

Jiang Liangfu 姜亮夫.
1956 *Dunhuang: Weida de wenhua baozang* 敦煌：偉大的文化寶藏. Shanghai: Shanghai gudian wenxue chuban she.

Johnston, E. H.
[1935-36]1984 *The Buddhacarita: Or Acts of the Buddha*. Reprint (3pts. in 1). Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Jones, J. J., trans.
1949 *The Mahāvastu*, vol.1. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, no.16. London: Luzac.

Kagawa Takao 香川孝雄.
1993 *Jōdokyō no seiritsushi teki kenkyū* 浄土教の成立史的研究. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin.

Kajiyama Yūichi 梶山雄一.
1992 *Hanjusammaikyō* : Amidabutsu shinkō to kū no shisō 般舟三昧経: 阿弥陀仏信仰と空の思想. In Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士 and Kajiyama Yūichi, *Jōdo Bukkyō no shisō* 浄土仏教の思想, vol.2, "*Kanmuryōjukyō,*" "*Hanjusanmaikyō*" 観無量寿経 般舟三昧経. Tokyo: Kōdansha.

Kajiyama Yūichi 梶山雄一, ed.
1994 *Satori eno henreki: Kegongyō nyūhokkaibon* さとりへの遍歴：華厳経入法界品. 2 vols. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.

Kajiyama Yūichi, and Tanji Akiyoshi 丹治昭義.
1975 *Hassenju Hannyakyō* 八千頌般若経. Vol. 2. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.

Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄.
1983 *Chūgoku Bukkyō shi* 中国仏教史. Vol.2, *Juyōki no Bukkyō* 受容期の仏教. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

Kanaoka Shōkō 金岡照光.
1971 *Tonkō no bungaku* 敦煌の文学. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan.

Karashima Seishi 辛嶋静志.
1994 *"Jōagon kyō" no gengo no kenkyū: Onshago bunseki o chūshin to shite* 『長阿含経』の原語の研究：音写 語分析を中心として. Tokyo: Hirakawa Shuppansha.

Kasugai Shin'ya 春日井眞也.
1953 *Kan Muryōjubutsu kyō* ni okeru shomondai 觀無量壽佛經に於ける諸問題. *Bukkyō bunka kenkyū* 佛教文化研究 3:37-50.

Kasugai Shin'ya, and Tōdō Kyōshun 藤堂恭俊.
1957 Jōdokyōten no keisei 淨土經典の形成. In *Bukkyō no konpon shinri* 佛教の根本眞理, ed. Miyamoto Shōson 宮本正尊, 513-38. Tokyo: Sanseidō.

Katsuki Gen'ichirō 勝木言一郎.
1994 Tonkō hekiga no kangyō hensō jūrokukan zu ni miru jinbutsu hyōgen ni tsuite 敦煌壁画の観経変相十六観図にみる人物表現について. *Higashi Ajia bijutsu ni okeru hito no katachi* 東アジア美術における人のかたち. Heisei 5-6 nendo Kagaku Kenkyūhi hojokin (ippann kenkyū A) kenkyū seika hōkokusho 平成五・六年度科学研究費補助金（一般研究A）研究成果報告書.

Kawagishi Yoshitaka.
1949 *Meditation on Buddha Amitāyus*. New York: American Buddhist Academy Press.

Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照.
1975 *Ubu no Budda ron* 有部の佛陀論, Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin.

Kern, Hendrik.
[1898]1989 *Manual of Indian Buddhism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Kimura Eiichi 木村英一, ed.
1960 *Eon kenkyū: Imon hen* 慧遠研究: 遺文篇. Tokyo: Sōbunsha.

Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝.
1994 Nanatsudera bon gikyō *Daitsū hōkō kyō* maki chū no kachi 七寺本・偽経『大通方広経』巻中の価値. *Shūkyō kenkyū* 67(4): 264-65.

1994 Nanatsudera bon gikyō *Daitsū hōkō kyō* maki chū no shiryōteki kachi 七寺本・偽経『大通方広経』巻中の資料的価値. *Indo tetsugaku bukkyōgaku* 印度哲学仏教学 9:209-23.

Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim.
1996 *Manichäische Kunst an der Seidenstrße: Alte und neue Funde.* Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Kobayashi Nobuhiko 小林信彦.
1989 10 seiki ni okeru Kūkai den no henshitsu: Shinwa no keisei to hatten, １０世紀における空海伝の変質：神話の形成と発展. *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 佛教史學研究 32(1): 1-27.

1990 Sekai bukkyōshi no tachiba kara mita seitō Kūkaiden no seiritsu katei 世界仏教史の立場から見た正統空海伝の成立過程. *Kansai Daigaku Tōzai Gakujutsu Kenkyūjo kiyō* 関西大学東西学術研究所紀要 23: 1-81.

Kodama Daien 小玉大圓, Nakayama Masaaki 中山正晃, and Chokkai Gentetsu 直海玄哲.
1992 Yugashi to zen kyōten no kenkyū: Denshō no mondaiten to bunseki o chūshin ni 瑜伽師と禅経典の研究：伝承の問題点と分析を中心に. Part 1. *Ryūkoku Daigaku Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 龍谷大学佛教文化研究所紀要 31:115-34.

1993 Yugashi to zen kyōten no kenkyū: Denshō no mondaiten to bunseki o chūshin ni 瑜伽師と禅経典の研究：伝承の問題点と分析を中心に. Part 2. *Ryūkoku Daigaku Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 龍谷大学佛教文化研究所紀要 32:166-79.

Kōno Satoshi 河野訓.
1991 Shoki Chūgoku Bukkyō no butsuden o meguru shomondai: *Shugyō hongikyō* ni kanren shite 初期中国仏教の仏伝をめぐる諸問題：『修行本起経』に関連して. *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 113:127-76.

Kramrisch, Stella.
1981a *The Prtesence of Śiva.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

1981b *Manifestations of Shiva..* Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Kuno Miki 久野美樹.

1995 Hokuryō tōkidan no sonzō ni tsuite 北涼塔基壇の尊像について. In *Uehara Kazu hakushi koki kinen Bijutsushi ronshū* 上原和博士古稀記念美術史論集, 263-95. Tokyo: Uehara Kazu Hakushi Koki Kinen Bijutsushi Ronshū Kankōkai.

Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進.

1990 *Kāpisī-Gandāra shi kenkyū* カーピシー=ガンダーラ史研究. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo.

Lai, Whalen.

1990 The *Chan-ch'a ching*: Religion and Magic in Medieval China. In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr., 175-206. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Lamotte, Étienne.

[1944]1981 *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, vol.1. Louvain-la-neuve: Institut Orientaliste, Université de Louvain.

[1949]1981 *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, vol.2. Louvain-la-neuve: Institut Orientaliste, Université de Louvain.

1970 *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, vol.3. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, Université de Louvain.

[1958]1988 *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era.* Translated from French by Sara Webb-Boin. Louvain: Peeters Press.

[1962]1987 *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa).* Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, Université catholique de Louvain.

1970 *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, vol.3. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, Universitæ de Louvain.

1976 *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, vol.4. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, Universitæ de Louvain.

1980 *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, vol.5. Louvain-la-neuve: Institut Orientaliste, Universitæ de Louvain.

1967 Un sūtra composite de l'*Ekottarāgama*. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. 30:105-16.

Legge, James.
[1886]1991 *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms: Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fâ-hien of His Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399-414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*. Toronto: General Publishing.

Lessing, Ferdinand D.
1950 The Thirteen Visions of a Yogācārya: A Preliminary Study. *Ethnos* 15: 108-30.

Leumann, Ernst.
1907 Über die einheimischen Sprachen von Ostturkestan im frühern Mittelalter. Part 1. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 61:648-58.

1908 Über die einheimischen Sprachen von Ostturkestan im frühern Mittelalter. Part 2. *Zeitschrift der Deutchen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 62:83-110.

1912 *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur: Vorbemerkungen und vier Aufsätze mit Glossar*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

[1920]1966 *Buddhistische Literatur: Nordarisch und Deutsch*. Part 1, Nebenstücke. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 15(2). Nendeln, Lichetenstein: Kraus Reprint.

Lévi, Sylvain.
1925 Le sūtra du sage et du fou dans la littérature de l'asie centrale. *Journal Asiatique* 207:305-32.

Lévi, Sylvain, and Édouard Chavannes.
1916a Les seize arhat protecteurs de la loi. Pt.1. *Journal Asiatique*, 11th ser., 8(1): 5-50.

1916b Les seize arhat protecteurs de la loi. Pt.2. *Journal Asiatique*, 11th ser., 8(2): 189-304.

Lin Li-kouang 林藜光.
1949 *L'Aide-mémoire de la vraie loi (Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra): Recherches sur un sūtra développé du Petit Véhicule*. Introduction by Paul Demiéville. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Lip, Evelyn.
1992 *Chinese Numbers: Significance, Symbolism and Traditions*. Singapore: Times Books International.

Liu Hongliang 柳洪亮.
1993 Gaochang shiku tan 14 -- ceding shuju shixi 高昌石窟碳14--測定数据試析. *Xinjiang wenwu* 新彊文物 31:118-27.

1990 Gaochang shiku gaishu 高昌石窟概述. In *Zhongguo bihua quanji: Xinjiang* 中國壁畫全集：新彊, vol.6, Tulufan吐魯番, ed. Zhongguo Bihua Quanji Bianji Weiyuan Hui 中國壁畫全集編輯委員會, 1-19. Shenyang: Liaoning Meishu Chubanshe; Urumchi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe.

Liu Huida 劉慧達.
[1978]1996 Beiwei shiku yu chan 北魏石窟與禪. Reprint in Subai 宿白, *Zhongguo shikusi yanjiu* 中國石窟寺研究, 331-48. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.

Lu K'uan Yu (Charles Luk).
1964 *The Sūtra of the Contemplation of Amitāyus: Kuan wu liang shou ching*. In *The Secrets of Chinese Meditation*, 85-106. London: Rider.

Ma Shichang 馬世長.
1989 Xinjiang shikuzhong de Hanfeng dongku he bihua 新疆石窟中的漢風洞窟和壁畫. In *Zhongguo Meishu Quanji: Huihua bian* 中國美術全集：繪畫編, vol.16, *Xinjiang shiku bihua* 新疆石窟壁畫, ed. Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianji Weiyuan Hui 中國美術全集編輯委員會, 31-51. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.

Mackenzie, D. N.
1976 *The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library*. *Acta Iranica*, ser.3, vol.3. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Maeda Egaku 前田惠學.
1985 Japanese Studies on the Schools of the Chinese Āgamas. In *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, ed. Heinz Bechert, 1:94-103.

Mainichi Communications 毎日コミュニケーションズ.
1983 *Dai Chibetto ten* 大チベット展. Tokyo: Mainichi Communications.

Mair, Victor H.
1993 The Linguistic and Textual Antecedents of *The Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish* (*Hsien-yü ching*): with an appended translation of "Sudatta Raises a Monastery." *Sino-Platonic Papers* 38:1-95.

Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮.
1976 *Gikyō kenkyū* 疑經研究. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo.

Makita Tairyō, and Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, eds.
1994 *Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten* 中國撰述經典, pt.1. Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho 七寺古逸經典研究叢書, vol.1. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha.

1995 *Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten* 中國撰述經典, pt.3. Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho 七寺古逸經典研究叢書, vol.3. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha.

1996 *Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten* 中國撰述經典, pt.2. Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho 七寺古逸經典研究叢書, vol.2. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha.

Malandra, Geri H.
1996 The Maṇḍala at Ellora / Ellora in the Maṇḍala. *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19(2): 181-207.

Masutani Fumio 増谷文雄.
[1969]1974 *Budda: Sono shōgai to shisō* 仏陀：その生涯と思想. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.

Master, Alfred.
1943-46 Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London)* 11:297-307.

Masunaga Reihō 増永靈鳳.
1944 *Zenjō shisōshi: Zenjō shisō to sono tenkai* 禪定思想史: 禪定思想とその展開. Tōyō shisō sōsho 東洋思想叢書, vol.16. Tokyo: Nippon Hyōron Sha.

Matsuda Kazunobu 松田和信.
1982 Bonbun danpen *Loka-prajñapti* ni tsuite: Kōkiji, Gyokusenji, Shitennōji, Chionji baiyō, Indo shoden shahon no bunrui to dōtei 梵文断片 Loka-prajñapti について：高貴寺・玉泉寺・四天王寺・智恩寺貝葉・インド所伝写本の分類と同定. *Bukkyōgaku* 佛教學 14:1-21.

Matsumoto Bunzaburō 松本文三郎.
1911 *Miroku jōdoron* 彌勒淨土論. Tokyo: Heigo Shuppansha.

Matsumoto Eiichi 松本榮一.
1937a *Tonkōga no kenkyū: Zuzōhen* 燉煌畫の研究: 圖像篇. Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin Tokyo Kenkyūjo.

1937b *Tonkōga no kenkyū: Fuzu* 燉煌畫の研究: 附圖. Tokyo: Tōhō Bunka Gakuin Tokyo Kenkyūjo.

Matsumoto Shirō 松本史朗.
1989 *Engi to kū: Nyoraizō shisō hihan* 縁起と空：如来像思想批判. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan.

1994 *Zen shisō no hihanteki kenkyū* 禅思想の批判的研究. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan.

Matsumura Hisashi 松村恒.
1983 Girugitto shoden no Mikkyō zuzō bunken ギルギット所伝の密教図像文献. *Mikkyō zuzō* 密教図像 2:71-79.

1994 Analecta Indica. *Shinwa Joshi Daigaku Kenkyū ronsō* 親和女子大学研究論叢 27:68-121.

Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶.
1980 *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsu shiron* 密教経典成立史論. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Matsunami Seiren 松濤誠廉.
[1954]1967 Yugagyōha no so toshite no Memyō 瑜伽行派の祖としての馬鳴. Reprint in *Bukkyō ni okeru shin to gyō* 佛教における信と行, 123-71. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.

McRae, John R.
1986 *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*. Studies in East Asian Buddhism, vol.3. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Metropolitan Museum of Art.
1982 *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Miyai Rika 宮井里佳.
1996 *Jubikyō* 呪媚經. In *Chūgoku senjutsu kyōten* 中國撰述經典, pt.2. Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho 七寺古逸經典研究叢書, ed., Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, and Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, 2:699-742. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha.

Miyaji Akira 宮治昭.
1988 Kijiru sekkutsu: Sekkutsu kōzō, hekiga yōshiki, zuzō kōsei no kanren キジル石窟：石窟構造・壁画様式・図像構成の関連. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 179:43-69.

[n.d.]1992a Miroku to daibutsu: Yūtopia sekai no shōchō to shiteno Miroku daibutsu 弥勒と大仏：ユートピア世界の象徴としての弥勒大仏. Reprint in *Nehan to Miroku no zuzōgaku: Indo kara Chūō Asia e* 涅槃と弥勒の図像学：インドから中央アジアへ, 389-410. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

[n.d.]1992b Kodai Indo no Burahumā to Indora no zuzō ni tsuite: "Shōjateki-gyōjateki imēji" to "ōjateki-senshiteki imēji" 古代インドのブラフマーとインドラの図像について：「聖者的・行者的イメージ」と「王者的・戦士的イメージ」. Reprint in *Nehan to Miroku no zuzōgaku: Indo kara Chūō Asia e* 涅槃と弥勒の図像学：インドから中央アジアへ, 213-44. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

[1988-89]1992 Kijiru daiichi yōshiki no vōruto tenjōkutsu hekiga: Zenjōsō, sangaku kōzu, Miroku bosatsu no zuzō kōsei キジル第一様式のヴォールト天井窟壁画：禅定僧・山岳構図・弥勒菩薩の図像構成. Reprint (2pts. in 1) in *Nehan to Miroku no zuzōgaku: Indo kara Chūō Asia e* 涅槃と弥勒の図像学：インドから中央アジアへ, 411-74. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

[1983]1992 Chūō Ajia nehanzu no zuzōgaku teki kōsatsu: aitō no miburi to megami shinkō no kage 中央アジア涅槃図の図像学的考察：哀悼の身振りと女神信仰の影. Reprint in *Nehan to Miroku no zuzōgaku: Indo kara Chūō Asia e* 涅槃と弥勒の図像学：インドから中央アジアへ, 525-53. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

1992 *Nehan to Miroku no zuzōgaku: Indo kara Chūō Asia e* 涅槃と弥勒の図像学：インドから中央アジアへ. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.

1995a Turufan, Toyoku sekkutsu no zenkankutsu hekiga ni tsuite: Jōdozu, Jōdo kansōzu, fujō kansō zu トゥルファン・トヨク石窟の禅観窟壁画について：浄土図・浄土観想図・不浄観想図, part 1. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 221:15-41.

1995b Turufan, Toyoku sekkutsu no zenkankutsu hekiga ni tsuite: Jōdozu, Jōdo kansōzu, fujō kansō zu トゥルファン・トヨク石窟の禅観窟壁画について：浄土図・浄土観想図・不浄観想図, part 2. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 223:15-36.

1996 Turufan, Toyoku sekkutsu no zenkankutsu hekiga ni tsuite: Jōdozu, Jōdo kansōzu, fujō kansō zu トゥルファン・トヨク石窟の禅観窟壁画について：浄土図・浄土観想図・不浄観想図, part 3. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 226:38-83.

Miyashita Seiki 宮下晴輝.

1986 *Kusharon* ni okeru honmu konnu ron no haikei: *Shōgi kūshōkyō* no kaishaku o megutte 『倶舎論』における本無今有論の背景：『勝義空性經』の解釈をめぐって. *Bukkyōgaku seminā* 佛教學セミナー 44:7-37.

Mizuno Kōgen 水野弘元.

1957 Zenshū seiritsu izen no Shina no zenjō shisōshi josetsu 禪宗成立以前のシナの禪定思想史序説. *Komazawa Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 駒澤大學研究紀要 15:15-54.

1989 Kanyaku no *Chūagon kyō* to *Zōichi agon kyō* 漢訳の『中阿含経』と『増一阿含経』. *Bukkyō kenkyū* 佛教研究18:1-42.

Mizuho Seiichi 水野清一, ed.

1987 *Hazāru-sumu to Fīru-hāna: Ahuganisutan ni okeru sekkutsu iseki no chōsa 1962* ハザール-スムとフィール-ハーナ：アフガニスタンにおける石窟遺跡の調査 1962. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku.

1971 *Basāwaru to Jerārābādo-Kāburu: Afuganisutan tōnanbu ni okeru Bukkyō sekkutsu to buttō no chōsa 1965* バサーワルとジェララーラーバード-カーブル：アフガニスタン東南部における仏教石窟と仏塔の調査 1965. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku.

Mizutani Shinjō 水谷真成.

[1971]1972 *Daitō saiiki ki* 大唐西域記. Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei 中国古典文学大系, vol. 22. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信享.

[1930]1972 *Jōdokyō no kigen oyobi hattatsu* 淨土教の起源及發達. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin.

1946 *Bukkyō kyōten seiritsu shiron* 仏教経典成立史論. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Mogi Keiichirō 茂木計一郎.

1983 Kutsu kōzō ni tsuite 窟構造について. In *Tonkō sekkutsu gakujutsu chōsa daiichiji hōkokusho* 敦煌石窟學術調査第一次報告書, ed. Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Bijutsu Gakubu 東京藝術大學美術学部, 10-12.

Moriyasu Takao 森安孝夫.

1991 Uiguru-Manikyōshi no kenkyū ウイグル＝マニ教史の研究. *Ōsaka Daigaku Bungakubu kiyō* 大阪大学文学部紀要 31-32: 1-248.

Mu Shunying 穆瞬英, Qi Xiaoshan 祁小山, and Zhang Ping 張平.

1994 *Zhongguo Xinjiang gudai yishu* 中國新疆古代藝術. Urumchi: Xinjiang Meishu Sheying Chubanshe.

Mukai Ryōkai 向井亮海.

1997 Ryūju zō *Jūjū bibasha ron* Igyōbon no shōmyōsetsu: Shōmyō nenbutsu no genryū ni tsuite 龍樹造『十住毘婆沙論』易行品の称名説：称名念仏の源流について. *Tendai Shinsei shūgaku keykyū kiyō* 天台真盛宗学研究紀要 5:110-30.

Murakami Shinkan 村上真完.

1984 *Saiiki no Bukkyō: Bezekuriku seiganga kō* 西域の仏教: ベゼクリク誓願画考. Tokyo: Daisan Bunmei Sha.

Myōjin Hiroshi 明神洋.

1988? Miroku sanbukyō no seiritsu ni tsuite 彌勒三部經の成立について. *Tōyō no shisō to shūkyō* 東洋の思想と宗教 5: 74-89.

1993 Kumarajū to nenbutsukan 鳩摩羅什と念佛觀. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 42(1): 246-48.

1994 Zenkan kyōten ni okeru nenbutsu kan: sono imi to kigen ni tsuite 禅観経典における念仏観：その意味と起源について. *Bukkyō kenkyū* 23:59-79.

Nagasawa Kazutoshi 長澤和俊.

[1968]1983 Iwayuru *Sōun kōki* ni tsuite いわゆる『宗雲行紀』について. In *Shiruku rōdo shi kenkyū* シルクロード史研究, 459-80.

[1971]1982 *Hokken den, Sōun gyōki* 法顕伝・宋雲行記. Tōyō bunko 東洋文庫. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

1985 *Genjō sanzō: "Daitō Daijionji Sanzō Hōshi den."* 玄奘三蔵：大唐大慈恩寺三蔵法師伝. Tokyo: Kōfūsha.

1996 *Hokken den yakuchū kaisetsu: Hokusō bon, Nansō bon, Kōrai Daizōkyō bon, Ishiyamadera bon shishu eiin to sono hikaku kenkyū* 法顕伝訳注解説：北宋本・南宋本・高麗大蔵経本・石山寺本　四種影印とその比較研究. Tokyo: Yūzankaku.

Nakamine Masanobu 仲嶺真信.
1980 Chūō Ajia Toyoku iseki Bukkyō jiin hekiga danpen ni hyōgen sareta hōju ni tsuite 中央アジア・トヨク遺蹟仏教寺院壁画断片に表現された「宝珠」について. *Beppu Daigaku kiyō* 別府大学紀要 21: 29-44.

Nakamura Hajime 中村元.
1964 Jōdo sanbukyō no kaisetsu 浄土三部経の解説. In Nakamura Hajime, Hayashima Kyōshō 早島鏡正, and Kino Kazuyoshi 紀野一義, *Jōdo sanbukyō* 浄土三部経 2:191-213. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

1984 *Budda no kotoba: Suttanipāta* ブッダのことば：スッタニパータ. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Naniwa, Senmyō 浪花宣明.
1997 *Nettipakaraṇa* no kenkyū: hāra no bunseki, Nettipakaraṇaの研究：ハーラの分析, part 1. *Bukkyō kenkyū* 佛教研究 26:131-55.

1998 *Sārasangaha no kenkyū: Bukkyō kyōri no seiyō* サーラサンガハの研究：仏教教理の精要. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.

Nattier, Jan.
1992 *The Heart Sūtra*: A Chinese Apocryphal Text? *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15(2): 153-223.

Nogami Shunjō 野上俊静.
1965 Tonkō koshakyō moji ben'i hyō 敦煌古写経文字辨異表. In *Ōtani Daigaku shozō Tonkō koshakyō* 大谷大学所蔵敦煌古写経. 1:131-39. Kyoto: Ōtani Daigaku Tōyōgaku Kenkyūshitsu.

1972 Tonkō koshakyō moji ben'i hyō 敦煌古写経文字辨異表. In *Ōtani Daigaku shozō Tonkō koshakyō* 大谷大学所蔵敦煌古写経. 2:390-404. Kyoto: Ōtani Daigaku Tōyōgaku Kenkyūshitsu.

Nukariya Kaiten 忽滑谷快天.
[1923]1979 *Zengaku shisōshi* 禪學思想史. Vol.1. Reprint. Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai.

Ñyāṇamoli, Bhikkhu, trans.
1962 *The Guide (Netti-ppakaraṇaṃ).* London: Luzac.

1976 *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga).* Berkeley: Shambhala.

Nyanaponika Thera.
[1962]1983 *The Heart of Buuddhist Meditation: A Handbook of Mental Training based on the Buddha's Way of Mindfulness.* London: Rider.

Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典.
1991 *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-Dera: A Recently Discovered Treasure-House in Downtown Nagoya.* Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale.

1992 Gatsuba Shuna yaku *Kashōkyō* ni kanserareta kyōjo no yukue 月婆首那訳迦葉経に冠せられた経序の行方. *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū* 佛教史學研究 35(2): 61-77.

O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger.
[1973]1981 Śiva: The Erotic Ascetic. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ogasawara Senshū 小笠原宣秀, and Oda Yoshihisa 小田義久.
1980 *Yōsetsu Saiiki Bukkyō shi: Bukkyō tōzen no rekishi* 要説西域仏教史：仏教東漸の歴史. Kyoto: Hyakkaen.

Okada Yukihiro 岡田行弘.
1989 Sanjū ni dainin sō no keitō 三十二大人相の系統. Part 1. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 38(1): 303-7.

1991a Sanjū ni dainin sō no keitō 三十二大人相の系統. Part 2. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 40(1): 12-16.

1991b Hachijusshu gō 八十種好. In *"Ga" no shisō: Maeda Sengaku hakushi kanreki kinen ronshū* ＜我＞の思想：前田専学博士還暦記念論集, ed. Tokyō Daigaku Bungakubu Indotetsugaku Kenkyūshitsu 東京大学文学部印度哲学研究室, 611-27. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

Omaru Shinji 小丸真司.

1984 *Hanjusanmaikyō* to kanbutsu sanmai 『般舟三昧經』と観仏三昧. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 32(2): 378-81.

1985 *Kanmuryōjukyō* to shōmyō shisō 『観無量寿経』と称名思想. In *Hirakawa Akira hakushi koki kinen ronshū Bukkyō shisō no shomondai* 平川彰博士古稀記念論集 仏教思想の諸問題, 427-42. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

Ōminami Ryūshō 大南龍昇.

1975 Sanmai kyōten ni okeru kenbutsu to kanbutsu 三昧経典における見仏と観仏. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 23(2): 235-38.

1977 Kenbutsu: Sono kigen to tenkai 見仏: その起源と展開. *Taishō Daigaku kennkyū kiyō: Bukkyō Gakubu, Bungakubu* 大正大學研究紀要: 佛教學部・文學部 63:25-40.

1995 *Kan muryōju kyō* no seiritsu to zenkan kyōten 『観無量寿経』の成立と禅観経典. *Taishō Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 大正大学研究紀要 80:67-97.

Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙.

[1923]1977 *Kendara no Bukkyō bijutsu* 健駄邏の佛教美術. Reprint in Ono Gemmyō Bukkyō geijutsu chosaku shū 小野玄妙佛教藝術著作集. Vol.5. Tokyo: Kaimei Shoin.

Ōno Hideto 大野栄人.

1994 *Tendai shikan seiritsushi no kenkyū* 天台止観成立史の研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Orzech, Charles D.

1996 Maṇḍalas on the Move: Reflections from Chinese Esoteric Buddhism Circa 800 C.E. *Journal of the International Associaiton of Buddhist Studies* 19(2): 209-43

Pal, Pratapaditya.
1984 The Buddha Image in India. In *Lights of Asia: Buddha Sakyamuni in Asian Art*, ed. Lynne Dean, 145-53. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Pas, Julian F.
1974 Shan-tao's Interpretation of the Meditative Vision of Buddha Amitāyus. *History of Religions* 14(2): 96-115.

1977 The *Kuan-wu-liang-shou Fo-ching*: Its Origin and Literary Criticism. In *Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization: Essays in Honor of Herbert V. Guenther on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed., Leslie S. Kawamura, and Keith Scott, 194-218. Emeryville, CA: Dharma Publishing.

1978 The Meaning of *Nien-fo* in the Three Pure Land Sutras. *Sciences religieuses/ Studies in Religion* 7(4); 403-13.

1995 *Visions of Sukhāvatī: Shan-tao's Commentary on the "Kuan Wu-Liang-Shou-Fo Ching."* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Pe Maung Tin.
n.d. *The Path of Purity: Being a Translation of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimaga.* 3 vols. London: Oxford University Press.

Péri, Noël.
1918 Les femmes de Çākya-muni. *Bulletin de l'École française d'extrême-orient* 18: 1-37.

Pozdneyev, Aleksei M.
[1887]1927 *Dhyāna und Samādhi im Mongolischen Lamaismus*. Translated from Russian and introduced by W.A. Unkrig. Hannover: Heinz Lafaire.

[1887]1978 *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th-Century Mongolia*. Translated from Russian by Alo Raun and Linda Raun. Bloomington: The Mongolia Society.

Powers, John.
1995 *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism*. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications.

Prabhupāda, Bhaktivedanta Swami.
1974 *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana Vyāsa*. Vol.3(4). New York: The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust.

Przyluski, Jean.
1914 Le nord-ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mūla-sarvāstivādin et les textes apparantés. *Journal Asiatique*, 11th ser., 4(3): 493-568.

[1923]1967 *The Legend of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese Texts*. Translated from French by Dilip Kumar Biswas. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay.

Rhi Ju-hyung.
1991 *Gandhāran Images of the "Śrāvastī Miracle": An Iconographic Reassessment*. Ph. D. Dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.

Rocher, Ludo.
1986 *The Purāṇas*. A History of Indian Literature, vol.2(3). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Roth, Gustav.
1987 The Physical Presence of the Buddha and its Representation in Buddhist Literature. *Investigating Indian Art*, 291-312. Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Ruegg, David Seyfort.
1967 On a Yoga Treatise in Sanskrit from Qïzïl. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87(2): 157-65.

1992 Some Observations on the Present and future of Buddhist Studies. *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15(1): 104-17.

Ryukoku University Translation Center.
1984 *The Sūtra of Contemplation on the Buddha of Immesurable Life as Expounded by Śākyamuni Buddha*. Kyoto: Ryukoku University.

Sadakata Akira 定方晟.
1991 Takishira no jakkan no chimei ni tsuite タキシラの若干の地名について. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 40(1): 477-84.

Sasaki Shizuka 佐々木閑.
1997 Visuddhimagga to と Samantapāsādiā. Pt. 1. *Bukkyō Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyūjo kiyō* 佛教大学総合研究所紀要 4:35-63.

Sakaino Kōyō 境野黄洋.
[1935]1972 *Shina Bukkyō seishi* 支那佛教精史. (Revised and enlarged version of *Shina Bukkyōshi kōwa* 支那佛教史講話) Tokyo: Sakaino Kōyō Hakushi Ikō Kankōkai.

Sakurabe Hajime 櫻部建.
1976 Nenbutsu to sanmai 念仏と三昧. In *Okuda Jiō sensei kiju kinen Bukkyō shisō ronshū* 奥田慈應先生喜寿記念 仏教思想論集, ed. Okuda Jiō sensei kiju kinen ronbunshū kankōkai 奥田慈應先生喜寿記念論文集刊行会, 889-96. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.

1982 Borotsukuroi ぼろつくろい. *Bukkyōgaku seminā* 佛教學セミナー 35:44-50.

1983 Nenbutsu sanmai to iu go ni tsuite 念仏三昧という語について. In *Nakagawa Zenkyō sensei shōtoku kinen ronshū Bukkyō to bunka* 中川善教先生頌徳記念論集 仏教と文化, ed. Kōyasan Daigaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyūshitsu 高野山大学仏教学研究室, 483-87. Kyoto: Dōbōsha Shuppan.

Sakurai Munenobu 桜井宗信.
1996 *Indo mikkyō girei kenkyū: Kōki Indo mikkyō no kanjō shidai* インド密教儀礼研究：後期インド密教の灌頂次第. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Sander, Lore.
1968 *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithaudschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 8. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

Satō Shingaku 佐藤心岳.
1980 *Hōjisan* no kenkyū 『法事讃』の研究. In *Zendō Daishi sensanbyaku nen onki kinen Zendō kyōgaku no kenkyū: fu Zendō den kankei shiryō* 善導大師千三百年遠忌記念 善導教学の研究：附・善導伝関係資料, ed. Bukkyō Daigaku Zendō Kyōgaku Kenkyūkai 佛教大学善導教学研究会, 259-78. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunka Shuppan.

Satō Taishun 佐藤泰舜.
1931 *Kokuyaku issaikyō kyōshūbu* 國譯一切經 經集部. Vol. 4. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppnsha.

Sawada Mizuho 澤田瑞穗.
[1986]1990 Jigoku no kyōten. Reprint in *Jigoku no sekai* 地獄の世界, Sakamoto Kaname 坂本要. Tokyo: Hokushindō.

Schlingloff, Dieter.
1964a *Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch: Textband.* Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, vol.7. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

1964b *Yogavidhi. Indo-Iranian Journal* 7(2, 3): 146-55.

[1987]1988 *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings: Identifications and Interpretations.* Delhi: Ajanta Publications.

Schmithausen, Lambert.
1970 Zu den Rezensionen des Udānavargaḥ. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde südasiens und Archiv für Indische Philosophie* 14:47-124.

1976 On the Problem of the Relation of Spiritual Practice and Philosophical Theory in Buddhism. In *German Scholars on India: Contributions to Indian Studies*, ed. Cultural Department of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, 235-50. Bombay: Nachiketa Publications.

1982 Versenkungspraxis und Erlösende Erfahrung in der *Śrāvakabhūmi*. In *Epiphanie des Heils: Zur Heilsgegenwart in indischer und christlicher Religion*, ed. Gerhard Oberhammer, 59-85. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

1986 Critical Response. In *Karma and Rebirth: Post Classical Developments*, ed. Ronald W. Neufeldt, 203-30. Albany: State University of New York Press.

1987 Beiträge zur Schulzugehörigkeit und Textgeschichte kanonischer und postkanonischer buddhistischer Materialien. In *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, ed. Heinz Bechert, 2:304-406. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

1991a *Buddhism and Nature: The Lecture Delivered on the Occasion of the EXPO 1990, An Enlarged Version with Notes*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Occasional Paper Series, vol.7. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

1991b *The Problem of the Sentience of Plants in Earliest Buddhism*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series, vol.6. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

Schmitt, Gerhard, and Thomas Thilo.
1975 *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*. Vol.1. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Schopen, Gregory.
1977 Sukhāvatī as a Generalized Religious Goal in Sanskrit Mahāyāna Sūtra Literature. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 19:177-210.

Schwartzberg, Joseph E., ed.
[1978]1992 *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*. Second impression, with additional material. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sekido, Norio 關戸法夫.
1995 Jōdo sanbukyō ni okeru *bhakti* shisō ni tsuite 浄土三部経における bhakti 思想について. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 44(1): 388-92.

Sharf, Robert H.
1995 Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric off Meditative Experiece. *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions* 42(3): 228-283.

Shih, Robert.
1968 *Biographies des moines éminents (Kao seng tchouan) de Houei-kiao*. 1st part, *Biographies des premiers traducteurs*. Bibliothèque du Muséon, vol. 54. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste.

Shikii Shūjō 色井秀譲.
1978 *Jōdo nenbutsu genryū kō: "Dai Muryōju kyō" to sono shūhen* 淨土念佛源流考：大無量壽經とその周辺. Kyoto: Hyakkaen.

Shimoda Masahiro 下田正弘.
1993 *Zōbun wayaku "Daijō Nehangyō"* 蔵文和訳『大乗涅槃経』. Vol.1. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin.

Shinkyō Uiguru See Shinkyō Uiguru Jichiku Bunbutsu Kanri Iinkai, and Haijōken Kijiru Senbutsudō Bunbutsu Hokansho.

Shinkyō Uiguru Jichiku Bunbutsu Kanri Iinkai 新疆ウイグル自治区文物管理委員会, and Haijōken Kijiru Senbutsudō Bunbutsu Hokansho 拝城県キジル千仏洞文物保管所, eds.

1984 *Chūgoku sekkutsu Kijiru sekkutsu* 中国石窟キジル石窟. Vol.2. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

1985 *Chūgoku sekkutsu Kijiru sekkutsu* 中国石窟キジル石窟. Vol.3. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Shizutani Masao 静谷正雄.
1978 *Shōjō Bukkyō shi no kenkyū: Buha Bukkyō no seiritsu to hensen* 小乗仏教史の研究: 部派仏教の成立と変遷. Kyoto: Hyakkaen.

Silk, Jonathan Alan.
1994 *The Origins and Early History of the "Mahāratnakūṭa" Tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhistm with a Study of the "Ratnarāśisūtra" and Related Materials*. Ph.D. Diss., The University of Michigan.

1997 The Composition of the *Guan Wuliangshoufo-jing*: Some Buddhist and Jaina Parallels to its Narrative Frame. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 25:181-256.

Snodgrass, Adrian.
[1985]1988 *The Symbolism of the Stupa*. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program.

Sonoda Kōyū 薗田香融.
[1972]1981 Kodai Bukkyō ni okeru shūhasei no kigen 古代仏教における宗派性の起源. Reprint in *Heian Bukkyō no kenkyū* 平安佛教の研究, 9-25. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Soper, Alexander Coburn.
1949a Aspects of Light Symbolism in Gandhāran Sculpture. Part 1. *Artibus Asiae* 12: 252-83.

1949b Aspects of Light Symbolism in Gandhāran Sculpture. Part 2. *Artibus Asiae* 12:314-30.

1950 Aspects of Light Symbolism in Gandhāran Sculpture. Part 3. *Artibus Asiae* 13: 63-85.

1959 Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China. *Artibus Asiae* supplementum 19:1-296.

Sponberg, Alan.
1986 Meditation in Fa-hsiang Buddhism. In *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Peter N. Gregory, 15-43. Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, vol.4. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

1988 Wŏnhyo on Maitreya Visualization. In Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre eds., *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, 94-109. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stein, Aurel.
1928 *Innermost Asia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Īrān*. Vol.3. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Stevenson, Daniel Bruce.
1987 *The T'ien-Tai Four Forms of Samādhi and Late North-South Dynasties, Sui, And Early T'ang Buddhist Devotionalism*. Ph.D. diss. Columbia University.

Strickmann, Michel.
1990 The *Consecration Sūtra*: A Buddhist Book of Spells. In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr., 75-118. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Strong, John S.
[1983]1989 *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the "Aśokāvadāna."* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Subai 宿白.
1983 Kijiru sekkutsu no keishiki kubun to sono nendai キジル石窟の形式区分とその年代. In *Chūgoku sekkutsu Kijiru sekkutsu* 中国石窟 キジル石窟, vol.1., ed. Shinkyō Uiguru Jichiku Bunbutsu Kanri Iinkai 新疆ウイグル自治区文物管理委員会, and Haijōken Kijiru Senbutsudō Bunbutsu Hokansho 拝城県キジル千仏洞文物保管所, 162-78. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Sudō Hirotoshi 須藤弘敏.
1989 Zenjō biku zuzō to Tonkō dai 285 kutsu 禅定比丘図像と敦煌第二八五窟. *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術183:11-27.

Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士.
1986a *Kan Muryōju kyō* no shohon ni tsuite 『観無量寿経』の諸本について. *Tōyō bunka* 66:57-91.

1986b *Kan Muryōju kyō* kenkyū 『観無量寿経』研究. *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo kiyō* 東洋文化研究所紀要 101:163-225.

1992 *Kan Muryōju kyō* : Kanbutsu to ōjō 観無量寿経: 観仏と往生. In Sueki Fumihiko, and Kajiyama Yūichi 梶山雄一, *Jōdo Bukkyō no shisō* 浄土仏教の思想, vol.2, *"Kan Muryōju kyō," "Hanju sammai kyō"* 観無量寿経 般舟三昧経. Tokyo: Kōdansha.

Sugimoto Takujū 杉本卓洲.
1985 Kanjin, kanbutsu 観神・観佛. *Mikkyō bunka* 152:1-19.

1993 Sōinnai no buttō oyobi butsuzō sūhai 僧院内の仏塔および仏像崇拝. In *Watanabe Fumimaro hakushi tsuitō kinen ronshū Genshi Bukkyō to Daijō Bukkyō* 渡邊文麿博士追悼記念論集 原始仏教と大乗仏教, ed. Maeda Egaku 前田惠學, 1:205-33. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō.

Tachikawa Musasi 立川武蔵, Ishiguro Atsushi 石黒淳, Hishida Kunio 菱田邦男, and Shima Iwao 島岩.
1980 *Hindū no kamigami* ヒンドゥーの神々. Tokyo: Serika Shobō.

Takahashi Shin'ya 高橋審也.
1990 *Kan muryōju kyō* no seiritsuchi ni tsuite 観無量寿経の成立地について. Part. 1. In *Jōdo sanbukyō* 浄土三部経. Tokyo: Musashino Joshi Daigaku *Bussetsu Kanmuryōjukyō* Kenkyūkai.

1993 *Kan muryōju kyō* no seiritsuchi ni tsuite 観無量寿経の成立地について. Part. 2. In *Untō Gidō sensei kiju kinen ronbunshū Shūkyō teki shinri to gendai* 雲藤義道先生喜寿記念論文集 宗教的真理と現代, ed. Ōno Gisen 大野義山, 279-92. Tokyo: Kyōiku Shinchōsha.

Takakusu Junjirō.
1894 *Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra: The Sūtra of the Meditation on Amitāyus*. In *Sacred Books of the East: Budhist Mahāyāna Texts*, 49:159-201. London: Oxford University Press.

1901 *Tales of the Wise Man and the Fool*, in Tibetan and Chinese. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1901: 447-60.

Takasaki Jikidō 高崎直道.
1974 *Nyoraizō shisō no keisei: Indo Daijō Bukkyō shisō kenkyū* 如来蔵思想の形成：インド大乗仏教思想研究. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

Takata Osamu 高田修.
1967 *Butsuzō no kigen* 佛像の起源. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Takata Tokio 高田時雄.
1993 Chibetto moji shosha *Chōkan* no kenkyū: Honbun hen チベット文字書寫「長卷」の研究 (本文編). *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 京都 65:313-80.

Tamura Chijun 田村智淳 and Ichigō Masamichi 一郷正道, trans.
1975 *Sanmai ō kyō* 三昧王經. 2 vols. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.

Tanaka, Kenneth K.
1990 *The Dawn of Chinese Pure Land Buddhist Doctrine: Ching-ying Hui-yüan's Commentary on the "Visualization Sutra."* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明.
1993 *Chibetto mikkyō* チベット密教. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

-----, ed.
1998 *Hanbittsu Bunka Zaidan zō Chibetto Bukkyō kaiga shūsei: Tanka no geijutsu* ハンビッツ文化財団蔵 チベット仏教絵画集成：タンカの芸術. Vol. 1. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten.

Tang Yongtong 湯用彤.
1938 *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao Fojiao shi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史. Changsha: Shangwu Yinshu Guan.

Thilo, Thomas, ed.
1985 *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*. Vol.2. Berliner Turfantexte, vol.14. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Tōdō Kyōshun 藤堂恭俊.
1960a *Zazen sanmai kyō* ni setsuji suru nenbutsukan no seiritsu haikei 『坐禪三昧經』に說示する念佛觀の成立背景. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 8(2): 70-73.

1960b Kumarajū yakushutsu to iwareru zenkyōten no setsuji suru nenbutsukan 鳩摩羅什譯出と言われる禪經典の說示する念佛觀. In *Fukui Hakushi shōju kinen Tōyō shisō ronshū* 福井博士頌壽記念 東洋思想論集, ed. Fukui Hakushi Shōju Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai 福井博士頌壽記念論文集刊行會, 398-411. Tokyo: Fukui Hakushi Shōju Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai.

Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定.
[1938]1973 *Gokan yori Sō Sei ni itaru yakkyō sōroku* 後漢より宋齊に至る訳経総録. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.

1973 *Busshō no kenkyū* 佛性の研究. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai.

Tokiwai Gyōyū 常盤井尭猷.
1918 *The Sumāgadhāvadāna: A Buddhist Legend, Now First Edited from the Nepalese Ms. in Paris*. Isshinden.

Tokunaga Muneo 徳永宗雄.
1988 Vishunu kyō shoha ヴィシュヌ教諸派. In *Indo shisō* インド思想, 2:96-120. Iwanami kōza Tōyō shisō 岩波講座東洋思想, vol.6. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Tokuno, Kyoko.
1990 The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues. In *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr., 31-74. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Tonkō Bunbutsu Kenkyūjo 敦煌文物研究所, ed.
1980 *Chūgoku sekkutsu Tonkō Bakkōkutsu* 中国石窟 敦煌莫高窟. Vol.1. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

1981 *Chūgoku sekkutsu Tonkō Bakkōkutsu* 中国石窟 敦煌莫高窟, vol.3. Tokyo: Heibonsha.

Tsukamoto Keishō 塚本啓祥, Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶, and Isoda Hirofumi 磯田熙文, eds.
1989 *Bongo butten no kenkyū* 梵語仏典の研究. Vol.3, *Ronjo hen* 論書篇. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.

Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆.
[1933]1976 Tō chūki no Jōdokyō: Toku ni Hosshō zenji no kenkyū 唐中期の浄土教：特に法照禅師の研究. Reprint in *Tsukamoto Zenryū chosakushū* 塚本善隆著作集, vol.4, *Chūgoku Jōdo kyōrishi kenkyū* 中国浄土教理史研究, 209-510.

1962 Chūgoku shoki Bukkyō shijō ni okeru Eon 中國初期佛教史上における慧遠. In *Eon kenkyū: Kenkyū hen* 慧遠研究：研究篇, ed. Kimura Eiichi 木村英一, 1-87. Tokyo: Sōbunsha.

1958 Tonkō Bukkyō shi gaisetsu 敦煌佛教史概說. In *Tonkō Bukkyō shiryō* 敦煌佛教資料, ed. Saiiki Bunka Kenkyūkai 西域文化研究會, 37-76. Saiiki bunka kenkyū 西域文化研究. Vol. 1. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Tsukinowa Kenryū 月輪賢隆.
1953 Butten no shūshi 佛典の終始. *Bungaku, Tetsugaku, Shigaku Gakkai rengō henshū Kenkyū ronbun shū* 文學・哲學・史學學會連合編集 研究論文集 4:90-91.

1971 *Butten no hihanteki kenkyū* 仏典の批判的研究. Kyoto: Hyakkaen.

Tshul khrims sKal bzaṅ Khaṅ dkar ツルティム・ケサン・カンカル.
1997 Rinnezu no egakikata ni tsuite 輪廻図の描き方について. *Nihon Chibetto Gakkai kaihō* 日本西蔵学会々報 41-42: 45-50.

Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻.
1995 Tonkō shutsudo *Daishū hōkōkyō* to sono Chibetto yaku 敦煌出土『大通方広経』とそのチベット訳. *Ryūkoku Daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大學論集 445:53-89.

Ujike Kakushō 氏家覚勝.
[1982]1987 Nenbutsu yori darani e 念仏より陀羅尼へ. Reprint in *Darani shisō no kenkyū* 陀羅尼思想の研究, 3-34. Ōsaka: Tōhō Shuppan.

Unebe Toshihide 畝部俊英.
1970 Jiku Butsunen no kenkyū: Kan'yaku *Zōichi agongyō* no yakushutsu o megutte 竺仏念の研究：漢訳『増壱阿含經』の訳出をめぐって. *Nagoya Daigaku Bungakubu kenkyū ronshū, tetsugaku* 名古屋大学文学部研究論集, 哲学 17:3-36.

Uno Tomoyuki.
1997 The Soul (*ātman*) and Agency (*kartṛtva*): According to Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and His Followers. *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學仏教學研究 46(1): 509-13.

Uryūzu Ryūshin 瓜生津隆真.
1994 *Jūjū bibasharon* 十住毘婆沙論. Pt.1. Shinkokuyaku Daizōkyō Shaku kyōronbu 新国訳大蔵経 釈経論部, vol.12. Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan.

Von Hinüber, Oskar.
1983 Die Bedeutung des Handschriftenfundes bei Gilgit. *Zeitschrift der Deutshcen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Supplement 5:47-66.

Von Le Coq, Albert.
[1926]1928 *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan: An Account of the Activities and Adventures of the Second and Third German Turfan Expeditions.* Translated from German by Anna Barwell. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Von Le Coq, Albert, and Ernst Waldschmidt.
[1933]1975 *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien.* Vol.7. *Neue Bildwerke*, pt.3. Graz: Akademische Druk-u. Verlagsanstalt.

Waldschmidt, Ernst.
1925 *Gandhara/Kutscha/Turfan: Eine Einführung in die frühmittelalterliche Kunst Zentralasiens.* Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann.

1980 Central Asian Sūtra Fragments and Their Relations to the Chinese Agamas. In *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung*, ed. Heinz Bechert, 136-74. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Waldschmidt, Ernst, Walter Clawiter, and Lore Holzmann.
1965 *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden.* Part 1. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, vol.10, pt.1. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

Wang Binghua 王炳華.
1990 *Xinjiang Tianshan shengzhi chongbai yanhua* 新疆天山生殖崇拜巖畫. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.

Wang Ming 王明.
[1982]1985 *Baopuzi Neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子内篇校釋. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju.

Wayman, Alex.
1961 *Analysis of the "Śrāvakabhūmi" Manuscript.* University of California Publications in Classical Philology, vol. 17. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭.
[1917]1933 Kyōto Hyakumanben Chionji jūhō tarayō bonkyō danpen ni tsukite 京都百万遍知恩寺什寶多羅葉梵筴斷片に就きて. Reprrint in *Kogetsu zenshū* 壷月全集, ed. Kogetsu Zenshū Kankōkai 壷月全集刊行會, 1:662-84. Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha.

Weinstein, Stanley.
1959 Biographical Study of Tz'ŭ-ên. *Monumenta Nippponica* 15(1-2): 119-49.

Weller, Friedrich.
1936 Bemerkungen zum soghdistischen Dhyāna-texte. Part 1. *Monumenta Serika* 2:341-404.

1938 Bemerkungen zum soghdistischen Dhyāna-texte. Part 2. *Monumenta Serika* 3:78-129.

Williams, Joanna.
1973 The Iconography of Khotanese Painting. *East and West* n.s. 23(1-2): 109-54.

Wilson, Horace H.
1981 *The Vishnu Purana*. Vol.5 New York: Garland Publishing.

Wu Hung.
1996 *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Xiao Dengfu 蕭登福.
1989 *HanWei Liuchao FoDao liangjiao zhi tiantang diyu shuo* 漢魏六朝佛道兩教之天堂地獄説. Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju.

Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu Bowuguan 新疆維吾爾自治區博物館 ed.
1990 Xinjiang shiku, Tulufan Bozikelike shiku 新疆石窟, 吐魯番伯孜克里克石窟. Urumchi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe; Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Meishu Chubanshe.

Yabuki Keiki 矢吹慶喜.
1933 *Meisha yoin kaisetsu: Tonkō shutsudo miden koitsu butten kaihō* 鳴沙餘韻解說：燉煌出土未傳古逸佛典開寶. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Yaldiz, Marianne.

1987 *Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Chinesisch-Zentralasiens (Xinjiang).* Leiden: E. J. Brill.

1992 On the Interpretation of a Buddhist Mural from Qizil, Chinese Central Asia. In *Eastern Approaches: Essays on Asian Art and Archaeology*, ed. T. S. Maxwell, 45-52. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Yamabe Nobuyoshi 山部能宜.

1997a New Fragments of the "*Yogalehrbuch*." *Kyūshū Ryūkoku Tanki Daigaku kiyō* 九州龍谷短期大学紀要43:11-39.

1997b The Implications of the "Manichean" Caves at Toyok, Turfan for the Origin of the *Guan wuliangshou jing*. In *Rennyo shōnin no sōgōteki kenkyū* 蓮如上人の総合的研究, ed. Tokunaga Daishin 徳永大信, 250-80. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō.

1998 On the Mural Paintings of Visualizing Monks in Toyok Caves: In Conjunction with the Origin of Some Apocryphal Visualization Texts. In *The Third Silk Road Conference at Yale University: Conference Proceedings* 2:454-529.

1999 The Significance of the "*Yogalehrbuch*" for the Investigation into the Origin of Chinese Meditation Texts. *Bukkyō bunka* 仏教文化 9:1-74.

n.d. Visionary Repentance and Visionary Ordination in the *Fanwang jing*. Forthcoming in *Buddhist Precepts and Ordinations in East Asia: Festschrift for Professor Stanley Weinstein.*

Yamada Meiji 山田明爾.

1967 Kanbutsu sanmai to sanjūni sō: Daijō jissendō seiritsu no shūhen 観仏三昧と三十二相：大乗実践道成立の周辺. *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 佛教學研究 24:27-48.

1976 *Kangyō* kō: Muryōjubutsu to Amidabutsu 観経攷：無量寿仏と阿弥陀仏. *Ryūkoku Daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大學論集 408:76-95.

Yamada Ryūjō 山田龍城.

1959a Daijō Bukkyō seiritsuron josetsu 大乘佛教成立論序説. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.

1959b *Bongo butten no shobunken: Daijō Bukkyō seiritsuron josetsu shiryōhen* 梵語佛典の諸文献：大乘佛教成立論序説　資料篇. Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten.

Yamamoto Kosho 山本晃紹.

1955 The *Bussetsu Kammuryojukyo*. In Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii, comp., *The Shinshū seiten: The Holy Scriptuure off Shinshu*, 74-100. Hawaii: The Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii.

Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山.

1985 Goroku no rekishi: Zen bunken no seiritsushi teki kenkyū 語録の歴史：禪文獻の成立史的研究. *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 57:211-663.

Yang Liansheng 楊聯陞.

1961 Daojiao zhi zibo yu Fojiao zhi zipu 道教之自搏與佛教之自撲. In *Tsukamoto Hakushi Shōju kinen Buukkyō shigaku ronshū* 塚本博士頌壽記念 佛教史學論集, ed. Tsukamoto Hakushi Shōju Kinenkai 塚本博士頌壽記念會, 962-69. Kyoto: Tsukamoto Hakushi Shōju Kinenkai.

1962 Daojiao zhi zibo yu Fojiao zhi zipu bulun 道教之自搏與佛教之自撲補論. *Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Lishi Yuyan Yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 34:275-89.

Yao Chonxin 姚崇新.

1996 Beiliang wengzu yu Gaochang Fojiao 北涼王族與高昌佛教. *Xinjiang Shifan Daxue xuebao zhexue shehui kexue ban* 新疆師範大学學報　哲學社会科學版 17(1): 68-77.

Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏.

1981 Mikkyō ni okeru buzoku (*kula*) no tenkai: Tokuni Sanbu no keisei ni tsuite 密教における部族(kula)の展開：とくに三部の形成について. In *Daijō Bukkyō kara Mikkyō e: Katsumata Shunkyō hakushi koki kinen ronshū* 大乗仏教から密教へ：勝又俊教博士古稀記念論集, ed. Katsumata Shukyō Hakushi Koki Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai 勝又俊教博士古稀記念論文集刊行会, 415-29. Tokyo: Shunjūsha.

1990 *Mikkyōbutsu no kenkyū* 密教仏の研究. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

-----, and Shimoizumi Zengyō 下泉全暁.
1994 *Mikkyō butsuzō zuten* 密教仏像図典. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin.

Yoshimura Rei 吉村怜.
[1960]1983 Unkō ni okeru renge keshō no hyōgen 雲崗における蓮華化生の表現. *Chūgoku Bukkyō zuzō no kenkyū* 中国仏教図像の研究, 35-53. Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten.

[1964]1983 Unkō ni okeru renge sōshoku no igi 雲崗における蓮華装飾の意義. *Chūgoku Bukkyō zuzō no kenkyū* 中国仏教図像の研究, 55-73. Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten.

[1979]1983 Tenjukoku shūchō to kondō kanjō ban ni mirareru tennin tanjō no zuzō 天寿国繍帳と金銅灌頂幡にみられる天人誕生の図像. *Chūgoku Bukkyō zuzō no kenkyū* 中国仏教図像の研究, 135-52. Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten.

Yoshimura Shūki 芳村修基, Tsuchihashi Shūkō 土橋秀高, and Inokuchi Taijun 井ノ口泰淳.
1958 Tonkō bukkyōshi nenpyō 敦煌佛教史年表. In *Saiiki bunka kenkyū* 西域文化研究. Vol. 1, *Tonkō Bukkyō shiryō* 敦煌佛教資料, ed. Saiiki Bunka Kenkyūkai 西域文化研究會, 245-85. Kyoto: Hōzōkan.

Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊.
1972 Jihaku to jiboku ni tsuite: Yō Renshō kyōju no ronsetsu ni yosete 自搏と自撲について：楊聯陞教授の論説によせて. In *Satō Hakushi koki kinen Bukkyō shisō ronsō* 佐藤博士古稀記念佛教思想叢論, ed. Satō Mitsuyū Hakushi Koki Kinen Ronbunshū Kankōkai 佐藤密雄博士古稀記念論文集刊行会, 609-27. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin.

Yusuki Ryōei 湯次了榮.
[1927]1975 *Kegon gokyōshō kōgi* 華嚴五教章講義. Kyoto: Hyakkaen.

Zhongguo Bihua. *See* Zhongguo Bihua Quanji Bianji Weiyuan Hui.

Zhongguo Bihua Quanji Bianji Weiyuan Hui 中國壁畫全集編輯委員會.
1990. *Zhongguo bihua quanji: Xinjiang* 中國壁畫全集：新疆, vol.6, Tulufan吐魯番. Shenyang: Liaoning Meishu Chubanshe; Urumchi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe.

Zhongguo Fojiao Xiehui 中国佛教協会, ed.
1978 *Fangshan Yunjusi shijing* 房山雲居寺石經. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.

Zhongguo Lüyou Chubanshe 中國旅游出版社.
1980 *The Flying Devis of Dunhuang*. Beijing: Zhongguo Lüyou Chubanshe.

Zhongguo Meishu. *See* Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianji Weiyuan Hui.

Zhongguo Meishu Quanji Bianji Weiyuan Hui 中國美術全集編輯委員會.
1989 *Zhongguo Meishu Quanji: Huihua bian* 中國美術全集：繪畫編, vol.16, *Xinjiang shiku bihua* 新疆石窟壁畫. Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe.

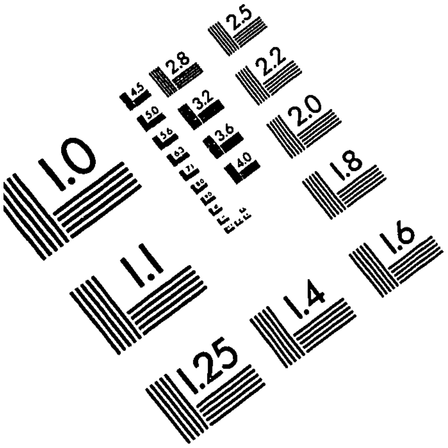
Zieme, Peter, and Kudara Kōgi 百済康義.
1985 *Uiguru go no "Kanmuryōjukyō"* ウイグル語の觀無量壽經. Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō.

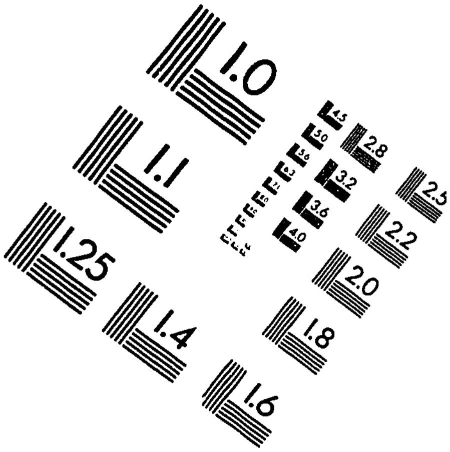
Zimmer, Heinrich.
[1946]1955 *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*. Ed. Joseph Campbell. Bollingen Series, vol.6. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

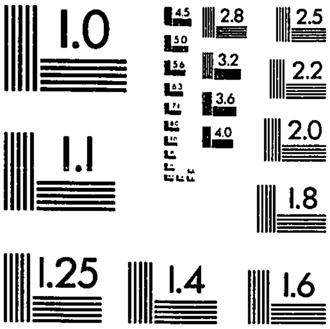
[1955]1983 *The Art of Indian Asia: Its Mythology and Transformations*, vol.1 Completed and edited by Joseph Campbell. Bollingen Series, vol.39. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zürcher, Erich.
1972 *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhsm in Early Medieval China*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

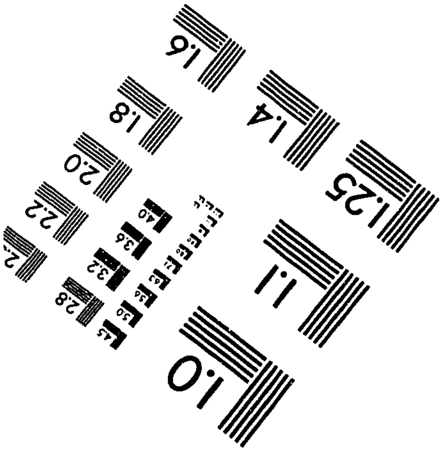


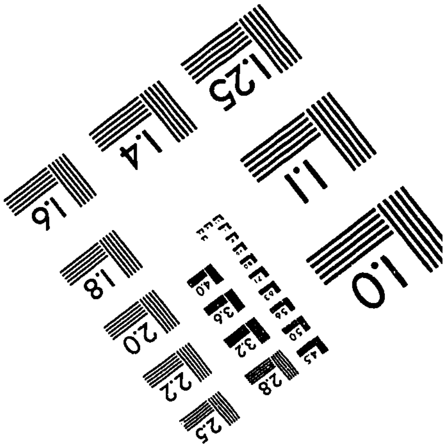




150mm

6"





APPLIED IMAGE, Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved